The Palladion and National Identity

By

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation takes its start from the observation that people of Sixth and Fifth Century Athens, the Hellenistic Troad and Pergamon, and Republican Rome with its Latin Colonies all made use of stories and symbols taken from the Trojan War in the process of creating an acceptable national identity for their states. The Homeric Cycle of epics and their derived tragedies at Athens, the *Iliad's* Mount Ida and Temple of Athena Ilias in Pergamon's Ilion, the legends of Aeneas at Rome all became central to the way people in Athens, the Troad, and Roman Italy came to see their community. These elements of an imagined Trojan past became part of the complex of activities and formal behaviors that being a member of a socio-political community entails, and especially the *symbolic associations* of these activities to that community, what Abraham Lincoln called the "mystic chords of memory."

My particular focus is on three very odd stories about women that I show lie at the beginning of this process in each case: the story that a tall woman, dressed like Athena and riding in a chariot with Peisistratos, tricked the Athenians into making him tyrant; the story that for a thousand years a small city in Greece annually sent two aristocratic maidens to Troy to be tortured and work as slaves for the rest of their lives; and the story that the Roman Senate ordered two sacred Vestal Virgins to be ritually executed after Hannibal won the battle of Cannae.

I identify a specific sacred component from the heroic past that lay at the heart of all three stories: the Palladion, the cult statue of Athena from ancient Troy itself. I demonstrate, by a close examination of all available evidence from literature, art, and archaeology, that this cult statue was a significant symbolic element in the identity of each community. It provided a tangible, visible link to the Homeric world, and thus was a central component in the creation of three separate national identities.

In the course of the dissertation, I also compare these ancient processes of identity creation with more modern examples, taken from Elizabethan England, Imperial France, and Stuart Britain. In each case there are remarkable parallels with the ancient cases I have examined, showing that this process of national identity creation is deeply rooted in human social and political behaviors.

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CHAPTER ONE

National Identity and Images from the Heroic Past

I. Introduction

> Most citizens of a state, whether ancient or modern, consistently look for visual and verbal signs that evoke and justify the foundations of that state. Such signs typically feature or are framed by sacred components that build on the collective memory of a past more heroic than the present, and they are habitually incorporated into political or religious rituals designed to promote community identity.[1] –C. Brian Rose

Charles Brian Rose is the head of the post-Bronze Age group at the current excavations of ancient Troy, begun by the late Manfred Korfmann.[2] In the quoted article, Rose focused on the formation of community identity at classical Ilion (Troy VIII), an identity based almost entirely on the Homeric tradition. He looks at two important rituals that were at various times celebrated at the Temple of Athena at Ilion, the "Penance of the Lokrian Maidens" and the Panathenaia, to "illustrate the ways the memory of the Trojan War could be exploited" to reinforce community identity. He argues that these rituals were modeled on similar ones at Athens—the Athenian Panathenaia and the office of the *arrhephoroi*, along with the temples of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens—and that Ilion

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[1] C.B. Rose, "Architecture and Ritual in Ilion, Athens, and Rome," in B. Wescoat and R. Ousterhout (eds.), *Architecture of the Sacred* (Cambridge, 2012) p. 152.

[2] See the *Studia Troica* series, University of Tübingen vol. 1-19 (Mainz, 1991-2011), for the excavation reports.

"was clearly looking to Athens in search for models of civic identity."[3] Rome also had a "symbiotic relationship with Ilion," but "it was encapsulated in only one ritual: the *lusus Troiae*, or Trojan Games."[4] These festivals "enlisted the past to elevate the status of the present," and play a vital role in the formation of the identity of the political community[5] –if we were describing a modern nation state, we might say "the formation of national identity."

This dissertation takes its start from Rose's observation that "visual and verbal signs," especially artifacts from a heroic past that are "incorporated into political or religious rituals," are often key components in the conscious promotion of "community identity," and that Athens, Ilion, and Rome all made use of stories from the Trojan War in this process of identity creation. I will, however, dig considerably deeper into three important ritual complexes at Athens, Ilion, and Rome: the expanded sixth-century Panathenaia and the new Bluebeard Temple at Athens coinciding with Peisistratos' tyranny; the ritual of the Lokrian Maidens at the Temple of Athena at Ilion under Antigonos Monophthalmos; and the rites of the Vestal Virgins in third-century Republican Rome, particularly the ritual execution of two Vestals after the disaster at Cannae. I identify a specific "sacred component" from the heroic past that lay at the heart of all three of these rituals: the Palladion, the cult statue of Athena from ancient Troy itself. We shall find, by a close examination of all available evidence from literature, art, and archaeology, that this cult statue was a significant element in the ritual at each city. It provided a tangible, visible link to the Homeric world for all three cities, and thus was a central element in the

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[3] Rose, *ibid*, p. 160
[4] *ibid*, p. 164
[5] *ibid*, p. 168

attempted creation of three separate national identities. All three of these identity creation attempts were successful, at least temporarily, with even the shortest—at Ilion—later helping to define the identity of Attalid Pergamon and later the Byzantine Empire.

Strangely, in all three cases, much of the ritual, and occasionally even the presence of the Palladion, has fallen out of the surviving accounts. All that remains are three very odd stories from antiquity about women: the story that a tall woman, dressed like Athena and riding in a chariot with Peisistratos, tricked the Athenians into making him tyrant; the story that for a thousand years a small city in Greece annually sent two aristocratic maidens to Troy to be tortured and work as slaves for the rest of their lives; and the story that the Roman Senate ordered two sacred Vestal Virgins to be ritually executed after Hannibal won the battle of Cannae. This study began as an attempt to understand the origins of these stories, and in the course of my investigation it became increasingly apparent that they were related at a very deep level.

In this introductory chapter I will present the theoretical approach that I will be using, which is based on primarily recent discussions of the rise of nationalism and how "national identities" are formed. These studies intersect with much work that has been done by Classicists on the idea of the "commonwealth" in the Greek and Roman world—*politeia* or *to koinon* in Greek and *res publica* in Latin—but here we will be less interested in the legal definition than in a "thick description" (to use Geertz's evocative term): the complex of activities and formal behaviors that being a member of a particular socio-political community entails, and especially the *symbolic associations* of these activities and behaviors to that community, what Abraham Lincoln called the "mystic chords of

memory."[6] Before proceeding, however, it might be helpful to informally consider what elements might contribute to a contemporary national identity, for example, that of the United States. Here too, as Rose suggested, important elements include certain visual and verbal images from a heroic past that are incorporated into political or religious rituals. Consider, for instance, the Lincoln Memorial—which proclaims itself a "temple" in the inscription over the giant cult statue of a hero—where important American civic rituals, such as speeches and demonstrations are often held. What Robert Bellah called the "civil religion" of America also has festivals, with Thanksgiving being probably the most important of these. Important visual and verbal images of national identity include the Statue of Liberty, with its Lazarus poem, and sacred texts, often on public display, such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.[7] From the more recent past, physical representations and mental images from wars, such as the Pearl Harbor attack, the successful D-Day landings, and the liberation of concentration camps, still stir powerful emotions that can connect us to our recent ancestors. We will find just such components—temples, cult statues, festivals of civil religion, and iconic images—in most national identities, both modern and ancient.

But before laying out my theoretical approach, I will introduce the image that we will find became central to the national identities of Athens, classical Ilion, and Republican

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[6] C. Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973) pp. 3-30. Lincoln's phrase is from his First Inaugural Address. Geertz emphasized that for him culture is symbolic and meaningful—it is "hermeneutically thick." See also "The Thick and the Thin: On the Interpretive Theoretical Program of Clifford Geertz," *Current Anthropology* 25.3 (June, 1984) pp. 261-280, for more commentary on Geertz's ideas.

[7] See R. Bellah's original paper, "Civil Religion in America," *Journal of the AAAS* 96.1 (1967) pp. 1-21. The issue is still a very much a live one in American Studies—see the many articles on this topic in *JSTOR*, for example.

Rome: the Palladion, the cult statue of Pallas Athena that allegedly stood in the Temple of Athena at Homeric Troy. The Palladion became important because it represented a link to the heroic past, but also because of its direct connection to the fall of Troy and the rape of Cassandra. The image of a naked Cassandra clinging to the statue of Trojan Athena as Oilean Ajax advances upon her became a powerful symbol of the consequences to civilians, especially women, of the defeat of a *polis*.[8] The image is found on dozens of amphorae dedicated at the Panathenaia that have survived from the middle of the sixth century, and the story is found in at least two fifth century tragedies, including Euripides' *Trojan Women*, and Sophocles' lost *Aias Lokros*.[9] This image served as a powerful spur to the citizens of later cities, and became an important part of their national identity: they are the new guardians of the Palladion of Athena; unlike Homer's Trojans, they will honor and protect her, and thus the women of their city will not suffer Cassandra's fate.

II. The Palladion, Cassandra, and the Fall of Troy

The earliest reference to the cult statue of Athena at Troy is *Il*. 6.263-309, wherein Hecuba leads the senior women of Troy to the temple of Athena Ilias on the Pergamon, the top of the citadel itself. There they lift up their hands to the cult statue, lay a fine robe on its knees, and beg the goddess to protect the city from Diomedes.

> Αἱ δ᾽ ὅτε νηὸν ἵκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ,
> τῇσι θύρας ὤϊξε Θεανὼ καλλιπάρῃος
> Κισσηΐς ἄλοχος Ἀντήνορος ἱπποδάμοιο:
> τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθηκαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν.
> αἳ δ᾽ ὀλολυγῇ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνῃ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον:

[8] I will use the conventional Latin spellings for Cassandra and Ajax throughout.

[9] M. Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art* (Oxford, 1997) provides a comprehensive study of this theme as it occurs in Athenian tragedy and Attic vase painting. See *Aias Lokros* fragments in S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, iv. Sophocles* (Göttingen, 1977) pp. 330-4.

ἣ δ᾽ ἄρα πέπλον ἑλοῦσα Θεανὼ καλλιπάρῃος
θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἡϋκόμοιο,
εὐχομένη δ᾽ ἤρᾶτο Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλοιο:[10]

The cult statue plays no further role in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, nor is its fate described.

The statue plays a much more significant role in two Epic Cycle poems, the *Iliou persis* (Ἰλίου πέρσις), the "Sack of Troy," and the *Ilias mikra* (Ἰλιὰς μικρά), the "Little Iliad."[11] The *Iliou persis* narrates an episode in the fall of Troy when the Lokrian hero, Oilean Ajax, raped Cassandra in the temple of Athena while she clung to the cult statue[12] and thereby offended the goddess.[13] All the Achaians were to pay dearly in their fraught

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[10] "When they came the temple of Athena on the citadel,/ there opened the doors for them fair-cheeked Theano,/ daughter to Kisseus, wife of Antenor, tamer of horses;/ for the Trojans had made her priestess of Athena./ With a cry they all lifted up their hands to Athena;/ and fair-cheeked Theano took the robe/ and laid it on the knees of fair-haired Athena,/ and, making vows, prayed to the daughter of great Zeus."

[11] The Epic Cycle poems are known almost entirely from summaries of their contents in Proclus' *Chrestomathy*, from the second century CE, and Pseudo-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheke*, from the first or second centuries CE. The most recent extended treatment of the Epic Cycle is M. L. West, *The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics* (Oxford, 2013). See that volume and the references cited therein. West is convinced that both Proclus and Apollodorus are dependent on a common, older source text (p. 9). The most recent edition of the poems is M. L. West (ed. and trans.), *Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, *LCL* 497 (Cambridge, 2003). I have used West's section numbering in the Proclus summaries.

[12] See the discussion of the *Iliou persis* in West, pp. 221-43. The Cassandra episode is on pp. 237-8, which covers *IP* section 3 and Apollod. 5.22. Proclus and Apollodorus apparently differ on whether the statue was dragged away with Cassandra, a controversial topic in antiquity because of the story in the *Little Iliad* that the statue had been stolen earlier by Diomedes and Odysseus. This whole issue is discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Section IV.

[13] Curiously, the *Iliad* statue is clearly of a seated Athena (the robes are laid on her knees), but all the representations on the Panathenaia dedications of Cassandra's rape show a standing Athena with spear in hand (see also Figure 1.1). No ancient sources seem to consider this an issue, perhaps because the statue was thought capable of movement by the goddess (Apollodorus 5.22 for example, says that her eyes were said to move in horror at the rape; we shall discuss this topic at some length in Chapter 4 in our discussion of Lykophron.)

nostoi for his offence.[14] In this poem, the cult statue plays no further role, and presumably was thought to have been either taken back to Greece by the victorious Achaeans after the final destruction of the city, or buried in the ruins.[15] The role that the Palladion plays in

Fig. 1.1 Ajax the Lesser Drags Cassandra from the Palladium (Pompeii, LIMC Aias II 83)

[14] Euripides, *Troades* 69-71, cites this episode and the failure of the Achaians to punish Ajax as the reason for the wrath of the gods falling upon the *nostoi* of the Achaian heroes.

[15] West, p. 226, dates the final *Iliou persis* to "[not] much earlier than 600," but there were likely earlier epic versions of the Cassandra story. See J. Burgess, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle* (Baltimore, 2001) for a discussion of the evolution of stories about Troy in Greek epic.

the *Ilias mikra* would seem to directly contradict the account in the *Iliou persis*, since in the former poem the statue is stolen from Troy by Odysseus and Diomedes before the city falls, and thus could not have been the one that Cassandra clung to. We shall see that the ancients were very aware of this contradiction; their efforts to resolve the conflict are analyzed in some depth in the next three chapters.

The image of the rape of Cassandra by Ajax at the foot of the cult statue of Trojan Athena was depicted on numerous vase paintings going back to the sixth century (see Chapter 2, Figure 2.1), and it remained a popular theme throughout antiquity (see Figure 1.1 above). We argue here that the establishment of rites associated with the Palladion at Athens around 555 BC, at Ilion around 310 BC, and at Rome around 275 BC, in each case coincided with a conscious effort to create a "national" identity around Homeric themes.

We show in Chapter 2 that at Athens these rites marked the installation of the newly-captured Palladion at the newly-built stone temple of Athens (the Bluebeard Temple). This event was part of the successful creation, by Peisistratos and his associate Megakles, of a new Athenian identity as an authentically "Homeric" *polis*, complete with a protective wall, a large Acropolis temple with Homeric cult statue, and an enlarged Panathenaia festival with many Homeric themes.

In Chapter 3 we cover Troy, where new rites centered on the cult statue in its Temple of Athena marked the creation of a new Trojan festival modeled on the Panathenaia. These new rites were designed to prove that this cult statue was the true Palladion, and that the Achaians had taken a mere copy,[16] because the descendants of

[16] See the discussion of the rival claims about the true Palladion in Chapter 2, Section IV. The issue begins with the conflicting stories in the *Iliou persis* and *Ilias mikra* about whether Diomedes and Odysseus stole the Palladion before the fall of Troy, or it was

Lokrian Ajax actually now sent their daughters to Troy to atone for his crimes before this very statue. We show that the creation of this festival was part of a failed attempt by Antigonos Monophthalmos to create a new "Trojan League," modeled on the Ionian League and designed to defend the Troad from invaders from across the Hellespont (notably, the army of Lysimakhos, who ruled Thrace). The new "Homeric" Troy was the heart of this Trojan League, which was to have a very Homeric character. On the mainland, leagues such as the Aitolian League and the Achaian League had been political and military successes, and had Antigonos been able to create a strong identity for the Troad his league might have been a success as well.

In Chapter 4 Rome is discussed, where the rites marked the arrival at Rome of the cult statue of the patron deity of the newly-conquered Italiote League, a statue taken from the Athena temple at the League capital, Siris. Supposedly, the statue had been brought to Siris by refugees fleeing Troy; her arrival at Rome connected the statue with the legends of Aeneas. The statue was installed in the Temple of Vesta on the Forum, to be guarded by the Vestals, whose virginity now had military significance because the Palladion/Palladium was the ultimate protector of Rome. The subjugation of the Italiote League completed the unification of Italy, made possible by the manpower and strategic location of Latin colonies dispersed throughout southern Italy. Beginning at the end of the Latin War in 338, Rome had consciously created a "Trojan" identity for these colonies. The capture of the Palladion/ Palladium marked the climax of this creation process. Its success was shown by the total loyalty of the Latin colonies during the long Punic Wars.

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captured after the rape of Cassandra, or possibly it was never captured at all and remained at Troy.

In all of these cases, we shall show that the deity was thought to have a direct connection with Athena Ilias, the Athena of Troy in the *Iliad*, and in each case the re-establishment of her cult was consciously identified by the political leadership of the state as creating a new Homeric identity for their newly enlarged and successful community. But all that remains today of these conscious acts of national identity creation, after the details have been forgotten, are myths and legends, the residuum of history: the story of tall Phye in armor with Peisistratos in the chariot, the story of the Lokrian Maidens, and the story of the sacrifice of Vestal Virgins after Cannae.

III. Theoretical Approach: the Creation of National Identity

My approach to this study of the ways in which accounts of the Palladion figured in the creation of community identities in the ancient world is based on several sources. First, I have made use of theoretical work produced during the last thirty years on the formation of national identities and the ideology of nationalism, beginning with the pioneering works of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.[17] Hobsbawm, Ranger, and Anderson approached the study of the nation from a Marxist perspective, challenging the essential validity of the very concept of "nation" in favor of "class." One of their aims was to show that "nation," while an important

[17] E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991). For a recent collection of essays showing a representative sample of scholarship, see J. Breuilly (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (Oxford, 2013), especially the first essay by Breuilly, "Introduction, Concepts, Approaches, Theories," p. 1-20, and the last essay, by P. Laurence, "Nationalism and Historical Writing," pp. 713-30.

idea for mobilization, was only a "constructed" identity, whereas "class" was "natural."[18] Marxist periodization led them to assume that national identity was entirely a product of the modern era, basically since the "bourgeois revolution" of 1789.[19] Hence Anderson restricted the nation to the era of "print-capitalism" and stated that the nation was a late 18th century phenomenon.[20]

The second major source for my theoretical approach consists of more recent studies, outside the Marxist framework, of the formation of national identity in a single country during the period from 1550-1870. These studies show that the factors that have led to the construction of national identities from the Renaissance on are by no means limited to the era of mass printing, and parallel quite closely my own approach to the ancient world. I particularly used Richard Helgerson's account of the creation of a distinctly English national identity in the 16th century under Elizabeth I; Eugen Weber's study of the creation of a French identity in the era of Napoleon III; and Graham Parry's analysis (among others) of the development of a "British" (England, Scotland, and Wales) identity under the Stuarts.[21]

A third source for the theoretical approach adopted in this dissertation is the work that has been done in recent decades on the development of the classical ideology of a

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[18] Anderson argued that Marxists should nonetheless not reject nationalism out of hand, because it was helpful in motivating third-world anti-imperialist movements: "Since World War II, every successful revolution has defined itself in national terms" (p. 2).

[19] See also, C. Hill, *The English Revolution, 1640: An Essay*, 3rd Edition (London, 1955), who argued that this date should be moved back to 1640, at least for England. Hill does not interrogate the concept of "nation," he simply argues that nation is often a cover for class, "[the Whig] interpretation [of the Puritan revolution of 1640] perpetuates the legend that the interests of the bourgeoisie are identical with those of the nation" (p. 12).

[20] See B. Anderson, pp. 4, 11, 22-46.

[21] See notes 30, 31, and 32 below for the full citations of these sources, along with others.

"commonwealth" or *politeia* (πολιτεία, *civitas*, *res publica*), that is, a *polis* governed by the citizen body (πολῖται, c*ives*).[22] The origin of the *polis* itself has of course been much debated, and it is impossible here to do justice to all the issues. Many Classicists have explored the development of "polis ideology," which looks very much like nationalism at the city-state level, a phenomenon that was present in the medieval Italian commune and the Renaissance city-state as well. I have found two bodies of work on the topic to be most relevant for this dissertation. First, and most important, has been Ian Morris' analysis, based on his study of burial practices, of the development of what he calls the anti-elitist "middling" ideology of the early *polis* during the Archaic period, which contrasted with the pre-*polis* domination by a few aristocratic families.[23] Second, have been the studies by Pocock and many other theorists of the ideology of "republicanism," which was a conscious re-creation of Roman Republican ideas in medieval Italian communes, then in Renaissance city-states, and finally in Early Modern England and Revolutionary America.[24] This ideology is quite consistent with Helgerson's and Colley's analyses of the ideas that underlay the creation of English and British national identity.

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[22] Later *politeia* came also to mean simply "form of government" or "constitution," but to Aristotle at least, a "*politeia* proper" was "ὅταν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύηται συμφέρον, καλεῖται πολιτεία," (*Pol*. 1293b22) Basically, to him a *politeia* was a "good democracy," just as an aristocracy was a "good oligarchy," and a monarchy was a "good tyranny."

[23] See I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: the Rise of the Greek City-State* (Cambridge, 1987) for his complete theory, also see I. Morris, "Archaeology and Archaic Greek History," in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London, 1998) p. 10-36 for a summary. But see D. Hammer, "Ideology, the Symposium, and Archaic Politics," *AJP* 125.4 (2004) pp. 479-512, for critique of Morris's concept of "ideology." I found Morris more convincing because of his extensive use of actual burial practices to illuminate social relations.

[24] J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975) is his main work. See also J.G.A Pocock, "The Ideal of Citizenship Since Classical Times," in G. Shafir (ed.), *The Citizenship Debates* (Minneapolis, 1998) pp. 31-42 for the classical antecedents of this ideology.

Finally, bearing in mind the "sacred" character of many of the components of national identity, I have been influenced by the theories of "polis religion," by such scholars as Robert Parker,[25] Christine Sourvinou-Inwood,[26] Walter Burkert[27] and Stephen Scully.[28] Julia Kindt argued that the polis is not the *only* level of organization structuring ancient religion.[29] I do not disagree, but even she concedes that it is a *valid* notion when studying the polis, and it is useful for us. At Athens, where our documentation is most complete, Athenian citizenship was closely intertwined with the civic religion. (This topic is explored in great depth in Parker's *Polytheism and Society at Athens*.) Civic religion was based on a calendar of festivals, processions, and sacrifices: sacrifices conducted at altars, usually in front of temples with cult statues. Being a citizen meant being allowed to take part in all of these events and actually taking part in them, although some were also open to non-citizens.

In each of the three subsequent chapters, I will use the various theories of national identity formation to see what can be concluded about the idea of national identity in the ancient world by comparisons with more recent cases of identity formation. Chapter 2 compares Richard Helgerson's account of the Elizabethan creation of English national identity with the efforts of Peisistratos and Megakles.[30] We shall find that factors he identified as central to the formation of English identity were also present in sixth century

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[25] R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford, 1996) and *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005)

[26] C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "What is Polis Religion" and "Further Aspects of Polis Religion," in R. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2000) and *Athenian Myths and Festivals* (Oxford, 2011)

[27] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1985)

[28] S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City* (Cornell, 1990)

[29] J. Kindt, "Polis Religion—A Critical Appreciation," *Kernos* 22 (2009) pp. 9-34

[30] R. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, 1992)

Athens. Chapter 3 examines Eugen Weber's description of the techniques used to create a French identity, in the era of Napoleon III, such as new national festivals and symbolic architectural structures.[31] We shall see those very same techniques being used by Antigonos Monophthalmos in the Hellenistic Troad. Chapter 4 compares the royal campaign to create a "British" (i.e., Scots plus English and Welsh) identity in the 143 years from the accession of James VI/I in 1603 to the defeat of the final Jacobite rising in 1746,[32] with the Roman efforts to create a "Trojan" Latium in the 137 years from end of the Latin Wars in 338 to the end of the Second Punic War in 201. Remarkably, proclaiming a common "Trojan" heritage (via "Brutus the Trojan", along with other mythical figures from the classical world, such as "Britannia) was part of that effort in the early Stuart years.

In the final chapter I shall summarize my conclusions about national identity formation in the ancient world and then take a close look at the central figure in this study—the goddess Athena. I shall trace her ancient antecedents to Bronze Age Greece and Anatolia.

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[31] E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford, 1976) p. 113

[32] See for example, G. Parry, "Ancient Britons and Early Stuarts," in R. H. Wells, G Burgess, and R. Wymer (eds.), *Neo-Historicism, vol. 5 of Studies in Renaissance Literature, History and Politics* (Cambridge, 2000) pp. 153-78; M. Dresser, "Britannia," in R. Samuel (ed.), *Patriotism: the Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, v. III* (London, 1989) pp. 26-49; and L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 2005).

CHAPTER TWO

Peisistratos' Chariot Ride and the New Homeric Athens

I. Introduction

"The stories of the Greeks are numerous and laughable," wrote Hekataios of Miletus, the first Greek historian whose work has survived, at least in fragments[33]. Surely among the most laughable (as Herodotos indeed acknowledges) is the story of the "restoration of Peisistratos by Athena" to his second tyranny. According to Herodotos, this was accomplished by having Peisistratos ride into Athens on a chariot along with an exceptionally tall woman dressed in armor by his side, a woman whom the people, in town as well as the countryside, believed was Athena herself. Herodotos can scarcely believe it worked:

> μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὑρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεί γε ἀπεκρίθη ἑκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἑὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖσι πρώτοισι λεγομένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην μηχανῶνται τοιάδε.[34]

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[33] οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι. *FGrHist*, F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin, 1923) fr. 1

[34] "At his return from exile, they devised a plan which, as I see it, was so exceptionally simple-minded that it is strange (since from old times the Greek stock has always been distinguished from foreign by being more clever and more free from silly foolishness) that even at that time these men should devise such a plan among Athenians, said to be the foremost in wisdom of the Greeks." (1.60.3)

He then goes on to describe the details of the plan: it was hatched by Megakles, head of the Alkmaionid family, who had fallen out with Lykourgos, head of the rival Boutadai; the conspirators arranged for the chariot to be preceded by heralds welcoming Peisistratos and Athena; the people actually worshipped the woman, thinking she was the goddess; and Peisistratos was welcomed back to his second tyranny.[35]

This episode has aroused perhaps as much consternation and disagreement among modern historians as it did among the ancients about exactly what happened, what Peisistratos and Megakles were doing, and why it worked. (For example, Snodgrass called it "propaganda…blatant to the point of absurdity,"[36] while, at the opposite extreme, Berve called it a *hieros gamos*, a ritual re-enactment of divine fertility.[37]) After reviewing the ancient accounts, archaeological, ceramic, and inscriptional evidence, and modern interpretations of the political and religious situation in mid-sixth century Athens,[38] I shall advance my own hypothesis. I shall propose that the episode marked the arrival at the Acropolis of what was proclaimed to be the original cult statue of Pallas Athena (the Palladion), taken to Greece from ancient Troy itself after the city's fall, and now recovered by Peisistratos in a raid funded by Megakles. This statue was installed at a new, Megakles-

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[35] Hdt. 1.60.2-5. Aristotle tells much the same story in *Ath. Pol.* 14.4.

[36] A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment* (Berkeley, 1980) p. 114

[37] H. Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (Munich, 1967) p. 545

[38] The most recent analysis of the chariot episode is by R. Sinos, "Divine Selection: Epiphany and Politics in Archaic Greece," in C. Dougherty and L. Kurke (eds.), *Cultural Politics in Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1998) pp. 73-128. She sees the episode as an imitative performance, which I think is true, but fails to see that a successful *political* performance (as opposed to a purely theatrical one) must offer some actual *political content*. Below I describe a ticker-tape parade, which is certainly a performance, but in the political world it must be a celebration of *something* that the bystanders are happy about, and that something is the political content, e.g., a military victory. Only in a stage play or movie is a ticker tape parade simply imitative of other ticker tape parades. An actual celebration of Peisistratos as Athena's choice would seem to require Peisistratos to have actually *done* something worth celebrating.

financed, stone temple of Athena on the south side of the Acropolis (the "Bluebeard" temple). It was thus not so much the "restoration of Peisistratos" as the "restoration of Athena"—her ancient cult statue—to the Acropolis by Peisistratos (paid for by Megakles). I hypothesize that this statue was a war trophy and that the chariot episode was a sort of Athenian version of a Roman triumph for Peisistratos and a sort of proto-liturgy by Megakles. It was one step in an Alkmaionid/Peisistratos-orchestrated "Homericization" of the cult of Athena, of the Acropolis, of the Panathenaia festival, and of the Athenians' image of themselves.

This Homericization was a key part of a drive by one section of the elite to create a new Pan-Athenian identity encompassing all of Attica, based on a grand new temple with an actual Homeric cult statue, an enhanced festival celebrating this deity, and shared myths embodied in a Homeric national literature, including public recitations of standard editions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and, somewhat later, theater based on Homeric themes.[39] The idea was to create a new self-image of Athens as a "Homeric city," or in Homeric terms a "sacred polis" (ἱερὴ πόλις), with all the striking architectural appurtenances thereof, to replace the seventh-century physically unimpressive, loose collection of aristocratic "heroic families." The Solonian constitutional reforms had redirected the attention of prominent families from competing through ostentatious consumption for such private affairs as funerals, into

[39] D. Frame, *Hippota Nestor* (Cambridge, 2009) pp. 393-486 makes the very interesting argument that 7th c. Athens was "out of step with the rest of the Greek world in not worshipping Athena the war goddess, but Athena its own … mother goddess." (396). During the 6th century, under Homeric influence, the Athenians came to see her as a war goddess, especially in a new temple and the reorganized Panathenaia. This analysis is quite consistent with my own; I would argue that the change took place as a result of the Peisistratos/Megakles " Homericization" of the cult of Athena. See also J. Gonzales, *The Epic Rhapsode and His Craft: Homeric Performance in a Diachronic Perspective* (Cambridge, 2013), for a discussion of rhapsodic performances of Homer at the Panathenaia.

competing via consumption directed towards glorifying the city itself—chariot victories at Panhellenic games and expensive votives on the Acropolis, for example.[40] Megakles was simply pioneering new forms of this form of privately financed public consumption: military raids on traditional rivals, a new stone temple with a famous cult statue, and costly performances of new literary forms. This effort was similar to the creation in Elizabethan England of a common English identity based on Protestant privateering against Catholic Spain, a new cult of the virgin Elizabeth replacing that of the Virgin Mary, and a new popular, vernacular literature with an important theatrical component. It marked a change from family loyalty, as during the Wars of Roses, to national loyalty. I suggest that recent theoretical treatments of the Elizabethan period can be very helpful in understanding sixth century Athenian identity creation.[41] It is rather striking that two of the most fruitful periods in the development of Western theater—a verbal and visual performance that can be enjoyed on a wide scale by people of all classes without the benefit of literacy—were precisely ancient Athens and Elizabethan England.

Section II of this chapter reviews contemporary scholarship on the chariot episode and argues that the focus was not on the figure of Peisistratos, but rather on Athena, and introduces the idea that a cult statue of Athena was carried in the chariot along with the tall woman. Section III explores the ritual of carrying a deity (represented by its cult statue) by chariot to a sanctuary, arguing that Peisistratos was imitating this ritual, particular the ritual from the Plynteria, and that he was carrying a cult statue captured in a raid. Section

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[40] See R. Seaford, "The Transformation of Reciprocity," ch. 6 of his *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City State* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 191-234, for this redirection of aristocratic competition during the 6th century.

[41] Especially R. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago, 1992)

IV argues that this newly-captured statue was proclaimed by Peisistratos to be the Trojan Palladion, and that it was installed in the brand new Bluebeard Temple on the Acropolis an action that was also celebrated in dozens of Panathenaic amphorae that have survived from that period. Section V investigates the possibility that the statue had been stolen from the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina. Finally, Section VI analyzes the whole episode as a step in the creation of a new Post-Solonian identity for Athens, as a unified "Homeric city" and not just a collection of aristocratic families with their retainers.

II. Restoring Athena, not Peisistratos

A very influential recent analysis of the Athena chariot episode was that of Connor, who identified the critical element that had been overlooked in earlier accounts: according to the logic of the ceremony, it was *Athena* who was being restored to Athens, not Peisistratos.[42] Deities belong on the Acropolis, not mere mortals. He further notes that the armed Athena is playing the role of the warrior-passenger (παραιβάτης), like the heroes of the *Iliad*,[43] while Peisistratos is merely the humble chariot driver, "Peisistratos is not seizing the kingship but serving as … Athena's attendant, a brave but subordinate charioteer, and thereby the agent of the true protector and ruler of the land, Athena."[44]

Connor emphasizes that the episode must not be seen as some kind of "propaganda trick," as Snodgrass would have it, nor is it some kind of "kingship ritual," which is Burkert's analysis of the chariot race at the Panathenaia in which the charioteer re-enacts

[42] W. R. Connor, "Festivals and Processions: Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece," *JHS* 107 (1987) pp. 40-50

[43] e.g., *Il*. 23.132

[44] Connor, 1987, 46

Erichthonios leaping from his chariot to take possession of the land.[45] Instead, he argues that it is a drama from the "histrionic period" of Greek history; a *reversal* of the Panathenaic procession by Athenian citizens, some in chariots, to the Acropolis to honor Athena. This time, the goddess is riding in a chariot to the Acropolis. "The reversal of the festival pattern may then hint that under the previous regime the goddess had been offended and withdrawn from the Acropolis, but was now returning."[46] Peisistratos is being celebrated thereby as the one who restores her to her home on the Acropolis. But both he and the Athenians are participants in a kind of shared theatrical performance, a "communal drama."[47]

Anderson has attempted an ambitious reconstruction of the political climate in Athens during the sixth century.[48] Connor believed that the entire chariot episode was an initiative of Peisistratos himself, but Anderson notes that the ancient sources agree that the initiative came rather from Megakles the Alkmaionid as part of a dispute with Lykourgos the Boutad. The Boutad *genos* had the special honor of supplying the priestesses of Athena *Polias* and the priests of Poseidon *Erechtheus.*[49] Anderson argues that this Boutad connection with Athena Polias is the key to understanding the chariot ceremony. He took up Connor's argument that the reversal of the festival pattern was meant to signal that Athena was displeased with the "previous regime". Anderson agreed and argued that "previous regime" was that of the Boutadai; the chariot episode was specifically part of

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[45] See, e.g., W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1985) pp. 232-3.

[46] Connor, *op. cit.*

[47] This is also essentially Sinos' analysis (*op. cit.*).

[48] G. Anderson, *The Athenian Experiment* (Ann Arbor, 2003) pp. 43-84

[49] R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford, 1996) p. 290-3, examines our sources for the Boutadai in great detail. Note that the later name of Lykourgos' *genos* was the Eteoboutadai (Ἐτεοβουτάδαι), that is "true Boutadai," presumably to distinguish themselves from the Kleisthenesic Boutad *deme* after the deme system was established.

> Megakles' bid to challenge Lycurgus for de facto leadership of the state. It seems safe to assume that Lycurgus's authority drew much of its force and legitimacy from his family's control of the cult of Athena *Polias* … Clearly, for Megakles to supplant his rival, he had to find some means of countering this powerful alliance of goddess and mortal. I therefore propose that we see in the Phye ceremony an … attempt … to undermine this alliance … by suggesting that Athena had deserted the Acropolis and therefore needed to be restored. (p. 70)

We need not accept all of Anderson's arguments, but one does seem persuasive, that the fifteen-year period from Peisistratos' first tyranny to the beginning of his third, after the battle of Pallene (say from 560-545[50]) was dominated by the figure of Megakles. During that period, Megakles initially had an on-again, off-again alliance with Lykourgos, then later an on-again, off-again alliance with Peisistratos himself. On the other hand, Anderson probably goes too far when he argues for a comprehensive Boutad dominance in an earlier period whose downfall was prompted by the chariot event. In Parker's comprehensive study of *genê* in Athens (see note 49, especially chapters 5 and 6), he argues that priesthoods, even very prestigious ones, did not necessarily translate into political power in the mid-sixth century, where wealth also played a very important role.

The constitutional reforms of Solon around 600, which introduced explicit, measurable wealth qualifications for public office, especially the archonship,[51] and likely also sumptuary laws directed at lavish funerals,[52] seems to have changed the nature of elite competition in Athens. Morris has convincingly argued,[53] with a detailed analysis of burial

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[50] P. J. Rhodes, "Pisistratid Chronology Again," *Phoenix*, 30.3 (1976), pp. 219-33

[51] See *Ath. Pol.* 8 for Solon's wealth classification of Athenians and office qualifications.

[52] See *Plut. Solon* 21.4-5 for restrictions on excessive spending for funerals. See also Seaford, *op. cit.*

[53] See I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: the Rise of the Greek City-State* (Cambridge, 1987) for his complete theory, also see I. Morris, "Archaeology and Archaic

traditions, that for most cities of the central Greek world (Athens, Corinth, Argos, Thebes, Samos, etc.), the period between 750 and 600 represented the triumph of an anti-elitist "middling" cultural tradition of a fairly large class of "citizens" who considered themselves equals, but that Athens rejected this middling culture around 700, only returning to it in the sixth century:

> [I]n Athens, the middle way was rejected altogether in the years around 700… [T]he Athenians returned to a divided ritual world like that of the Dark Age, in a conscious effort by the aristocracy to turn the clock back. They built no great temples until 600, and their votives were poor… Seventh century Attica must have looked very old-fashioned to visitors from elsewhere in central Greece.[54]

As in the Dark Age, these seventh century aristocratic families owed their prestige to birth, and often claimed descent from a hero from myth. (For example, the Boutadai claimed descent from Boutes, the brother of Erechtheus.[55]) These ancient aristocratic families also monopolized the prestigious priesthoods of the city, and the most prestigious of these were the priestess of Athena and priest of Poseidon, both held by the Boutadai. The position of the Alkmaionids in the seventh century is not completely clear. Parker classifies them as an *oikos* ("family"), not as a *genos*, meaning that they apparently did not have a hereditary priesthood, noting that their name seems to be based on Megakles' own father, Alkmaion, who was hardly mythic.[56] On the other hand, an ancestor of Alkmaion's,

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Greek History," in N. Fisher and H. van Wees (ed.), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (London, 1998) pp. 10-36 for a summary.

[54] Morris, 1998, p. 30

[55] Parker, 1996, p. 290, citing Apollod. 3.14.8-15.1. Also, "The 'hero Boutes' had an altar in the Erechtheum." (*Paus*. 1.26.5), *ibid*. Also see E. Kearns, *Heroes of Attica* (London, 1989), pp. 64-79, especially the useful chart of *genê* and their heroes on pp. 78-9.

[56] Parker, 1996, pp. 318-19. See also J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 BC* (Oxford, 1971) p. 370, who also sees the Alcmaionidai as an *oikos*, not a *genos*.

Megakles (I), was archon in the days of Kylon (c. 630), so perhaps a more senior branch of the family did have a priesthood and was considered a *genos*, but its name has been lost.[57]

Solon's new constitutional arrangements were significant for many reasons, but for our purposes the two most significant were these: first, opening up prestigious offices, especially the archonship, to the wealthy, based on property measurements, instead of just the well-born; and, second, sumptuary laws forbidding elaborate funerals, which had the effect of focusing aristocratic displays on votives of various sorts that might enhance the glory or prestige of the city as a whole, such as victories at Panhellenic games. Two notables from wealthy families from the immediately post-Solon period, Alkmaion and Kimon Koalemos (half-brother of Miltiades the Elder and father of Miltiades the Younger), exemplify this new form of display: both are said to have won the four-horse chariot race at Olympia for the city, a contest that required considerable wealth just to participate.[58]

By the sixth century, the wealth of many of these families holding important priesthoods had been surpassed in many cases by newer forms of wealth held by families without heroic ancestry. The enormous wealth of the Alkmaionidai, for example, had been made by Megakles' own father, Alkmaion.[59] On the other hand, Parker infers that the ancient Boutad family "seems to have possessed moderate wealth, but not more."[60] But they still retained the priesthoods. Lykourgos was from this family, and presumably his priesthood was an important source of the prestige that got him his archonship. Sixth

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[57] Parker, 1996, p. 319. Note that Pausanias 2.18.9 claims that the Alkmaionids were descendants of the Neleids of Pylos, the father of Nestor. Also the lost first section of Arist. *A. P.* apparently had an Alkmaion as the last permanent archon (see P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford, 1981) pp. 65-84).

[58] Alkmaion: Hdt. 6.126, Isoc. xvi.25; Kimon: Hdt. 6.103. Also Seaford, *op. cit.*

[59] Supposedly from a favor he performed for Croesus of Lydia, Hdt. 6.126

[60] Parker, 1996, 291

century Athenian politics seems therefore to have been something like Roman politics during the fourth and third century—struggles between priestly patricians and wealthy plebians who aspired to high office as well.[61]

Returning to the Athena chariot incident, Anderson's argument that Megakles was trying to "undermine the alliance between goddess [Athena Polias] and mortal [Lycurgus]" seems unpersuasive. Since Solon's reforms, prestige and high office could be obtained by winning glory for the city; important priesthoods were no longer necessary. (Peisistratos, for example, had first achieved fame in the Megairan war through his successful amphibious landing at Nisaia, which led directly to his first tyranny.[62]) Megakles would have had no reason to compete with Lykourgos on the latter's home territory: discerning the will of the gods. It seems far more likely that the chariot episode represented an attempt by Megakles to gain power for himself the modern way, by bringing glory to the city. But what sort of glory? The presence of Peisistratos suggests something military, but the fact that it glorified *Megakles*, suggests it was something that he participated in and that his wealth made possible. In a few years, Miltiades the Elder would both finance and lead a successful military expedition to capture the Thracian Chersonese, winning glory for his family and for the city.[63] Perhaps Megakles had provided Miltiades with a model for a privately financed glorious military triumph. I suggest that the chariot incident represents a triumphal chariot ride from the port of Phaleron to the citadel, with some of the spoils of a successful campaign—remarkably like a Roman triumph. This interpretation provides a

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[61] See R. E. Mitchell, *Patricians and Plebians: the Origin of the Roman State* (Ithaca, 1990) for a detailed explication of the idea that patricians were originally priestly families.

[62] Hdt. 1.59.4-5

[63] Hdt. 6.36-37

very simple explanation for the rapturous reception Peisistratos and Megakles received. Hail the conquering heroes!

But the Athenians did not have the ceremony of the triumph, and this interpretation fails to explain the presence of the tall woman dressed as Athena. We are missing something critical. Connor stresses the symbolic nature of the chariot incident and notes the *mimetic* character of all symbols.[64] His own speculation is that it is the Panathenaia procession to the Acropolis that is being imitated, but in reverse, with the goddess coming to the citadel. In section III I suggest a different model. I think that Megakles and Peisistratos were imitating part of the Plynteria festival; namely, the carrying of the cult statue of Athena Polias from Phaleron back to her temple on the Acropolis after her ritual washing. As we shall see in the next section, the statue was carried to the Acropolis from Phaleron (probably held by the priestess of Athena) in a special chariot, driven by the "charioteer of Pallas." The symbolism was that Athena herself was being carried in a chariot back to her home after bathing in the sea. In the chariot incident, Peisistratos was simply acting as a charioteer of Athena, carrying her to her home on the Acropolis (in fact, although Herodotos does not mention his starting point, it might well have been Phaleron). But to unravel the perplexing problems of this incident, we must first study the festival of the Plynteria along with the ancient idea of "carrying the god(dess)": θεοφόρος.

III. Carrying the Goddess and Stealing her Ancient Statue

Burkert observed that the word θεοφόρος seems be a very old term for carrying the cult statue of a deity, usually in a procession. For example, θεοφόρια appears on Linear B tablets from Knossos (TE-O-PO-RI-JA) along with "a few representations—a fresco from

[64] Connor, 1987, p. 50

Mycenae, a sarcophagus from Thebes—in which evidently a small statue is carried by a person, usually in procession."[65] Similarly, a ninth century vase painting shows a goddess riding on a chariot, which he interprets as "a variant of *theophoria*, implying the use of a chariot in the ritual. [66] The cult statue of the early Archaic temple of Hera on Samos[67] was also ritually carried to the temple annually.[68] Burkert analyzed the central ritual at the annual festival of the Plynteria at Athens as just such a θεοφόρια: an ancient wooden statue of the goddess Athena Polias was carried from the Acropolis to Phaleron and there ritually washed in the sea; afterwards, she was carried back to the Acropolis and reinstalled in her temple.[69] He went on to argue for the existence of another, different *theophoria* ceremony, where a different statue was taken to and from the the sea *in a chariot* this time—this was the Palladion, the ancient statue of Athena from Troy itself, which was somehow brought to Athens at an early date.[70]

Burkert's hypothetical different *theophoria* ceremony was initially accepted by many scholars,[71] but recently Sourvinou-Inwood has thoroughly re-examined the evidence for the Plynteria and concluded quite convincingly that there was no second festival, and

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[65] W. Burkert, "From Epiphany to Cult Statue: Early Greek Theos," in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *What is a God? Studies in the Nature of Greek Divinity* (London, 1997) p. 24

[66] *ibid*, p. 25

[67] The oldest votives at the site are from the late Geometric (late 8th century), but the altar may even older according to the temple's excavator, H. Kyrieleis, "The Heraion at Samos" in N. Marinatos and R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (New York, 1993) p. 128.

[68] W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 134-5

[69] See also N. Robertson, *Festivals and Legends: the Formation of Greek Cities in the Light of Public Ritual* (Toronto, 1992) pp. 142-3, for more on the Plynteria.

[70] Burkert, 1997, p. 25 and Burkert, 1985, p. 79 and n. 43

[71] For example, see R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) pp. 28-30, esp. n. 38, 57.

that it was in fact the statue of Athena Polias that was carried in a chariot at the Plynteria.[72] Moreover, the charioteer who escorted the statue had a special significance: he was "the charioteer of Pallas" (ἡνίοχος τῆς Παλλάδος).[73] "It seems reasonable to conclude that Athena's charioteer drove the chariot in which the Athena Polias cult statue was taken in procession to Phaleron and brought back again."[74] Sourvinou-Inwood goes on to argue that this role was important because carrying Athena's cult statue in a chariot evoked the central myth in the relationship between Athena and her city: the battle between Athena and Poseidon for ownership of Athens, depicted on the west pediment of the Parthenon, where Athena the victor arrives in a chariot drawn by Nike. Thus,

> the notion of Athena's statue being brought back to the Acropolis in a chariot…. would have been very significant in the Athenian *imaginaire*, for it would have been perceived as re-enacting, and evoking, the installation of Athena as the poliadic deity of Athens.[75]

Sourvinou-Inwood notes that the symbolism of Peisistratos' chariot ride is the same as that of the "charioteer of Athena" at the Plynteria, namely carrying the goddess to her home on the Acropolis, but she accepts Connor's analysis of that incident otherwise.[76] Both Connor and Sourvinou-Inwood stress the *mimetic* character of the episode as part of the reason for its reception. Peisistratos then was *imitating* the Plynteria chariot ceremony. The form of Peisistratos' chariot episode is certainly *suggestive* of the Plynteria charioteer, but the form as described does not quite match the Plynteria, and the significance of the episode—which is different from the form—still needs to be explained.

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[72] C. Sourvinou-Inwood (R. Parker, ed.), *Athenian Myths and Festivals* (Oxford, 2011) pp. 135-246. Parker also changed his mind: R. Parker, *Athenian Religion: A History* (Oxford, 1996) p. 307 n. 63.

[73] Sourvinou-Inwood, 2011, p. 165

[74] *ibid*, p. 167

[75] *ibid*, p. 171

[76] *ibid*, p. 168-9

The first issue is that a mere tall woman (whose name was Phye according to Herodotos 1.60) would seem to be a very poor substitute for an ancient cult statue as a representation of the goddess Athena. For the form to match, it would be likely that Phye was *carrying* something appropriate, something meaningful enough for the people to cheer so enthusiastically, perhaps even a cult statue. Since he was taking it to the Acropolis of Athens, if it was a cult statue, it seems likely that this was a statue of Athena.[77] But for the Peisistratos episode to match the form of the Plynteria, Phye herself must be imitative of a woman in the chariot with the Plynteria charioteer, someone carrying the statue, while the charioteer focused on driving (chariots normally held two, a charioteer and a fighter). In fact, at the Plynteria, the statue was handled throughout the ceremony by women—the undressing, carrying everywhere, and the washing.[78] It is therefore extremely plausible that on the Plynteria chariot she was also carried by a woman, perhaps by the priestess of Aglauros,[79] and not by the male charioteer. The charioteer needed both his hands for the chariot, and there was plenty of room for a woman carrying a small wooden statue. So in this case the *form* of Peisistratos' chariot ride would have matched the form of the Plynteria.

As for the *significance* of the Phye episode, Peisistratos' chariot episode was a one-off; it might be *mimetic* of a ritual—and if it was to be understood it likely was—but it was

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[77] The Acropolis contained a number of statues of Athena, even in Peisistratos' day. J. M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge, 1999) pp. 99-137, has a detailed discussion of the Archaic Acropolis.

[78] Sourvinou-Inwood, 2011, pp. 151-205

[79] *ibid*, pp. 197-205, discusses the priestess of Aglauros, who was from the Salaminioi *genos* and took charge of the Polias statue during the Plynteria, making sacrifices to Athena both at the Phaleron on her arrival there and at the Acropolis on her return. It is also possible that a priestess from the Praxiergidai might have been involved, see Parker, 1996, pp. 307-8.

not a ritual itself. (Catherine Bell has noted that the most important characteristic of ritual is repetition—invariance leading to a comforting familiarity.[80]) We have argued that in form it was mimetic of the Plynteria; the significance however, must be supplied by the actors themselves, including, according to Herodotos, runners in front of the chariot announcing it. The Phye episode must have been the result of some significant action. We might think about the ticker-tape parade after the victory in the 1991 Persian Gulf War: it was mimetic of earlier such parades (explaining the odd features, such as the even-then-obsolete ticker tape), but it needed its own *raison d'être*, the victory itself, to be held. (Try to imagine how an *imitation* ticker-tape parade for no great victory would be received.)

Since Peisistratos had been known in Athens since c. 565 as a military leader, especially for his successful sea-borne capture of Nisaia, the port of Megara[81] it seems likely that the significance of the statue (assuming there was one) was that it was the result of a military victory by Peisistratos, perhaps a sea raid on a sanctuary in a rival *polis*. In fact, raids to capture cult statues were being carried out in the sixth century. Herodotos describes two such raids that were conducted in the early sixth century as part of his description of the origins of the hostilities between Athens and Aigina. In the first case the Aeginetans successfully stole two cult statues from Epidauros, while in the second, Athens humiliatingly failed to capture the same statues from Aigina.[82] It seems very likely that if Peisistratos and Megakles had undertaken such a successful raid, they would have been

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[80] C. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 152-3

[81] Hdt. 1.59.4

[82] Hdt. 5.83 describes the Aeginetans' theft of the statues of Damia and Auxesia, while Hdt. 5.85-6 describes the Athenians failed attempt to steal the same statues from Aigina.

welcomed with great enthusiasm by the Athenians, and could plausibly claim to have captured the statue on such a raid.

Finally, our interpretation of Peisistratos' victorious chariot ride to the Acropolis accompanied by a captured cult statue suggests an interesting cross-cultural analogy with a particular Roman ritual: a Roman triumph involving an evoked deity from a conquered city. In these cases, the evoked deity is brought back to Rome by the *triumphator* to be honored in a temple and now serve as a protector of Rome. For example, in 264 BC, M. Fulvius Flaccus celebrated his triumph and the conquest of Etruscan Volsinii. The Etruscan god Vertumnus was evoked to Rome and installed in a temple on the Aventine, on one wall of which Flaccus was pictured as triumphing.[83] The difference here is that Athena is being brought to her own city and to her rightful home on the Acropolis. These evocation rituals whereby foreign gods are brought in to protect to the city of the conqueror or would-be conqueror are quite ancient. Albrecht Goetze provides an example of a Hittite evocation ritual from the late Bronze Age (KUB 15.34), containing the lines: "Come ye forth from the enemy country and from evil uncleanliness! Come ye to the blessed, holy, fine (and) wonderful Hatti land!"[84]

One remaining question is that of why the statue itself dropped out of the account we have? Why do we only have Phye and Peisistratos? It seems to me that there are likely two basic reasons: First, Lavelle has shown that after Hippias' treason at Marathon, the Athenians made a determined effort to blacken the name of the Peisistratid family. All their

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[83] cf. Propertius 4.2 and Festus 228L

[84] A. Goetze (trans.), "Evocatio" in J. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1955) p. 352 (ii.5)

triumphs were either forgotten or credited to someone else.[85] Second, and very familiar to the modern reader, is the "click bait" phenomenon: scandalous stories involving attractive, exotic women tend to overshadow more mundane stories (the scandal here is Peisistratos' tricking the Athenians). We shall see in Chapter 3 that the stories about the titillating abuse of the Lokrian Maidens gradually overshadowed the more modest character of the real ritual,[86] and the same was true for the Roman Vestal Virgins.[87] The combination of these two factors probably explains the disappearance of the statue from the chariot story.

IV. The Palladion, the Court of the Palladion, and the Bluebeard Temple

Since the Polias statue only left the Acropolis during the Plynteria, Peisistratos was certainly not carrying the Polias even if he was imitating that ritual. I shall argue that Phye was holding the "Palladion," and that this incident marked the arrival of the Palladion at Athens.[88] The cult statue of Trojan Athena, known as the Palladion (Παλλάδιον),[89] plays a small role in the *Iliad* and much more significant roles in two Epic Cycle poems, the *Iliou persis* ("Sack of Ilion") and the *Ilias mikra* ("Little Iliad").[90] As summarized in Chapter 1, the

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[85] See B. Lavelle, *The Sorrow and the Pity: A Prolegomenon to a History of Athens Under the Peisistratids, c. 560-510 BC* (Stuttgart, 1993) for a discussion of the efforts to efface anything favorable about the Peisistratids from Athenian memory after the treason of Hippias. The Alkmaionids had a special reason to disparage and mock Peisistratos: their ancestor Megakles had been deeply involved the in the chariot incident himself, a role they would like to forget.

[86] Chapter 3 of this dissertation

[87] Chapter 4 of this dissertation

[88] The earliest reference to the Palladion at Athens is a late 5th century fragment of Lysias, *Or*. Fr. 272a (see below, this section), but the actual date of its arrival must be inferred from other evidence.

[89] Strictly a Palladion (Παλλάδιον) was just a statue of Pallas Athena. In this chapter, we shall always be referring to the ancient statue of Athena at Troy.

[90] The lost poems of the Epic Cycle are known almost entirely from the *Chrestomathy* and the *Bibliotheke*, collections of summaries from the second century CE, see Chapter 1, note 8.

Iliou persis describes the rape of Cassandra in the temple of Athena by Lokrian Ajax, who thereby greatly offended the goddess. All the Achaians were to pay dearly for his offence.[91] In this poem, the cult statue plays no further role, and presumably is either taken back to Greece by the victorious Achaians after the final destruction of the city, or buried in the ruins.[92] In the *Little Iliad*, the Achaians are told in a prophecy that Troy cannot be captured unless the Palladion is taken, and Diomedes and Odysseus proceed to sneak into the city and steal the statue. This theft leads quickly to the fall of the city, because Athena withdraws her protection. Again, presumably Diomedes and Odysseus take it back to Greece with them as spoils of the conquest.[93] In later centuries, many cities[94] claimed to possess the statue, but we shall argue in this dissertation that two of the earliest were Athens and classical Ilion.

The earliest representations in art of the Cassandra episode are on shield straps dedicated at Olympia around 590-80; [95] the earliest at Athens are Panathenaic amphorae from the mid-six century. The narrative in the *Iliou persis* was in all likelihood the source of

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[91] Euripides, *Troades* 69-71, cites this episode and the failure of the Achaians to punish Ajax as the reason for the wrath of the gods falling upon the *nostoi* of the Achaian heroes.

[92] The Cassandra episode will be discussed in great length in Chapter Three of this dissertation, where we will show that the priests of the Athena Temple at the later classical Ilion maintained, *contra* everyone else, that the Palladion never left Troy.

[93] The most recent extended treatment of the Epic Cycle is M. L. West, *The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics* (Oxford, 2013). See that volume and the references cited therein for the sources of our text of both poems.

[94] Besides Athens and Troy, Argos (Paus. 1.28.8-9), Sparta (Plut*. Quaest. Gr.* 48) in Greece and in Italy, Lucera, Siris, Lavinium, and Rome (Strabo 264.14) all claimed to possess the Palladion at one time or another. The last three will be the subjects of Chapter Four of this dissertation.

[95] J.B. Connelly, "Narrative and Image in Attic Vase Painting: Ajax and Cassandra at the Trojan Palladion," in P.J. Holliday (ed.), *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* (Cambridge, 1993) pp. 88-129. See also H. A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult Under the Tyrants in Athens* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989) p. 36.

the notion that the Palladion was somewhere in Greece, and West dates the final version of the poem to "[not] much earlier than 600,"[96] however, the story is likely older than that. The *Little Iliad* is much less significant for our study of sixth century developments. West dates the *Little Iliad* to "the earlier part of the sixth century,"[97] but it cannot be shown to be widely known in Athens before 500, because the theme of the Palladion's theft by Diomedes and Odysseus does not seem to be represented in art at all before 500: the theft is not shown at all in black-figure pottery, and the earliest red-figure vase is from 500-490.[98]

Joan Connelly made a comprehensive study of Attic vase paintings of the Ajax-Cassandra episode, and black-figure examples start off in great number around 550, associated with the newly enlarged Panathenaia, especially on amphorae dedications from the new Panathenaic games; over forty examples of such Panathenaic amphorae with representations of Ajax and Cassandra survive.[99] They all have the same basic design: Ajax on left, Athena with shield and spear on the right, Cassandra crouching below (see Figure 2.1 for representative examples). Significantly, the representation of Athena with raised shield and spear on these dedications is a new form of representation for the goddess: Connelly says of this representation of Athena "it is possible that the Panathenaic Athena represents a new cult statue set up on the Akropolis in mid sixth century."[100] We argue that this new statue was the Palladion. The best current date for the chariot incident is c. 555,[101]

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[96] West, p. 226

[97] West, p. 172

[98] E. Hatzivassiliou, *Athenian Black-Figure Iconography between 510 and 475 BC* (Tübingen, 2010), p. 33. She dates the beginning of red-figure pottery to around 530 BC.

[99] Connelly, p. 95

[100] *ibid*, p. 108

[101] Rhodes, *op. cit.*

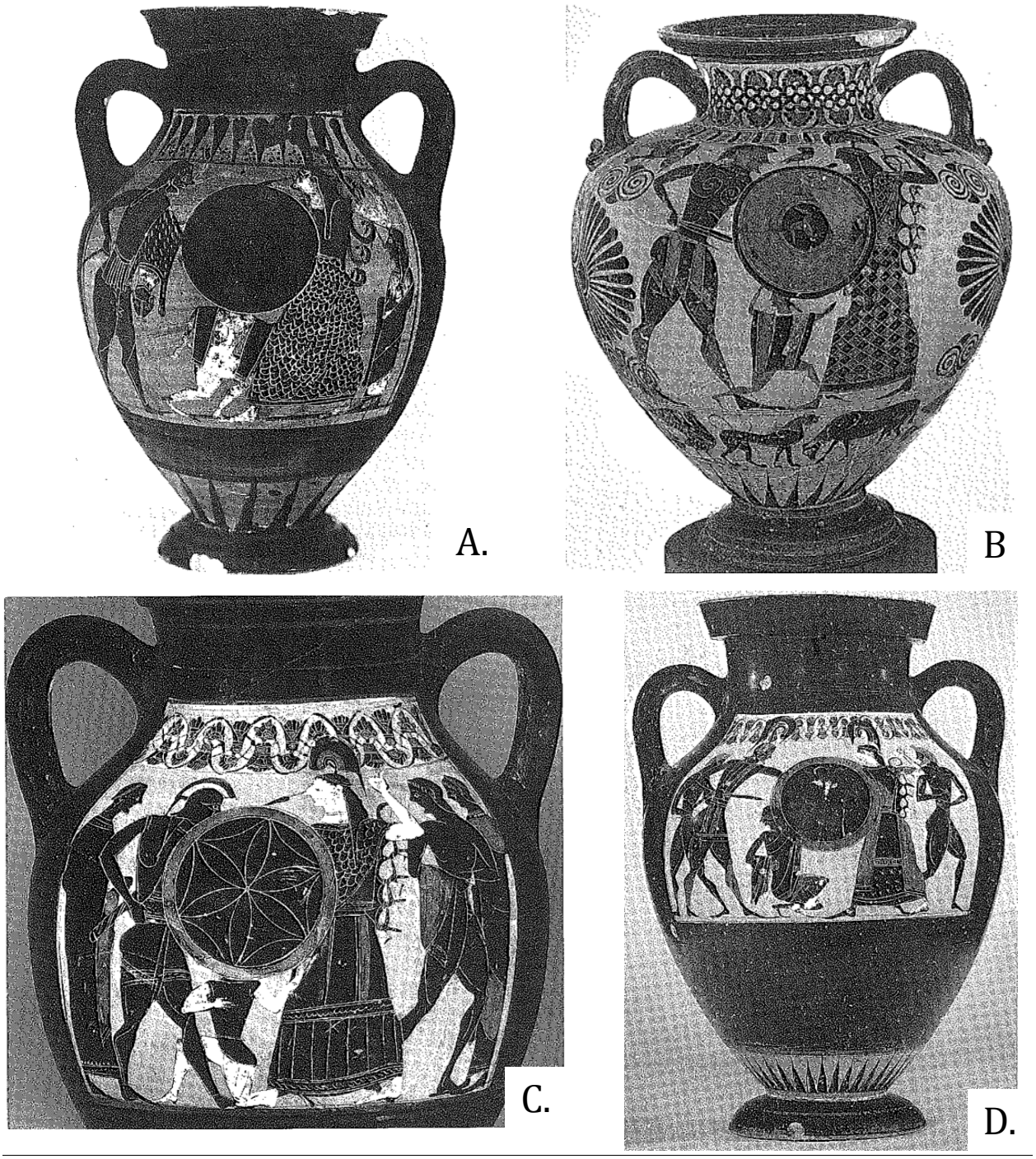

Figure 2.1. Athenian Black Figure Amphorae from 550-530 BCE with Cassandra and Ajax

- *A. Princeton Painter. Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste (LIMC Aias II 22)*
- *B. Princeton Painter. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Génève (LIMC Kassandra I 63)*
- *C. Berlin Painter. Martin v. Wagner-Museum, Würzburg (LIMC Aias II 23)*
- *D. Group Ea Painter, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (LIMC Aias II 19)*

which dovetails perfectly with the new Athena representations and the putative new statue on the Acropolis. Shapiro's analysis of black-figure votive vases in general concluded that Homeric epic themes are well-represented from that period,[102] consistent with a generally "Homericizing" theme of the newly enlarged Panathenaia, under the leadership of Megakles and Peisistratos.

The earliest representation of the *Little Iliad*'s theft of the Palladion by Diomedes and Odysseus is on a red-figure vase from c. 500 by the Tyszkiewicz Painter.[103] That red-figure vase depicts an argument between two heroes, each holding their own statue. The significance of this argument is disputed. One theory is that it reflects later conflicts between *poleis* over which one possessed the real statue, after Peisistratos proclaimed that Athens had it. In Chapter 3 of this dissertation we will discuss West's argument that the other early city besides Athens to claim the Palladion was the re-founded classical Troy.[104] Sourvinou-Inwood, on the other hand, argues that it is wrong to assume representation in art of conflicts between heroes over Palladia imply political disputes. They may instead represent scenes from tragedies, i.e., attempts by tragedians to reconcile the Diomedes-Odysseus theft episode from the *Little Iliad* with the Cassandra episode from the *Iliou persis.*[105] We argue below that this image may also represent an etiological narrative about the founding of the Athenian homicide court at the Palladion.

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[102] Shapiro, pp. 43-7

[103] J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases from the Archaic Period* (London, 1975) p. 113, pl. 185

[104] West, p. 238, "It was surely the priests of Athena in New Ilion itself who claimed that the holy image had remained in place throughout."

[105] If Diomedes and Odysseus had stolen the statue, why was it still there for Cassandra? Sourvinou-Inwood, 2011, pp. 227-45 discusses this issue.

The earliest references to the word "Palladion" in the *TLG* are in two late fifth century contexts: one clearly refers to the Trojan statue, while the other refers to one of the Athenian murder courts, which was said to be ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ ("at/on/before the Palladion")[106] The Lysias version clearly references Diomedes' theft of the Palladion, along with a later theft of the statue by Demophon (also called Demophilos), one of the two sons of Theseus. The latter theft seems to have been an Athenian addition to the *Little Iliad* account to explain how the Palladion got to Athens.[107] Sourvinou-Inwood analyzed the "Demophon gets the Palladion" story and concluded that originally Demophon was said to have got it from Diomedes at Troy, and later to have taken it from him on the Attic coast.[108] She argues that another red-figure vase, by Makron from c. 480, which shows several warriors, including Demophon, fighting over two Palladia may illustrate a scene from an early tragedy on this theme.[109]

The other context is the Athenian murder court known as the Palladion, or strictly speaking, the court *epi Palladiôi*, where *epi* has some sort of locative context (that is, the court "at the Palladion," "before the Palladion," or possibly "on the Palladion.") Since the Palladion was a statue, only the first two make sense to me: "the court that met at the

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[106] Lysias, *Or*. Fr. 272a, ἀγάλματα διὰ τὸ Παλλάδιόν φησι τὸ ἀπὸ Τροίας; ὁ γὰρ Δημόφιλος παρὰ Διομήδους ἁρπάξας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγεν. Isocr. *In Callim*. 52.7, λαγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ φόνου δίκην ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

[107] This story of the theft of the Palladion was the subject of Sophocles' lost *Lakainai*, see B. Snell/S. Radt, et. al., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Gottingen, 1981-2004) 4 pp. 328-30. It was also pictured on the North Metopes of the Parthanon around 430 BC, see below.

[108] Sourvinou-Inwood, 2011, p. 251. See also P. Harding, *The Story of Athens: Fragments of the local chronicles of Attika* (London, 2008) pp. 75-7, for a collection of accounts by Atthidographers (local historical accounts from the 4th and 3rd centuries about Athens and Attika) about the hero Demophon, who supposedly captured the Palladion from Diomedes. They all narrate what became the standard story: Demophon captured it on the coast of Attika, when Diomedes' crew got lost at sea.

[109] *ibid*, p. 243-5

location where the statue was kept" or "the court that met in front of the statue." The Tyszkiewicz Painter shows two warriors, each holding a Palladion, not fighting, but apparently arguing, with Athena standing between them and probably mediating or settling the dispute.[110] If this is in fact a scene from a play, as Sourvinou-Inwood argues,[111] I suggest that it might have been a play describing the establishment of the court of the Palladion (much as the *Eumenides* dramatizes the establishment of the court of the Areopagos.)

Athens had five separate murder courts, meeting in five separate locations (the Areopagos, the Palladion, the Prytaneion, the Delphinion, and the Phreatto) and having responsibility for five different types of φόνος, usually translated "homicide" (Sealey writes that the competence of the courts was larger than just homicide: "[it] approximated the modern notion of 'injuries to life and limb'")[112] The first three courts date back to at least the sixth century. Sealey hypothesized that the last two were added in the fifth or fourth centuries by splitting the Palladion court; we find his analysis persuasive and do not concern ourselves with these.[113] The judges at the Areopagos were the members of that Council, the judges at the Prytaneion were the king archon and the tribal kings, and the judges at the Palladion were called the (fifty-one) ἐφέται. In fact, the Palladion court was often called the "court of the *ephetai*."[114] Sealey argues that the *ephetai* court was the oldest, dating back to the seventh century, but that it acquired its association with the

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[110] *ibid*, pp. 236-7

[111] *ibid*

[112] R. Sealey, "The Athenian Courts for Homicide" *CP* 78.4 (Oct. 1983) pp. 275-96.

[113] Consult Sealey, *ibid*, for his discussion of the two later courts.

[114] See, for example, Harding, p. 75, item 87 (Kleidemos F20/Phanodemos F16): "they subjected themselves to trials at the hands of fifty Athenians…These men were called *ephetai*…And the lawcourt was named for Pallas." Later, the *ephetai* also served as judges for the Delphinon and Phreatto.

Palladion at a later date (presumably before 500 BC, if the Tyszkiewicz vase refers to its founding.)[115]

We may tentatively conclude from literature and art that the Palladion came to Athens somewhere after 565 BC and that it was set up at the location of the ancient court of the *ephetai* at some point before 500 BC. It certainly could have been brought in 555 BC by Peisistratos and Megakles and set up initially on the Acropolis. So let us now turn to what the archaeology of the Acropolis can tell us about the Palladion.[116]

The earliest temple on the Acropolis, and first monumental construction since the Mycenaean period, was a small, partially mud-brick and wood structure, with two stone column bases, built sometime between 700 and 650 BC on the north side of the citadel, on the foundations of the Mycenaean megaron. This structure was almost certainly the original temple of Athena, the house of the ancient wooden cult statue of Athena Polias and the refuge of Kylon. This temple was the only such construction on the Acropolis until the mid-6th century. During this period, the Agora was apparently on the northeast side of the Acropolis and access to the citadel during processions was via a narrow, difficult trail up from this old Agora. This temple probably faced east, and the old Mycenaean gate and bastion on the west side were not in use.[117]

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[115] *ibid.* Note also the inscription IG 1^3 104.17, in a decree from 409 BC republishing Drako's code: "the fifty-one *ephetai* (πεντεκοντα και hες hοι εφεται) decide that he killed," suggesting that the court of the *ephetai* dates back to at least Drako's day.

[116] It seems certain that from the later 5th century onwards, the court "epi Palladioi" was not on the Acropolis (see, for example, T. S. Scheer, "Art and Imagery," in E. Eidinow and J. Kindt (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2015) pp. 165-78.) We shall argue below that in the mid-6th century it met on the Acropolis in or in front of the Bluebeard Temple, and was moved below after the destructions of the Persian War and later building.

[117] Hurwit, 1999, p. 95-98. This is south of the current Erekhtheon.

The middle of the sixth century saw the construction of the first wall around the lower city[118] and also a burst of construction on the Acropolis itself: a new ramp was built up to the Mycenaean gate, which was enlarged and made the main entrance to the citadel. A temple to Athena Nike was built on top of the Mycenaean bastion flanking the gate on the right. Finally, a new all-stone temple was built on the south side of the Acropolis.[119] This latter structure is known generally as the "Bluebeard" temple, from a three-headed serpent-like figure sculpted on one pediment. In addition, a sphinx mounted on a tall column was constructed near the temple. Figure 2 shows a recent reconstruction of the top of the Acropolis by the 540s.[120]

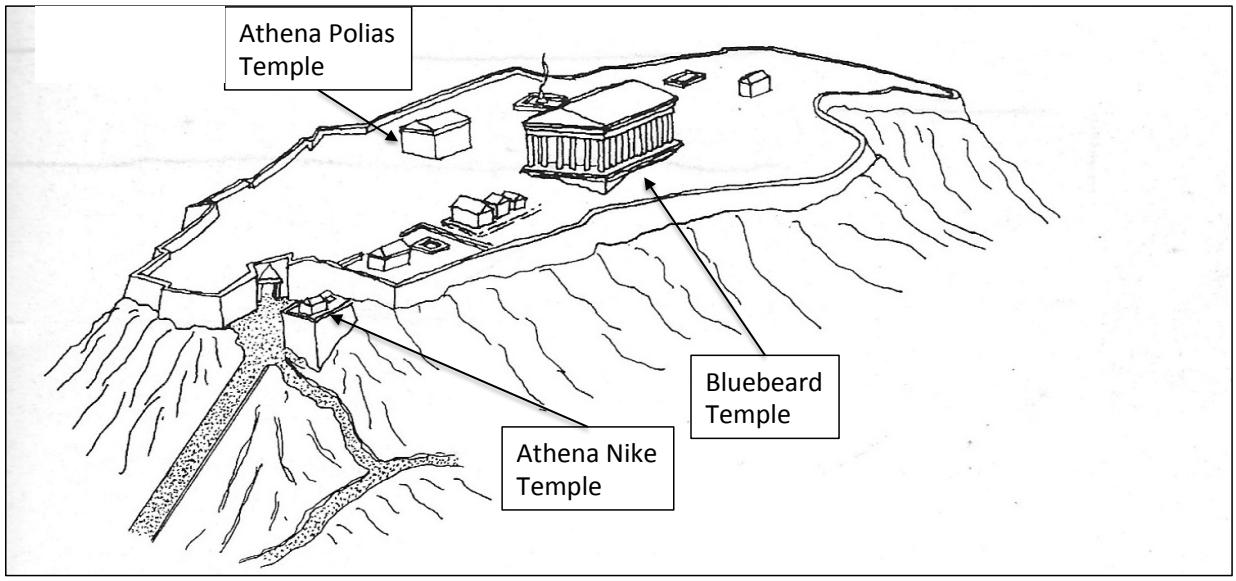

Figure 2. Acropolis c. 545 BC

[118] R. Weir, "The Lost Archaic Wall around Athens," *Phoenix* 49.3 (Autumn, 1995) pp. 247-58.

[119] This is the most recent consensus: see M. Korres, "Athenian Classical Architecture" in K. Bouras, et. al. (eds.), *Athens: From the Classical Period to the Present Day (5th Century BC – AD 2000)* (Athens, 2003), p. 7. See also M. Korres, "The History of the Acropolis Monuments," in R. Economakis (ed.), *Acropolis Restorations: The CCAM Interventions* (London, 1994), p. 47.

[120] Hurwit, 1999, pp. 104, 111, Fig. 83b Drawing by I. Gelbrich.

All three large structures were almost certainly temples, that is, they housed a cult statue and fronted upon an altar where sacrifices were performed.[121] It is also very likely that specific *gen*ê supplied the priests and/or priestesses for some of these cults.[122] All the cults seem to be to Athena, but in her different aspects, including the cult at the Bluebeard. (The sphinx mounted on a column near the temple is one clue, since the Sphinx was later closely associated with Athena.[123]) Another significant clue that the cult statue of the recently erected Bluebeard temple was the Palladion is that votive vases and statuettes from this period almost always represent an armed Athena, very like her image in the first Cassandra black-figure vases, whereas earlier votives typically show an unarmed Athena, as the Athena Polias cult statue is understood to have been: "[artists] would much more likely have drawn their inspiration from a major statue recently erected on the Acropolis than from a literary source."[124] The Palladion itself was likely the direct model.

Another burst of construction occurred in the years after the Kleisthenic political transformation. First a new temple for Athena Polias was constructed on the north side of the Acropolis to replace the small 7th century structure. Unlike the Bluebeard temple, which was constructed using large stones, levers, and ramps, this new temple was built with the newly developed pulley hoist out of small stone blocks.[125] This temple, known as the *Arkhaios Neos*, is currently believed to have been built in the last decade of the sixth

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[121] See J. Whitley, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 134-36.

[122] For example, the (Eteo)boutidai had supplied the priestesses of Athena Polias since the beginning, Parker, 1996, pp. 290-4, but a priestess was not appointed for Athena Nike until the 5th century and for the first time was not assigned to a *genos*, Parker, 1996, pp. 125-6.

[123] Found on the helmet of the gold and ivory Athena Parthenos statue in the Parthenon, for example, see Hurwit, 1999, p. 235.

[124] Shapiro, pp. 36-7

[125] Whitley, pp. 223-8

century, probably after the reforms of Kleisthenes and the military successes that preserved them:

> It is impossible to say exactly when construction on the temple began, but 506—a Greater Panathenaic year, and the year of the first great military victory of the young democracy (against the Khalkidians and Boiotians)—would have been a nice choice.[126]

Then, shortly after the victory at Marathon in 490, the Bluebeard Temple was torn down and work began on a very large new structure, "the Older Parthenon." Like the *Arkhaios Neos*, the Older Parthenon was built as a thank offering for a military victory: "The Older Parthenon was almost certainly conceived as a monumental expression of thanks to Athena for the exhilarating victory over the Persians."[127] (It is significant that both large temples, the *Arkhaios Neos* and the Older Parthenon were built in commemoration of military victories, since we argue that the Bluebeard Temple was associated with a successful military expedition by Peisistratos and Megakles that captured the Palladion.) Construction of the Older Parthenon was interrupted by the Persian invasion of 480-79, which destroyed all structures on the Acropolis, leaving only foundations and a few burned and ruined walls.[128]

During the period from 480 to 440 the large temples of Athena Polias and Athena Nike were not rebuilt, nor was the Older Parthenon, supposedly because with the oath of Plataia the Greeks promised not to rebuild temples destroyed by the Persians, but to leave

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[126] Hurwit, 1999, p. 121

[127] *ibid*, p. 133

[128] Herodotos visited the site around 447-44, before the Periclean building program and described the "walls the the Medes' fire had charred" (τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου). Hdt. 5.77. See also Hurwit, 1999, p. 144.

them as a monument to their impiety.[129] However, this did not mean that construction ceased on the Acropolis: in particular, three small temples (ναίσκοι) were built, almost certainly to house the three cult statues of Athena Polias, Athena Nike, and the Athena of the Bluebeard Temple (the Palladion, we argue, although Hurwit does not commit himself), along with their associated altars.[130] Each of these *naiskoi* was incorporated into later Periclean or post-Periclean structures: the Polias into the Erekhtheon, the Palladion into the north gallery of the Parthenon, and the Nike into the later temple of Athena Nike. In Hurwit's (142) words regarding the *naiskos* in the gallery of the Parthenon: "its deity [was] too venerable to be razed or moved, even by the architects of Perikles."

This *naiskos* seems to have been the actual successor to the Bluebeard Temple as a house for its cult statue of Athena, not the Parthenon itself. After Marathon, the Bluebeard Temple was razed but not replaced with a successor temple—strange treatment that calls for an explanation, and an association of this temple with Hippias' family is a very plausible one.[131] For the New Parthenon itself (and presumably its predecessor the Older Parthenon) was *not* a temple: it had no altar, no priestess, and no cult:

> [T]he Parthenon was almost certainly not a temple…No ancient source ever refers to the "Temple of Athena Parthenos." Significantly, we hear nothing of any "priestess of Athena Parthenos. There is no evidence for an altar—the sine qua non of cult—in front of the building.[132]

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[129] R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford, 1975) pp. 504-7 discusses the issues around the authenticity of the oath.

[130] For the three *naiskoi*, see Hurwit, 1999, pp. 142 (Palladion), 145 (Polias), 161 (Nike).

[131] Hippias had actually been *on the other side* at Marathon, after all. An association of this temple with the Peisistratids might also provide an explanation for the mysterious three-headed creature among the pedimental sculptures: it might have represented Peisistratos, Hippias, and Hipparchus, although this is pure speculation on my part.

[132] Hurwit, 1999, p. 163

One powerful argument for the idea that the Parthenon's north gallery *naiskos* held the Palladion is the line of North Metopes of the Parthenon, which would have been right above the *naiskos*. They tell the story of the Fall of Troy, and the Palladion appears no fewer than four times: the rape of Cassandra, the capture of Helen by Menelaus in the Athena Temple, the theft of the Palladion, and the capture by Demophon.[133] As Hurwit noted:

> The depiction of the statue of Athena in several of the metopes above would thus have served as an allusion, a reference, to a real statue of Athena housed below them and as a pointer for all those approaching the temple on this side—X more or less marks the spot.[134]

The *genos* responsible for the cult of the Palladion, presumably at this *naiskos*, was the Bouzygai.[135] Bouzyges, the heroic ancestor of this *genos*, supposedly helped Demophon bring the Palladion to Athens.[136]

The Acropolis in the mid-sixth century was not very crowded, and it is plausible that the original fifty-one-man court of the *ephetai* met on the Acropolis (just as the court of the Areopagos met on the Areopagos and the court of the Prytaneion met in the Prytaneion building in the Agora). After the Bluebeard temple was constructed, this court might have been said to meet "before the Palladion" or "by the Palladion," and its judgments would then carry a certain divine sanction (reflected in the story that Athena judged the dispute between Diomedes and Odysseus over the Palladion)[137]. After the Bluebeard was torn down and the Older Parthenon construction project was underway, and then especially after the Persian sack, the Acropolis would be an awkward place for fifty-one *ephetai* to

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[133] K. Schwab, "The North Metopes of the Parthenon and the Palladion" *AJA* 100 (1996) p. 383 (abstract)

[134] Hurwit, 1999, p. 23

[135] Sourvinou-Inwood, 2011, p. 246

[136] Polyaenus *Strat*. 1.5

[137] Souvrinou-Inwood, 2011, pp. 236-7

meet, so the court was likely moved to a more convenient location, but the name *epi Palladioi* stuck.

At this point, our proposed history for the Phye chariot episode looks like this:

1. The story of the Palladion and the Rape of Cassandra becomes better known at Athens after the *Iliou persis* became available in c. 600, and especially in the context of the newly "Homeric" Panathenaia from 565 onwards, as regular recitations of the epics began to be performed.[138]
2. Megakles finances and Peisistratos leads a ship-borne raid in 555 that recovers an ancient statue of Athena that they claim is the Palladion itself. (See below for our suggestion of Aigina as the target.)
3. Imitating the ritual "carrying Athena to the Acropolis by chariot" at the Plynteria, Peisistratos and Megakles stage a triumphant arrival of the Palladion at the Acropolis.
4. A splendid new stone structure, the Bluebeard Temple, on the Acropolis is built around this time to house the Palladion and its cult, and to celebrate the victorious raid and the city's gratitude to Athena. Perhaps this temple was also largely financed by Megakles and his friends, with construction beginning after the raid. The Panathenaic festival is enlarged with many Homeric themes, including representation of the Palladion on votive vases.

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[138] G. Nagy, *Plato's Rhapsody and Homer's Music: the Poetics of the Panathenaic Festival in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2002) pp. 9-12 accepts pseudo-Plato's *Hipparchus* that only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were recited at the Panathenaia rhapsode competition, not the poems of the Cycle, but it is clear that the Cassandra episode was known from the amphora dedications.

5. The Peisistratids are overthrown in 510, Kleisthenes establishes the new system in 508-7, then in 490 the Persians arrive at Marathon with Hippias in tow and are defeated.
6. Athens celebrates the victory by destroying a monument to the hated Peisistratids, namely the Bluebeard temple, but carefully preserving the cult statue in a small *naiskos*. Construction begins on a celebratory thank offering, the Older Parthenon.
7. In 480-79 the Persians destroy all large structures on the Acropolis; afterwards the Athenians do no further large-scale temple building until c. 440, but they do build three *naiskoi* for the cult statues of the three Athena cults on the Acropolis: Polias, Nike, and Palladion.
8. Under the Periklean and post-Periklean building program, the current Erekhtheon, Temple of Nike, and Parthenon are constructed, each carefully incorporating one of the earlier *naiskoi***.**

The systematic erasure of Peisistratos from the story of the arrival of the Palladion and the forgetting of the Bluebeard temple can be amply explained by means of Lavelle's *The Sorrow and the Pity*, which explicitly compares the Athenians' self-flattering narrative of the Peisistratid period with the post-war French mostly-fictional story of heroic resistance to the Nazi occupation. Anything the Athenians were proud of—for example, the conquest of Salamis—was attributed to others (Solon, in that case, Theseus' son Demophon in the case of the Palladion).[139] Any famous events strongly linked to Peisistratos and his family were made as discreditable as possible: in this case, a successful raid was transformed into a cheap trick to gain power

[139] See Section V. for the "Theseization" of 6th century episodes, such as the synoecism.

V. The Cult War of Temples Between Athens and Aigina

The only accounts that have survived of how the Palladion came to Athens are much later than Peisistratos—the red-figure pot from c. 480 with the representation of Demophon is apparently the earliest,[140] and it clearly shows signs of the "Theseization" of an earlier story, much as the full synoecism of Attica, which was not accomplished until the very end of the sixth century, was credited to Theseus.[141] If Peisistratos and Megakles actually captured the statue around 555 BC in a sea-borne raid, from where did they capture it? I propose that it was taken from the first Temple of Aphaia on the island of Aigina, a temple that was built around 570 and likely served as one architectural inspiration for the Bluebeard Temple.

The island polis of Aigina was the dominant sea power in the Saronic Gulf of the sixth century, and was only decisively overtaken by Athens with the Themistoklean ship-building program of the 480s.[142] Our earlier story from Herodotos about the raids on Epidauros and Aigina to capture cult statues ended with the failure of the Athenians to

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[140] See Sourvinou-Inwood, 2011, pp. 243-5.

[141] See G. Anderson, 2003, pp. 139-146, for the dramatic increase in the representations of Theseus in art during the last decade of the sixth century, closely associating him with the new democracy. Theseus became in effect *the* culture hero of the new democratic Athens. His sons, Demophon and Akamas, were now said to have fought at Troy (totally eclipsing the *Iliad*'s Menestheus), and to have brought back the Palladion. Theseus himself appears on approximately 25% of all Attic vases from the period. Crediting the son of the "hero of Marathon" with the Palladion was surely more palatable to the new Athens than crediting the father of the traitor Hippias. See also C. Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien* (Lausanne, 1996) and W. R. Connor, "Theseus in Classical Athens," in A. Ward, et. al. (eds.), *The Quest for Theseus* (New York, 1970), pp. 143-75, for more on this process of Theseization.

[142] Herodotos 5.83 calls her citizens θαλασσοκράτωρες in this period. See also E. Irwin, "'Lest the things done by men become exitēla': Writing Up Aigina in a Late 5th Century Context" in ed. D. Fearn, *Aigina: Contexts for Choral Lyric Poetry* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 432-7, and V. Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates: Greek History and Civilization during the 6th and 5th Centuries BC* (London, 1973), p. 101.

capture the statues of Damia and Auxesia from Aigina.[143] The architectural pride of Aigina was the temple of Aphaia, first built around 570 on a high point on the eastern side of the island and plainly visible to every ship that passed along the most-travelled shipping lane in the Saronic Gulf to and from Phaleron, the port of Athens.[144] The arrogance of the Aiginetan navy and the splendor of their temple must have long rankled Athenian pride. Peisistratos had first become famous because of his military success, and it would surely have excited his interest and personal ambition to take the Aiginetans down a peg by stealing a cult statue from this temple.

What do we know about the temple of Aphaia and its cult statues?[145] The site of the temple is on the far side of the island, 12 kilometers from Aigina town. de Polignac argued that extra-urban sanctuaries like the Argive Heraion were associated with the early development of *poleis*; they were ways of staking a territorial claim for the *polis* community, and were usually as far as possible from the urban center, thus marking the boundary of the state.[146] The Temple of Aphaia was such an extra-urban sanctuary, and cult activity was continuous at that site, along with an altar, from the eighth century beginnings of the Aigina *polis*. Although there may have been earlier wooden structures, the first stone temple was built around 570, along with an enlarged sacred precinct and several other structures.[147] This site was most recently studied by Schwandner, who attempted a reconstruction of the old temple itself and some of the other structures in the precinct (a

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[143] Hdt. 5.83, 85-6

[144] J. Watson, "Rethinking the Sanctuary of Aphaia," in D. Fearn, pp. 102-3

[145] I. Polinskaya, *A Local History of Greek Polytheism: Gods, People and the Land of Aigina, 800-400 BCE* (Leiden, 2013) pp. 177-96, discusses this temple and cult in some detail.

[146] F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago, 1995), pp. 33-45, 52-3

[147] Watson, p. 81

notable example of the latter being a sphinx mounted on a 12.5 m. column on the northeast sided of the temple, similar in many ways to the sphinx at the Bluebeard Temple).[148] After a fire in c. 510, the temple was rebuilt on a considerably enlarged scale and with the new pulley-hoist technique.[149]

Pausanias briefly describes the second Temple as dedicated to the local Aiginetan goddess Aphaia, and says that Pindar composed a (now lost) cult song in her honor.[150] Although Watson argues, based on continuity of votives at the site, that Aphaia and Aphaia alone was worshipped at the sanctuary "from at least the Archaic period until Roman times… [i]t has, however, been claimed that Aphaia was joined at or even displaced from her sanctuary by Athena in the late Archaic period."[151] The principal argument for the additional presence of an Athena cult at the Temple, at least the second Temple, is the very strong likelihood that there were two cult statues: an old, probably ivory, statue that had been in the first temple and a new much larger statue, only an arm of which has survived.[152] Those who argue for Athena's presence hold that the larger statue was Athena and that her presence represents a typical combination of a local deity or hero along with a pan-Hellenic deity. A comparable situation is the *Arkhaios Neos*, which was dedicated to

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[148] E. L. Schwandner, *Der Ältere Porostempel der Aphaia auf Aigina* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 86-111. See also Watson, p. 90.

[149] Whitley, p. 204

[150] Paus. 2.23.3. The second temple pedimental sculptures are alluded to in several of Pindar's poems: see L. Athanassaki, "Giving Wings to the Aeginetan Sculptures: The Panhellenic Aspirations of Pindar's Eighth Olympian," in Fearn, 275-287, and H. Indergaard, "Thebes, Aigina, and the Temple of Aphaia: A Reading of Pindar's Isthmian 6," in Fearn, 295-322.

[151] See Watson, p. 91, and his note 30 for a few sources for this view.

[152] For the ivory statue see Watson, 82. The arm is NM 4506 (National Archaeological Museum, Athens).

Athena along with the local Athenian heroes, Erekhtheus, Boutes, Hephaistos,[153] or the equally "multi-cult" Erekhtheon.[154] Those who, like Watson, argue against this theory hold that the second statue was also of Aphaia.[155] One strong piece of supporting evidence for Athena's presence is that Athena, in armor and carrying shield and spear, is the dominant central figure in the sculptures on both the east and west pediments—much of which has survived.[156]

However, the question for us is whether Athena was also worshipped in the old temple. Was there an older cult statue of Athena that could have been stolen? Cultic activity on the Athenian Acropolis was reasonably conservative in the sense that cults once established were seldom removed, and this is likely also true at the Aigina site as well. On the other hand, new cults were established from time to time. One clue that Athena was present in the older temple has not previously been considered, namely the presence of a prominent statue of a sphinx atop a 12.5-meter pillar, set up in front of the old temple from the start. As we noted above, just such a sphinx on a tall pillar was also found at the site of the Bluebeard Temple. Sphinxes were associated with Athena from very early times: they are found together on a Protocorinthian vase from Samos; sphinxes are ubiquitous on the very early temple of Athena at Assos; and a sphinx was on Athena's helmet on the giant

[153] Hurwit, 1999, pp. 122-3

[154] Hurwit, 1999, pp. 200-209

[155] Polinskaya, pp. 181-4, shares this take on what she calls "the Athena Hypothesis."

[156] The second temple pedimental sculptures have been the subject of many studies, see Watson, Athanassaki, and Indergaard, all in Fearn, and the sources cited in each.

Athena statue in the Parthenon.[157] So it is plausible, but only plausible, that Athena also had a cult in the old Temple, and with it a cult statue that could have been stolen in 555.

One final clue that suggests just such a statue theft had occurred is the very curious presence of cult statues in all the stories in Herodotos about the many conflicts between Aigina and Athens in the period from 600 to 475. First is the previously mentioned attempted theft of the two Aiginetan statues by Athens in the Pre-Peisistratid period. Second is the supposed use of this theft to motivate Aigina to come to the aid of Thebes around 506.[158] Third, Herodotos emphasizes that the cult statue of the Aiginetan heroes Aiakos and his sons Telamon and Peleus were brought to the battle of Salamis.[159] Finally, the act of the Athenians in building a sanctuary to the Aiakidai at Athens around 500, while not explicitly involving statues, was very likely regarded by Aiginetans as an equally hostile act, threatening to lure these protective heroes to a rival city.[160] All this suggests that cult statues were a sore subject in Aigina-Athens relations, and a theft by Peisistratos and Megakles may have been part of this bad blood. Watson calls this cult-statue enmity between the two cities the "Temple Cult Wars."[161]

There is no evidence that the Aiginetans claimed that an Athena statue in the first Temple of Aphaia was from Troy, and the earliest paintings at Athens of the rape of Cassandra are from somewhat later than the construction date of the first temple. The

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[157] Vase: D. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Berkeley, 1988), p. 620,4; Assos temple: B.D. Wescoat, *The Temple of Athena at Assos* (Oxford, 2012), p. 133-8; Athena's helmet: Hurwit, 1999, p. 235

[158] Hdt. 5.89

[159] Hdt. 8.64, 83-4

[160] Hdt. 5.89. Watson, p. 107, credits this incident with inspiring the increased visibility of Athena at the Aphaia Temple as an act of revenge, attempting to lure Athena to Aigina.

[161] *ibid*, pp. 111-2

connection with Troy may indeed have been made first by the Athenians Megakles and Peisistratos. (Interestingly, Aigina was placed in Diomedes' kingdom in the *Iliad*'s Catalogue of Ships,[162] so perhaps that provided the original impetus.) But the theory that the Athenian Palladion was originally a cult statue of Athena kept in the first temple of Aphaia on Aigina, while speculative, has decent support and fits the known chronology rather well.

VI. A Homeric City of Our Own

I have traced the evidence for the strange story of Peisistratos and Phye from Herodotos and Aristotle back to the sixth century in order to try to understand what actual events lay behind it, and also some of the calculations that may have motivated Peisistratos and Megakles. Their plan seems to have been to achieve personal power by leveraging Athenian enthusiasm for their dramatic recovery of a particularly Athenian religious symbol. In this section, I want to develop the argument I made in the Introduction, that the Phye incident was just a part of a sustained process whereby the Alkmaionid-Peisistratid section of the Athenian elite created a new "Homeric" identity for Athens. This development will take us into the contested scholarly waters of the concept of "nation" and of "national identity" and how it is constructed, but we will find that some recent work in this area is directly relevant to sixth century Athens.

In Chapter 1, I discussed whether Benedict Anderson's concept of "Imagined Communities" might have some applicability in earlier periods than just the modern era. He was constrained by his Marxist theoretical structure to limit nations to the era of "print-capitalism," terming them a "late 18 century phenomenon" and contrasting them with feudal-era "religious communities," such as Islam and Christendom, and "dynastic realms."

[162] Hom. *Il*. 2.562-3

(He does not mention the ancient world at all, which presumably he saw as even less relevant.) Helgerson's important study from a few years later of Elizabethan England, *Forms of Nationhood*, showed how a genuine instance of national identity was created in England during the sixteenth century, at the very earliest edge of printing itself, not to mention capitalism, suggesting that neither may have been strictly necessary.[163]

Helgerson was convinced that the notion of nationalism is inherently problematic—his goal was "to unmask the nation's claim to a 'natural' or 'immemorial' origin."[164] Warren, in his recent study,[165] pointed out that both Anderson and Helgerson were not just trying to understand the nation, but to prove its illegitimacy by showing that nations are "constructed" and not "natural,"[166] while emphasizing that he himself did not share "the sense that something is inherently less legitimate because it is made or constructed." Like Warren, I am quite willing to accept that Athenian identity was "constructed," in fact, I think Megakles and Peisistratos had a hand in constructing it.

The imagined community of sixth century Greece that we care about is the *polis*. This topic has of course been much debated, and it is impossible here to do justice to all the issues. We are interested in exploring one specific aspect of the topic, namely the relatively

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[163] R. Helgerson, *op. cit.*

[164] Helgerson, p. 301

[165] C. Warren, *Literature and the Law of Nations 1580-1680*, (Oxford, 2015), p. 13. He cites here Rosa Luxemburg, *The National Question*, and Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, for the "national question."

[166] Warren argued:

> Anderson's *Imagined Communities* emphasized nations' artificiality, their roots not in nature but in shared human fictions. Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood* showed powerfully how early modern English "poetry, law … antiquarian study," and several other practices "were given a single apparently co-terminous national base." Such work followed from deep ambivalences about the nation long present in the so-called "national question. Though Helgerson analyzed … Elizabethan England, his "Afterward" reveals a largely unelaborated international vision (p. 13).

backward position of Athens in adopting the "*polis ideology*," described above in Section II, at the beginning of the sixth century, and the reversal of that backwardness during the period from 565 to the end of the sixth century.[167] We argue here, following Scully,[168] that there was a concrete physical conception of a *polis* that Megakles, Peisistratos and their contemporaries would be familiar with, one to be found in Homer's portrait of Troy and embodied in several existing communities in Ionia and Central Greece (Old Smyrna and Samos, for example), but *not* in Athens in the year 600. The Homericization process of Megakles, Peisistratos, and their sons Hippias and Kleisthenes transformed Athens physically, and it also led the Athenians by 500 to embrace the *polis* civic ideology perhaps more completely than any other city.

Before embarking on this exploration, it is helpful for comparative purposes to summarize Helgerson's analysis of the creation of a new national identity for England during the rule of Elizabeth I. The prototype imagined community in her day was "empire," as used for example in Thomas Cromwell's 1532 Act of Appeals, which proclaimed that "this realm of England is an empire."[169] England would now be fully independent of any

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[167] See Morris, 1987, covered in notes 23 and 54. Pages 171-210 are a valuable summary of Morris' theory.

[168] S. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City* (Ithaca, 1990), for the polis ideology in Homer.

[169] "Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporalty, be bounden and owe to bear next to God a natural and humble obedience; he being also institute and furnished by the goodness and sufferance of Almighty God with plenary, whole and entire power, pre-eminence, authority, prerogative and jurisdiction to render and yield justice and final determination to all manner of folk resiants or subjects within this realm, in all causes, manners, debates and contentions happening to occur, insurge or begin within the

foreign authority, whether Emperor or Pope, owing obedience only to God, through the monarch, who was God's regent on Earth. It would be fully the equal of France or the Hapsburg Empire. English officials all now wore the livery of England, not the differing liveries of Warwick or Percy or another of the noble families whose private armies fought the Wars of the Roses only 100 years earlier. England now belonged neither to a collection of aristocratic families nor to some Pan-European Empire, but to God. Her military strength, chiefly in the form of the navy, was formidable as it had proved very dramatically by raiding the Spanish Main, capturing the Spanish treasure fleet, and most importantly, repulsing the Spanish Armada. And most recently, the imperial pride of England had been captured in a great new national literature, in the vernacular tongue, which was the equal of any since antiquity. Finally, the very icon of the state, the figure of Elizabeth, *gloriana regina*, had replaced the Virgin Mary herself in the devotion of many.[170] It is my contention that in the Alcmaionid and Peisistratid families I have found analogues of the Cecil family as architects of this new narrative-based identity.[171]

We are handicapped by an absence of written material from the formative period of the *polis* ideology, the late eighth century, except for the *Iliad* and to some extent the

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limits thereof, without restraint or provocation to any foreign princes or potentates of the world;…" (24 Hen. 8 c 12)

[170] See Helgerson, pp. 181-7 for the war with Spain, especially Drake's daring raids, as contributing to England's Protestant national identity, and pp. 195-245 for the Elizabethan theater. See R. Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth* (London, 1977) for the cult and iconography of Elizabeth replacing the Virgin Mary.

[171] See S. Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven, 2008) for the centrality of the Cecil family in the creation of the identity of Elizabethan England.

Odyssey and Hesiod's writings.[172] Scully argues that both of Homer's poems, but especially the *Iliad* show strong evidence that an early form of the *polis* was known to the poet.[173] In particular, at least three attributes of Troy in the *Iliad* seem to be taken from early Ionian *poleis*, such as Old Smyrna, namely: (1) the existence of large free standing stone temples to Athena and Apollo on the highest part of the citadel, the Pergamon; (2) the existence of a wall around the entire lower city, or *asty*, not just the citadel; and (3) the constant use of "sacred" as an epithet of Troy and several other cities, a word that he withholds from the *oikos*, which might be translated as "household estate," to imply that the city was a much greater whole than just an aggregation of family estates.[174] The *Iliad* has many Bronze-Age themes, of course, but it also paints a very compelling picture of key elements of a Geometric *polis* in its portrait of Troy.

Athens lacked both large stone temples on the Acropolis and a wall around the *asty* until the middle of the sixth century, so it was definitely not a proper Homeric *polis* in 600. As we have argued, the first wall around the city, the Bluebeard Temple to Athena, and a new ramp up to a newly refurbished Mycenaean Propylaia were all built in the years around 550, when a new style of visual representation of Athena emerged, probably based on the Palladion cult statue. It would be consistent with both Morris' and Scully's models of the early polis to associate that period with the triumph of Morris's "middling ideology" and Scully's ideology of the sacred *polis*. This building program seems to have been

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[172] The dates for Homer and Hesiod are just as controversial as the origins of the *polis*, but for the purposes of this chapter, we will assume with Scully that the *Iliad* dates to the late eighth century and the *Odyssey* and Hesiod are somewhat later.

[173] Scully, pp. 6-15 defines a "Homeric polis," see especially the final paragraph on p. 15.

[174] Scully, pp. 81-92 for the comparison with Old Smyrna and other Ionian *poleis*; p. 16-53 analyze the free standing temples on the acropolis, the epithet "sacred" and the wall.

initiated by the Peisistratid-Alkmaionid faction of the Athenian elite. The purpose of the Phye chariot ride was to bring the ultimate Homeric symbol, the actual cult statue of Trojan Athena, the Palladion, to reside in the first free-standing stone temple to be built on the Acropolis; it was thus an integral part of this whole program to establish Athens as a proper "Homeric" polis. Most of all, the adoption of Homer's picture of a proper *polis* is reflected in the recitation of Homer at the Panathenaia festivals, and the inauguration at the festival of Dionysos of a new form of literature with Homeric themes and in the vernacular Attic dialect, namely tragedy.

The chariot ride of Peisistratos and Phye thus represented an important step in the creation of a new Homeric identity for Athenians, an identity that, after several further transformations, eventually found expression in the Funeral Oration of Perikles, yet another scion of the family of Alkmaion.

CHAPTER THREE

The Lokrian Maidens and Monophthalmos' Trojan *Koinon*

I. Introduction

> The people who in compensation for the crime of a remote ancestor were willing year after year, century after century, to send two daughters of their noblest families to be murdered in a distant country, or at best to survive there as temple slaves … must have laboured … under the profound sense of an inherited sin which must be thus horribly atoned.[175]
>
> This is the West, sir. When the legend becomes fact, print the legend. [176]

The Tribute of the Lokrian Maidens is another very striking story from antiquity. Supposedly, for a full thousand years after the Trojan War, the towns of Lokris in Central Greece sent two maidens from distinguished families to Troy, where they would serve as lifelong virginal slaves in the temple of Trojan Athena (Athena Ilias) and thereby propitiate the goddess for the crime of their ancestor, Oilean Ajax, who, according to a myth, had raped Cassandra inside the temple, though she had clung to the cult statue itself.[177] Redfield, in his recent treatment of the tribute, notes several nearly unparalleled aspects of

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[175] E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1973), 37

[176] *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance.* (1962)

[177] Neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* mention the rape of Cassandra, although *Od*. 4.499-511 describes the death of Ajax at the hands of Poseidon during his return from Troy, and *Od*. 4:502 describes Ajax as ἐχθόμενός ... περ Ἀθήνῃ ("hated by Athena"). The myth of Ajax' rape of Cassandra was recounted in the Epic Cycle's *Iliou persis* and on numerous vase paintings going back to the sixth century (see Chapter 2, section IV, for more on the *Iliou persis* and sixth century Attic vase paintings). The tribute of the maidens to Troy is recounted in a variety of ancient texts, which we will examine here in some detail.

the ritual as described: first, it takes the celebrants overseas, which is paralleled only by the mythical tribute of Athenian youths to Minos and historical Athenian Delia and the Delphic Stepterion; second, lifetime female celibacy is virtually unknown among the Greeks,[178] who lacked even a word for "maiden lady".[179] Not surprisingly, the story has aroused a considerable debate over the years about what really happened and why.[180] After reviewing the ancient accounts, modern theories, and recent archaeological evidence, we shall advance our own tentative interpretation of the origins and development of the ritual, which will lead us to a striking connection between this ritual and the attempted creation of a national identity for one of the Alexandrine successor states.

We propose that the actual ritual went through three distinct phases. Initially, it was a local, traditional rite at Lokris that probably represented a "Homericization" of what had likely been originally a local coming-of-age ceremony for young women. A temple to Athena Ilias was built around 400 BC that was associated with the rite and the story of the shameful conduct of their ancestor Ajax.[181]

We suggest that the second stage was a deliberate creation around 310, by the *diadochos* Antigonos Monophthalmos, whose kingdom at that time included both Anatolia and Lokris, after the original ritual at Lokris had been suspended for almost half a century. He made Troy the capital of a new Trojan Confederation and adorned it with a festival like the Panathenaia, likely honoring an ancient statue of Athena, said to be the original Athena

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[178] R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) p. 93, is only able to cite one example of a virgin priestess for life, Herakles' priestess at Thespiai (Paus. 9.27.6).

[179] J. M. Redfield, *The Locrian Maidens* (Princeton: 2003) p. 86

[180] Besides Redfield, see also J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley, 1978), F. Graf (H. and D. Harvey, trans.), "The Locrian Maidens," in R.G.A. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2000) pp. 250-70, D. D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (London, 1991).

[181] See Section IV for details.

Ilias preserved from ancient Troy. At this stage the women actually went to Troy on an annual basis and participated in Antigonos' festival, where the mythical connection between Ajax and Cassandra was emphasized.[182] This stage was responsible for much of the later fame of the rite. Monophthalmos modeled his festival on the *Panathenaia* for much the same reason we showed in Chapter 2 that Peisistratos and Megakles "Homericized" the *Panathenaia* itself: to create a more Homeric identity for the League and its capital, to give the new artificial state a mythic foundation. As at Athens, the Palladion and the worship of Trojan Athena (Athena Ilias) was an integral part of that celebration. This effort was similar to the creation in Imperial France of a new national identity based on classical prototypes (e.g. "First Consul" as a title for Napoleon), and also the creation of new client buffer states against stronger enemies (e.g., Napoleon I's creation of the "Confederation of the Rhine" against Prussia and Austria, and Napoleon III's comparable efforts in Northern Italy). We shall show in Chapter 5, Section III, that recent treatments of the development of French national identity during the nineteenth century can be very helpful in understanding this effort.[183]

The third stage probably developed because of the collapse of Antigonos' empire after the battle of Ipsos in 301. The ever-changing political situation in the early Hellenistic period made it very difficult for regular, safe travel to occur between Lokris and Ilion. We suggest that during this third stage the ritual was probably re-established at the original

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[182] See Section IV for Monophthalmos and his era. We have drawn heavily on the standard recent treatment of Monophthalmos, R.A. Billows, *Antiogonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley, 1990).

[183] See, for example, E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, 1976), especially p. 377-398, on national festivals, and A. Ben-Amos, "Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism," *History and Memory*, 5.2 (Fall-Winter, 1993) pp. 50-81, on the importance of symbolically significant, temple-like constructions.

temple in Lokris, but perhaps with some of the new Antigonos-inspired additions. This stage represented an attempt by the city fathers of Lokris to "cash in" on the fame of the Antigonine festival and ritual, in much that same way that later Hellenistic Ilion used the Trojan War itself.[184] In all three stages, the maidens stayed for only a year, performed some ritual task, and after serving as maidens, they were then married and honored for their service.[185]

As in Chapter 2, I shall first examine the literary sources, then move to archaeology and attempt to reconstruct the history of the most important period. Five sections remain in this chapter.[186] Section II contains a detailed examination of the sources for the rite. I shall propose a two-strand tradition behind our sources. One of these strands—the "dramatic" or "pathetic" tradition—included a number of elaborations on the basic ritual, such as the idea that the maidens served for life and that the maidens were badly treated by the Trojans. This strand of the tradition ultimately derived from Timaios of Syracuse. He was a champion of Locri (Epizephyrian Lokris) in Italy, a colony of Lokris that did not participate in the tribute, and he may have drawn on their own stories of the maidens in his account, which was used by Lykophron and others and became the source of our most familiar form of the tale. Section III discusses the Mädcheninschrift (*SEG* 30-511 [*IG* IX 1^2, 706]), an inscription from Lokris that apparently describes the later Maidens ritual in operation at Lokris itself. Section IV analyzes the modern interpretations of the ritual and finds strengths and weaknesses in all of them. Section V turns to archaeology, especially of the Temple of Athena at Ilion, and the history of the period from 350-250, attempting to fit

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[184] See Rose, 2012, p. 159, for Hellenistic Troy's use of the "Homeric" landscape.
[185] See Section IV for details of and references for our theory of the Maidens.
[186] Consult the appropriate Section for all references.

the story of the maidens into its actual setting. Finally in Section VI I propose my interpretation of the rite of the Lokrian Maidens, how it evolved, and how it was used to try to create a more Homeric identity for the Hellenistic Troad.

II. Ancient Accounts of the Lokrian Maidens

The ancient literary sources for the story of the maidens are very complex and difficult to interpret, and quite often they directly contradict one another. The scheme we shall follow for analyzing them is roughly chronological. First (A), we will cover the earliest accounts, which do not mention the maidens themselves, but do describe key aspects of the surrounding story: Athena Ilias and her temple at Troy; Ajax and Cassandra. Then (B), we will discuss the special case of Aeneas Tacticus, a fourth-century BCE military historian and contemporary of Xenophon. The central subsection (C) covers the key sources from the third and second centuries: Timaios, Kallimakhos, Lykophron, Demetrios of Skepsis, and Polybios. We will conclude the tour (D) with the later sources, those from the first five centuries AD: Plutarch, Pseudo-Apollodoros, Aelian, and Servius. Then (E), a source summary.

A. The Earliest Sources

The earliest relevant text is *Il*. 6.263-309, where Hekabe leads the senior women of Troy to the temple of Athena: νηὸν ... Ἀθήνης; they lift up their hands to the cult statue ("to Athena"), lay a fine robe on its knees ("upon the knees of fair-haired Athena"), and beg her to protect the city from Diomedes. This statue of Athena is the famous Palladion, the guardian of the city, whose later fate was disputed, with several Greek and Italian cities

claiming to posses it.[187] (The Romans, of course, said it was taken by Aeneas and wound up at Rome, as we shall discuss in Chapter 4; and as we saw in Chapter 2, the Athenians believed that they possessed it as well.)

The poems in the Epic Cycle are notoriously difficult to date, but the *Iliou persis* was certainly known during the sixth century, since, as we covered in Chapter 2, we have representations of Cassandra, Ajax, and the Palladion on pottery from c. 550 BC.[188] Thus the rape of Cassandra had entered the myth by that time and was widely enough known to be pictured. In the fifth century, the Cassandra episode was frequently used as a symbol for the brutality of war in general. For example, "Cassandra probably appeared on the stage taking refuge at the Palladion in Sophocles' lost *Ajax*"[189] and Cassandra's rape is described by Athena and Poseidon in the opening scene of the *Troades*.[190] Scenes from the *Little Iliad* were also represented on pottery, including the theft of the *Palladion*.[191]

The north metopes of the Parthenon at Athens, carved around 435 BCE and installed facing the Erekhthion, most likely portrayed the *Iliou persis*, and North Metope 25 shows a

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[187] Strabo, 264.14, mentions that at Siris, "writers produce … the wooden image of the Trojan Athene [τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος ξόανον] …[from] the time Cassandra was violated", and that several other Italian cities had such images.

[188] See, for example, the black-figure amphora, Beazley "Group E" (c. 545-530) in J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London, 1974), pl. 93, and the red-figure kalpis, Kleophrades Painter (c. 500-475) in Boardman, *Archaic Red Figure*, pl. 135. Also see the other Cassandra vases and the references in Chapter 2, Section IV.

[189] J. B. Connelly, "Narrative and Image in Attic Vase Painting," in P. J. Holliday (ed.), *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* (Cambridge, 1993) pp. 88-129

[190] *Troades* 69-70.

[191] See the red-figure amphora by the Tyszkiewicz Painter (c. 500-480) in Boardman, *Archaic*, pl. 185. Later vases usually focus on Diomedes alone, e.g. the cup of the Diomed Painter (c. 400) in Boardman, *Classical Red Figure*, pl. 363. See also the discussion in Chapter 2, Section IV.

woman clinging to the statue of Athena Ilias.[192] The foundations of the classical temple of Athena Ilias at Physkeis in West Lokris were laid at about this time (fifth c. BCE),[193] and later we shall argue for the significance of this temple. Herodotus mentions, in his account of the invasion of 480 BC, that Xerxes visited the restored temple of Athena at the Greek city of New Ilion, and sacrificed "a thousand cows to Athena Ilias" (τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας).[194] That city (Troy VIII) was approximately two hundred years old at that time.[195] Thus we can conclude that by 400 BCE at the latest the myths of Cassandra and Ajax and the cult statue of Athena Ilias were widely known, and active temples of Athena Ilias existed at both Lokris and New Ilion.

B. Fourth Century: Aeneas Tacticus

Aeneas Tacticus, (f. 360 BCE), who may have been a contemporary of Xenophon, is our most enigmatic early source.[196] It is possible that he provides the earliest account of the rite of the Lokrian Maidens, but it is more likely that the isolated section in his work mentioning them is a later insertion by another author. In section 31 of his treatise *How to Survive Under Siege*, after writing, "here are the methods most likely to escape detection," he describes more than thirty ways to smuggle secret messages into a city under siege. For example, he recommends writing messages with tiny dots in a book, on leaves that are

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[192] K. Schwab, "Celebrations of Victory: the Metopes of the Parthenon," in J. Neils (ed.), *The Parthenon* (Cambridge, 2005) pp. 183-190

[193] See the report by the excavator, L. Lerat, in J. M. Cook, "Archaeology in Greece, 1947-48", *JHS* 67 (1947) pp. 34-45.

[194] 7.42-43. He says that Xerxes "sacrificed a thousand cattle to Athena Ilias, and the magi poured libations to the heroes."

[195] G. L. Huxley, "Troy VIII and the Lokrian Maidens," in E. Badian (ed.), *Ancient Society and Institutions* (New York, 1967) pp. 147-64

[196] See D. Whitehead, *Aineias The Tactician: How to Survive Under Siege* (London, 2001), for a translation and historical commentary.

bound to a wound, on lead rolled up and inserted in a woman's ears instead of earrings, and on a bladder that is inserted into a flask and filled with oil.[197]

The twenty-fourth example contains the controversial passage, which is found inserted between a lacuna and a six-letter meaningless jumble:

> 31.24 Μαρτύριον δὲ ὅτι τὰ εἰσπεμπόμενα μετὰ ἐπιβουλῆς χαλεπὸν φυλάξαι.
> οἱ γοῦν περὶ Ἴλιον **<...>** ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου χρόνου καὶ οὕτω
> διατεταμένοι οὔπω δύνανται φυλάξαι μὴ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς Λοκρίδας:
> καίτοι τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ ἡ φυλακή. ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι,
> προσέχοντες τῷ λαθεῖν, λανθάνουσιν **†ανετεα** πολλὰ εἰσάγοντες σώματα.[198]

The passage begins with the phrase "There is evidence that it is difficult to watch for things conveyed in with care." Then there follows an empty space of four letters ("quo lacuna indicari videtur", according to Richard Schoene, the 1911 editor),[199] indicated by Whitehead with "< ... >". Then comes the controversial passage about "the women" (τὰς Λοκρίδας). There follows a string of letters (ανετεα) without apostrophe, space, or breathing, which Schoene marked with a crux. (Later writers, such as Leaf, interpret this as ἀν' ἔτεα.)[200] The section concludes with "bringing in many bodies (σώματα)." or "... many [years], bringing in bodies (σώματα)." If the controversial section were simply missing, and we had a lacuna, the obvious interpretation would be that it relates an account in which

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[197] "Secret Messages," 31.1-35.

[198] "There is evidence that it is difficult to watch for things conveyed in with care. At any rate, those about Ilion **<lacuna>** men, both after so much time and arrayed as they are, are not yet able to guard against the women entering; and yet their effort and watchfulness are so great. But a few men, applying themselves to escaping their notice, do escape their notice "**ANETEA**" bringing in many (πολλὰ) bodies (σώματα)."

[199] R. Schoene, *Aeneae Tactici de obsidione toleranda commentarius* (Leipzig, 1911).

[200] W. Leaf, *Troy: A Study in Homeric Geography* (London, 1912) pp. 126-144.

secret messages were being smuggled into Troy inside bodies,[201] probably dead ones, but possibly, as in modern prisons, in the rectums or vaginas of the living. One may compare the previous examples of messages in wounds or in earlobes.[202] In either case, especially when one recalls the inhibitions against desecrating corpses, this interpretation might help to explain why it was later replaced by a more innocuous story.

If authentic, the passage would show that Aeneas Tacticus thought the ritual was being performed in his time. It would also show that the Trojans genuinely tried to stop the girls from getting to the temple, and it might also imply that girls were sent rather frequently, perhaps even every year. If a spurious insertion, it would only show evidence that the (undated) author of the insert was familiar with Lykophron's story (see below)—that the Trojans ceremonially tried to prevent the girls from reaching the temple to appease the goddess—he had assumed that the rite was going on at Aeneas Tacticus' time, and he thought it made a better story than whatever Aeneas had at that point. The more recent trend has been to accept the passage as legitimate, but I find Schoene's and more recently Fontenrose's[203] arguments more persuasive.[204] I will therefore assume that this passage is late.

C. Third and Second Centuries: Timaios, Kallimakhos, Lykophron, Demetrios Skepsis, Polybios

Graf observed that the main texts describing the tribute of the maidens seem to fall into two groups, one starting with "Lycophron and possibly his source, Timaeus," and the

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[201] Note that Aeneas refers to a recent siege of Ilion by Kharidemos, dated to 360, in section 24.3-14.

[202] Section 31.7 describes the use of wounds and earlobes.

[203] Fontenrose, p. 134

[204] Especially telling is that all the other examples are of smuggling messages, where the assumption is that the smuggler will be closely searched. It seems incongruous to include "smuggling" two human beings in this context.

other starting with Demetrios of Skepsis ("Strabo's source") and possibly Kallimakhos.[205] (Polybios' account is difficult to classify, as we shall see.) In the accounts of the first group, the maidens are sent for life, while the Trojans make an effort to stop them from arriving and badly mistreat them. This version of the story is also known to the later Pseudo-Apollodoros, and is found in a poem quoted by Plutarch.[206] In the second version, the maidens only spend a year as virgin temple attendants at Troy, with no mention of mistreatment, after which they return to Lokris. The later accounts of Strabo and Aelian seemed to prefer this version,[207] while Servius presents an extreme account of the first version, where the maidens are sent "to be sacrificed" [*ad sacrificium*].)[208]

The dating of the account by "Lykophron" is controversial. His only preserved complete work, the *Alexandra*, is an iambic trimeter dramatic monologue, describing a prophecy of Cassandra about the heroes of Troy and their future. The biographies of the putative author are found in the *Suda* and in a *Life* prefixed to Tzetzes' *Scholia on Lycophron*. According to the *Suda*, he was a poet in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 BCE), writing twenty tragedies. Unfortunately, it is very likely that the *Alexandra* we possess was not written by this man, as it appears to be much too late. In two places, the poet evinces a knowledge of the future power of Rome that seems only appropriate after the victory of Flamininus in the Second Macedonian War of 197 BCE.[209]

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[205] F. Graf, "The Locrian Maidens," in R.G.A. Buxton (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Greek Religion* (Oxford, 2000) pp. 250-70

[206] *Moralia*, *De sera* 12.557cd

[207] Aelian fr. 47 Hercher, assembled from the *Suda.* Strabo 13.1.40.

[208] *Ad Aen*. 1.41

[209] In 1226-80, Cassandra predicts that the descendants of her cousin Aeneas will have "scepter and monarchy of land and sea" (γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης σκῆπτρα καὶ μοναρχίαν 29), and in 1446-50, her final prophecy, she predicts that in the seventh generation after Alexander a kinsman of hers will win glory after a great victory. S. West, "Notes on the Text

The most recent study by Hornblower concludes that "a date for the *Alexandra* around 190 BC" is most likely, and we have adopted this conclusion.[210]

Our section, (1121-73), deals with the fate of Ajax and Lokris itself, a dramatic story told in highly convoluted poetic language. Cassandra prophesies that the Lokrians, in punishment for Ajax's rape of herself, will for a thousand years send some of their daughters, chosen by lot, to serve for life in great hardship and forever childless at the temple of Athena in Ilion. The men of Ilion will even try to kill them to prevent them from reaching the temple and will be honored if successful in this grisly chore. When they die their ashes will receive no funeral but will be thrown into the sea, and they must be replaced by new girls. This story of the maidens in Lykophron is probably based on an earlier account by the Sicilian Greek historian Timaios, who wrote in the first half of the third century. One of the *Scholia vetera* on Lykophron cites a concise summary of the story, which he attributed directly to Timaios.[211]

Although we lack any complete texts from him today, Timaios was widely read in the Hellenistic and Roman world; he is cited numerous times by Polybios, for the most part critically, and many times by Cicero, usually favorably.[212] One of Polybios' main criticisms

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of *Lycophron*," *CQ* 33:1 (1983) pp. 114-35, concludes that the passage must refer to Flamininus, and therefore if genuine, "the poem must be denied to Lycophron the tragedian, and dated to the early second century" (126). She then argues on stylistic grounds that the passage is spurious, but such arguments are always subjective and in this case unpersuasive.

[210] S. Hornblower, *Lykophron: Alexandra* (Oxford, 2015) p. 37

[211] "Timaios recounts in his history that the maidens who had arrived would serve as slaves in the temple of Athena, being two in number; and if one died, another would arrive in her place, and the former would not be buried by the Trojans, but would be burned on wild branches and her bones cast into the sea." (Schol. Lycoph. *Alex*. 1155 = FGrH 336 F 146a)

[212] See L. Pearson, "The Greek Historians of the West," v. 35 *Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association* (Atlanta, 1987) discusses Timaios and his critics

was that Timaios took a far too credulous view of stories about the gods punishing sacrilege, a far too pietistic approach to history, accusing him of "debased superstition and unmanly miracle-mongering."[213] He was also widely known as a partisan of the Western Greeks, particularly the polis of Epizephyrian Lokris (Locri) in Italy. He attacked Aristotle for writing derogatory stories about its founding,[214] against which Polybios defended Aristotle. Timaios also tried to show that Locri was a true and faithful descendant of old Lokris, and that her traditions were compatible with ancestral ones at Lokris. Probably not coincidentally, this passage from Polybios contains his only mention of the Lokrian Maidens,[215] so it is plausible that the corresponding section of Timaios held his own account that was later used by Lykophron, the *Scolia vetera*, and, as we shall see, Pseudo-Apollodoros.

Graf calls attention to the fact that of the two rival traditions, the account in Timaios, Lykophron, and Pseudo-Apollodorus is invariably the more "gruesome" or "mythological" of the two.[216] In all likelihood, this aspect can be ascribed to Timaios himself. As we have seen, his writing was notably mythological and "pathetic" in its interpretation of events, and he had a strong belief in the ancient character of the traditions of Italian Locri. This is not to say that Timaios was always wrong and Polybios always right. (His account of the

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and supporters. C. Baron, *Timaios of Tauromenium and Hellenistic Historiography* (Cambridge, 2013) discusses "tragic history," which he agrees is part of Timaios' style, but argues that Polybios is overly critical and uses Timaios as a "straw man" and that Polybios himself also wrote sections of highly emotional content (p. 68).

[213] 12.24.4 = F 19. Pearson, 39, writes of Timaios' "rhetorical pathos … on the misery of helpless captives". One is reminded forcefully of the pathos of the maidens in his account.

[214] Polybios (12.5) states that Aristotle, presumably in the lost *Constitution of the Lokrians*. claimed Locri was founded by the offspring of slaves who had slept with their master's wives.

[215] 12.5

[216] Graf, p. 256

founding of Locri seems much more credible than the Aristotle-Polybios version.) It merely means that we have to be aware of this aspect of his thinking: he was attracted to stories of divine retribution for impiety and he gave his audience what they wanted, plenty of pathos. It also seems likely that Timaios' primary informants about the maidens were fellow Western Greeks from Locri, and since they never actually participated in the ritual directly, their understanding was probably far more colored by mythology and good storytelling than the actual facts of the ritual at any period.[217]

Graf describes the second group of texts as being much less mythological; or in Pearson's term, less "pathetic". The authors in this tradition seem to be aware of a specific ritual that took place at a definite time and place and not just in the land of myths.[218] The earliest in this group are Demetrios of Skepsis and Kallimakhos. Demetrios,[219] c. 160 BCE, an inhabitant of the Troad and a contemporary of Polybios, says that the inhabitants of Ilion in his own day claim that the maidens were sent "year by year" (κατ᾽ἔτος) , beginning shortly after the fall of Troy. Demetrios was skeptical of the antiquity of the Trojans' account, and asserts that the ritual could have started no earlier than under the Persians.[220] He seems not to claim that it was still going on in his own day. This account seems to reflect a version of the story where the rite was annual, and the maidens did not stay for life. The tradition that the maidens went only for one year seems to derive from Kallimakhos, a younger contemporary of Timaios. Kallimakhos lived in Alexandria, so he was perhaps

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[217] One might contrast the historical William Wallace with the character in the American film *Braveheart*.

[218] Graf, p. 255

[219] Quoted by Strabo in *Geography*, xiii. i. 40 (c. 10 CE)

[220] Huxley, 153, argued that Demetrios gets this date from the account in Herodotos of Xerxes' sacrifice at the temple of Athena. This is possible, but Demetrios might have known from his own sources that the tribute at Troy had a late origin.

more familiar with Eastern Greek history and ritual than was the Western Greek Timaios. The important passage[221] is in a fragment quoted by a scholion on the *Iliad* of the "AD" scholia tradition,[222] which contains early material.[223] Kallimakhos knows the story of the Maidens chosen by lot to go to Troy, after an oracle, but they are sent only for a year, and there is no pathetic account of their treatment at Troy. Besides Kallimakhos, Demetrios, and Strabo, the *Scholia vetera* on Lykophron also seem to be aware of the Kallimakhean one-year tradition.

Turning to Polybios's account from c. 150 BCE, at 12.5 he says that Locri had the same one hundred "wellborn" (εὐγενεῖς) houses that were "preferred or esteemed by" (προκριθείσας) the Lokrians of the metropolis. Moreover, from their number the Lokrians "were going to select" (ἔμελλον … κληροῦν) the maidens to be sent to Troy according to the oracle. Polybios seems to know the ritual as something that only the prominent families of old Lokris performed, perhaps on behalf of the entire community. This might be consistent with an annual ritual performed by aristocratic girls. Hughes[224] and Fontenrose[225] read this passage to imply that Polybios thought that the maiden ritual existed before Locri was founded. Graf disagrees,[226] and my reading of this passage agrees with his. Polybios is not

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[221] (Schol. Lycoph. Alex. 1141 = Callim, F 35 Pfeiffer) "When plague had seized Lokris, because of the unlawful intercourse of Ajax with Cassandra, the god declared that they should send two annual maidens to Troy to Athena for a thousand years [… then he repeats the Kallimakhos account …] Kallimakhos also makes mention of this story."

[222] AD Scol. *Il*. 13.6 = FR 34 Pfeiffer. "[Athena] compelled the Lokrians to send maidens chosen by lot to Ilion every year for a thousand years. The story is found in Kallimakhos in the first book of the *Aitia*," F. R. Nisetich, trans., *Poems of Kallimakhos* (Oxford, 2001), p. 84.

[223] C. Borges, *The Geography of the Iliad in Ancient Scholarship*, PhD dissertation (Univ. of Michigan, 2011), pp. 4-5

[224] Hughes, p. 170

[225] Fontenrose, pp. 133-4

[226] Graf, p. 265 n. 89

saying that the "preferred" families of Lokris were initially defined by sending their daughters, only that it was from these prominent families that the maidens were selected, when the ritual was eventually established.[227] If anything he is saying that the ritual started after Locri was founded or simply stating that he knows that prominent families were said to have sent their daughters to Ilion. It is difficult to derive an opinion concerning which tradition Polybios belongs to, but his overall hostility to Timaios suggests that he might agree with the Kallimakhean one-year tradition. Tellingly, both Kallimakhos and Polybios refer to an oracle instituting the custom, whereas neither Timaios nor Lycophron mention one, suggesting that an oracle might be a characteristic of the Kallimakhean tradition.

D. Later Accounts: Plutarch, Scholia vetera, Pseudo-Apollodoros, Aelian, Servius

The account in Plutarch's *Moralia* (c. 80-100 CE) says that the ritual had stopped "not a long time" (ού πολὺς χρόνος) before his own day.[228] He then quotes a few lines of verse of unknown origin to the effect that the girls stayed for life. Leaf said that the verse is from Kallimakhos, but Pfeiffer, Hughes and Graf disagree.[229] Plutarch provides evidence only for a poetic source sometime before himself who was aware of the Timaios-Lycophron lifetime tradition.

The *Scholia vetera* on Lycophron should probably be considered as a source in their own right.[230] Our earliest manuscripts are from the tenth and eleventh centuries, but it is likely that the work is "ultimately based on the commentary of Theon … a grammarian of

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[227] Polybios' use of the aorist προκριθείσας for the state of being "preferred" probably refers to them being "chosen" in some remote, now closed past.

[228] *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, 12.557cd

[229] Leaf, p. 395. Pfeiffer cited in Huxley, p. 164 n. 101. Hughes, p. 170. Graf, p. 252

[230] P. A. M. Leone, *Scholia Vetera et Paraphrases in Lycophronis Alexandram*, (Galatina, 2002)

the time of Augustus and Tiberius."[231] As we have noted earlier, besides knowing the Lycophron tradition, they know of Timaios' account (note 23) and Kallimakhos' account (note 35). In turn, this scholion may have influenced Pseudo-Apollodorus. The scholiast apparently knows of a "pause" in the tribute that also seems to have an echo in Aelian. These issues will be discussed below.

Pseudo-Apollodorus, the author of the *Bibliotheca* (second century CE) provides an account of the maidens[232] that falls squarely in the Lykophron lifetime tradition, but he also includes a curious reference that suggest his familiarity too with the one-year tradition. He says that the ritual was instituted immediately after the Trojan War in response to an oracle, and that it was to last a thousand years. Then, after a thousand years, at the time of the "Phocian War" (generally identified with the Third Sacred War of 357-46 BCE), it ended. (This suggests Apollodoros may have known a tradition that the maiden tribute had stopped permanently or at least paused around 350.) His account of the lifetime service of the maidens and their mistreatment is purely Lykophronian, but he appends a curious phrase, "afterwards they sent infants [βρέφη] with their nurses". Graf argued that this phrase is a misunderstanding by Apollodoros of a phrase from the *Scholia vetera*, "yearly maidens" [παρθένοι ἐνιαυσιαῖαι], who as we mentioned in note 35, above, knew the Callimachean tradition that the maidens were sent annually.[233]

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[231] A. W. and G. R. Mair, *Callimachus Hymns and Epigrams*, *Lycophron, Aratus,* (Cambridge, 1955) p. 316. They cite the sixth century Stephanus of Byzantium as mentioning a commentary on Kallimakhos by Theon.

[232] 6.620-22

[233] Graf, p. 252

Aelian, in a fragment[234] of the *Varia Historia*, (c. 220 CE) also says that the ritual was annual, with new girls replacing the earlier ones each year, thus falling squarely in the Kallimakhos-Demetrios tradition. He describes a "pause" in the performance of the ritual, which led to the ritual being restarted under "Antigonos" (presumably Antigonos I Monophthalmos, 306-01 BCE or II Gonatas, 277-239 BCE), in response to an oracle. Antigonos is said by Aelian to have selected one particular town, chosen by lot, to provide the girls each year. (The issue is interesting when this requirement is compared with the contents of the "Mädcheninschrift", as we shall see.) Aelian's account of the "pause" may be echoed in a statement from the *Scholia vetera* that the Lokrians stopped the ritual once when the Trojans actually killed a girl, but that it was restarted, thus providing further evidence that this scholiast knew both traditions.[235]

Servius (c. 400 CE, but quoting an otherwise unknown "Annaeus Placidus"), in his commentary on the *Aeneid*,[236] says that one girl was sent every year to be sacrificed, and that she was chosen from the "tribe of Ajax" [*de ea tribu, de qua Aiax fuerat*]. This late account seems to be an extreme version of the "die in Troy" Lykophron story (by actual sacrifice now), but now only one girl is involved. The intriguing point is that one, presumably aristocratic, family, "the tribe of Ajax," is the source for the girls. This story seems to betray a knowledge of something like Polybios' account of aristocratic families providing the maidens or Aelian's story of one town providing them. We shall see a possible connection with the *genos* of the *Aianteioi* in the Mädcheninschrift also.

E. Analysis: The Ancient Accounts

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[234] Ael. Fr. 47
[235] Schol. Lycoph. *Alex*. 1159
[236] Ad Aen. 1.41

The apparent confusion of the ancient accounts seems to spring from two main factors. First, the spurious insertion in Aeneas Tacticus apparently comes from the "pathetic" tradition, in which the Trojans actively try to capture and kill the maidens. Accepting this insertion as genuine has led to an assumption that the "pathetic" tradition dates from at least the mid fourth century. Second, Graf's crisp distinction between the "pathetic" or "gruesome" version of Timaios and Lycophron and what might be called the "sober" or "matter-of-fact" version of Kallimakhos and Demetrios really applies best to the sources from the third and second centuries; the later sources often seem to know both versions, and they often combine elements of both in their accounts.

Modern historians in the Ranke tradition will naturally prefer the sober version, and as we shall see in the next discussion of the Mädcheninschrift, this inscription does clearly support the annual tradition. Our analysis of the Aeneas Tacticus insertion also helps us to rely with more confidence on the sober version in our own reconstruction.

III. The Mädcheninschrift (*SEG* 30-511 [*IG* IX 1², 706])

This tablet was discovered in 1896 at the modern town of Vitrinitsa in Ozolian (West) Lokris, about nine miles south of the temple of Athena Ilias at Physkeis (now Malandrino). It is most recently dated by letterforms to the "first quarter of the 3rd century BC",[237] although Wilhelm argued for 275-240 BC.[238] In 53 lines, it details an agreement between the town of Naryka, plus the "Aianteioi" (presumably a *genos* claiming descent from Ajax), and the other towns of Lokris, in which the former "undertook" [ἀνεδέξαντο] "maidens" (κόρας) (lines 2-3) in exchange for certain privileges and immunities. The

[237] H.W. Pleket and R.S. Stroud, "Physkos (area of Vitrinitsa?). The Lokrian 'Mädchen-inschrift', 1st quarter of the 3rd cent. B.C. (30-511)." *SEG* 30-511. (1980)

[238] A. Wilhelm, "Die lokrische Mädcheninschrift," *JÖAI* 14 (1911), pp. 163-256

Aianteioi are "exempt from seizure" [ἁρυσίους] and will not be "hindered on a charge of blood" [ἐφ᾽αἵματι], possibly referring to some kind of Alcmaeonid-like blood guilt inherited by this *genos* (line 4). Financial support for the girls and their families for a specified time is discussed (lines 16-17). If any of the Aianteioi wishes to settle elsewhere in Lokris they are exempt from taxation (line 22-3). There is to be a "sharing of banquets" for the Ainteioi, presumably meaning that they are allowed to participate in communal banquets (23-4). All the Lokrians will celebrate the festival of " Aiantia", which presumably honors Ajax, at Naryka, and the Narykans will acts as judges of the associated games (line 26-7). Naryka is told not to give Aianteioi as hostages (line 32). Finally, toward the end of the inscription, there is a reference to "the two maidens" [τοῖν κόραιν] and "the former two [maidens]" [τοῖν πρόσθεν] (line 44), which strongly suggest the maidens only went for one year and then returned.

The interpretation of the tablet is controversial. The word "undertook" [ἀνεδέξαντο] requires an infinitive, and Wilhelm supplies "to send" [πέμψειν]; but Fontenrose argued that instead of "undertook" the word should be understood more intuitively as "received".[239] He argues that the maidens were received at Naryka from elsewhere in Lokris, after which they went to the temple at Physkeis, which he describes as "a few miles from Naryka," instead of overseas to Troy. The temple at Physkeis in West Lokris, however, is actually more than thirty miles from Naryka in East Lokris as the crow flies, over two mountain ranges and through the hostile territory of Phocis with whom Lokris was regularly at war. Thus, the conventional interpretation of "undertaking to send" seems more likely, no matter whether their destination was Troy or Physkeis. Furthermore,

[239] Fontenrose, p. 135

Fontenrose interprets the statement in line 32 that the Aianteioi will not be required to provide hostages as more likely to be present if the girls were being received into Naryka instead of sent from Naryka. However, the elaborate series of rewards to the Aianteioi and to Naryka itself seem far more likely to be a reward for sending their daughters rather than for receiving maidens from elsewhere. The identification of the Aianteioi as the putative descendants of Ajax accords with the statement in Servius that only the "tribe of Ajax" provided the girls.

The Inschrift provides strong inscriptional support for the annual, or "sober" version of the maidens story from the middle of the third century, the time when our earliest accounts in Timaios and Kallimakhos were written. It also provides some support for certain "historical" items in some of the later sources, for example the notice in Servius that the "tribe of Ajax" provided the maidens, and the statement in Aelian that one town provided them. On the other hand, there is no mention of Troy (or Physkeis) and nothing about Antigonos.

IV. Modern Scenarios for the Tribute of the Lokrian Maidens

Anyone who studies the tribute of the maidens eventually reaches a point where they ask "what do I think really happened?", and then tries to construct a plausible scenario that does justice to the evidence. The principal modern interpreters of the maiden tribute, Graf (1978), Fontenrose (1978), Hughes (1991), and Redfield (2003), have all done this. In this section we will analyze the scenarios of Graf, Fontenrose, and Hughes;[240] in the final section I will present my own.

[240] Not Redfield, as his scenario is identical to Graf. See Redfield, 88.

Graf argues that the tribute evolved out of an ancient "coming of age" ritual for young women in Lokris that antedated the founding of Locri in 675 BCE.[241] At some point, this ritual became linked to the temple at Physkeis. At this time the goddess worshipped there was Athena Oileus, from the family name of Ajax. In the sixth century, after the Homeric stories became widely known, this name was re-interpreted as Athena Ilias, and the association with Troy and Cassandra began. At some point shortly thereafter, the Lokrians sent the maidens to Troy instead of Physkeis. He noted the distinction between the gruesome, mythological version and the realistic version of the tribute, and argued that the maidens stayed for only a year and were not truly mistreated. ("The actual ritual, reflected in the second group of texts, did not correspond with the mythical account.")[242] The tribute ended with the sack of Ilion by Fimbria in 84 BC.

There is much merit to Graf's scenario, especially in his analysis of the spread of the Homeric legends and their impact on local rituals, but it also has several problems. First, Athena Oileus is implausible as a name of the goddess at Physkeis, as nowhere else in Greece was a personal name used as the epithet of a god,[243] thus it is likely that the name was always Athena Ilias. Second, he never provides any motivation for the transfer from Physkeis to Troy,[244] nor does he address the political and logistical difficulties during the sixth through fourth centuries of sending women back and forth between a state in central Greece to a city under the control of the Persian Empire, or when Lokris was later part of the Aitolian League, to a city controlled by the Seleucids. Redfield is correct to note how

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[241] Graf, pp. 263-270

[242] Graf, p. 255

[243] Robert Parker, private communication. Also, of course, the –eus ending is masculine, an unlikely name for a goddess.

[244] He simply writes, "E. R. Dodds has taught us to understand the power of guilt feelings in Archaic Greece."

unparalleled this kind of multi-state ritual was in antiquity, and for it to involve states that were often at war makes an explanation even more important.

Fontenrose has a truly original and quite radical reinterpretation of the maidens tribute that addresses some of the problems with Graf, but also introduces new ones. He argues that the Aeneas Tacticus insertion is spurious, so the earliest accounts, among them the Mädcheninschrift, are from the third century,. He then makes the bold claim that the entire ritual began at that point, perhaps around 270 BCE. From beginning to end it was at Physkeis, never at Troy. All our later sources derive from the ones writing in the third and early second century and those are unreliable.[245] This scenario also has merit, particularly with respect to its critical approach to sources. But it is perhaps too radical: it is difficult to believe, for example, that Demetrios of Skepsis, who was from the Troad, and his fellow countrymen, would believe that the maidens came to Troy so recently if it had never happened at all; or that Timaios, credulous though he might be, would write in 250BCE that a ritual had been going on at Troy for hundreds of years, when it had actually started in West Lokris only twenty years earlier.

Hughes' scenario follows Graf's quite closely until the mid-fourth century, when he accepts Aelian's "pause," followed by a re-institution under Antigonos I Monophthalmos, whereupon it continued at Troy until shortly before the time of Demetrios of Skepsis in c. 160 BC. Like Graf, he has no real explanation for the initial transfer to Troy, and no real analysis of the political issues associated with this very unusual kind of multi-state ritual.

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[245] Fontenrose, p. 134. "In fact the evidence for the custom as described above is untrustworthy. Callimachus and Lycophron were not writing history; Timaios was often uncritical and liked to rationalize myths, and we have only a brief notice of his testimony. Furthermore no source antedates the third century."

We can derive two important conclusions from our earlier analysis of the sources and this analysis of the other scenarios. First, the impact of the Homeric stories, including the Epic Cycle during the sixth and fifth centuries cannot be overemphasized. Graf's analysis of how local rituals became "Homericized" is quite convincing. We know that at Athens, Peisistratos' new sixth century Panathenaia included many Homeric elements, such as rhapsode competitions, but also many older elements, often rituals involving women, such as the *arrhephoroi*. It seems quite plausible that whatever the original ritual for young women was at Lokris, during the fifth century it became associated with the legends of Ajax and Cassandra, which were spreading at this time, as the evidence of pottery shows. The *Iliad* and the Epic Cycle were most likely also responsible for the widespread fame of the Palladion, the cult statue of Athena Ilias, which we can also trace in pottery and in temples dedicated to Athena Ilias, often containing old statues.[246] It is likely that the Homericized rituals at Lokris were performed in the newly constructed temple of Athenia Ilias at Physkeis.[247]

The second conclusion is that we have no accounts of the maidens any earlier than roughly 250 BCE, since the Aeneas Tacticus passage is spurious. That means we are in large measure dependent on the two traditions starting then that we find in most of our texts. One, beginning with Timaios and proceeding through Lycophron to Pseudo-Apollodorus, emphasized the "divine retribution" and "pathetic" character of the maiden tribute: their lifetime of childlessness and their suffering at Troy. The other, beginning with Kallimakhos

[246] Such as the one at Siris mentioned in note 5. In the same passage (264.14), Strabo notes that besides Siris, Rome, Lavinium, and Lucera also had *Athena Ilias* cult statues that they said were "*xoana* brought from Troy" [ἐξ Ἰλιου κεκομισμένα ξόανα]

[247] The foundation date of the late fifth century, well after the spread of Palladion stories, as well as the implausibility of a personal name as a divine epithet, suggest that it was almost certainly always dedicated to Athena Ilias.

and proceeding to Demetrios of Skepsis and then to Aelian, emphasized attention to details of "history". Demetrios of Skepsis and Aelian are both concerned with historical and not mythological dates: "under the Persians", "after the Phocian War", "King Antigonos". The fact that so many of our sources date from the third century suggests that something very important happened to the ritual not long before then, even while Fontenrose is probably wrong in arguing that no maiden ritual at all existed previously.

V. Antigonos Monophthalmos and the Koinon of Athena Ilias

In recent decades, archaeology at Troy has devoted itself more to the post-Bronze Age levels, including the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.[248] Recently, C. Brian Rose, who has directed the post-Bronze Age excavations since 1989, summarized some of the latest findings in two important reports.[249] The items that are of most direct relevance to the Lokrian Maidens are the excavations at the temple of Athena Ilias, the main temple of New Ilion, and the archaeological evidence for the "*koinon* ("confederation") of Athena Ilias". The discussion that follows is taken primarily from Rose, Robert, and especially Billows.[250]

The Archaic temple of Athena Ilias in which Xerxes sacrificed (Hdt. 7.42-43) was also the one that Alexander visited in 334 BCE, as reported in Arrian, Diodoros, and Plutarch.[251] Alexander deposited his own armor and took a set of ancient "Trojan War" armor from the temple to wear, so it is likely that the temple housed a collection of relics

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[248] Many of the reports are published in the continuing series *Studia Troica.*

[249] C. B. Rose, "The Temple of Athena at Ilion, *Studia Troica"*, 13 (2003) pp. 27-88, and "Architecture and Ritual in Ilion, Athens, and Rome," in B.D. Wescoat and R. G. Ousterhout (eds.), *Architecture of the Sacred* (Cambridge: 2012) pp. 152-174. R.A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley, 1990)

[250] L. Robert, *Monnaies antiques en Troade* (Geneva, 1996) pp. 90-1

[251] Arrian 1.110.7-8, Diodorus 17.170.6-7, 17.18.1, Plutarch *Alexander* 15.7

that were said to be from the Trojan War. Unfortunately, this temple was completely dismantled to construct the very large Hellenistic temple, whose construction began no earlier than 250 BCE and took many decades.[252] The report in Strabo 13.1.26 that Lysimachos began constructing the new temple during his reign (301-281 BCE) is wrong, as he is confusing this with construction at Alexandria Troas, which did occur then.[253] Thus, any maiden ritual before c. 240 BCE would have been done in the Archaic temple.

In 310, Antigonos Monophthalmos, ruler of Anatolia and parts of Greece, including Lokris (Fig. 3.1), organized a League of cities in the Troad, the "*koinon* of Athena Ilias," to parallel the older Ionian League.[254] Its official name, from the inscriptional evidence, was "the cities sharing the temple and the festival [κοινωνοῦσαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως].[255] Robert writes of the *koinon* that, "Il n'y avait point de limite territoriale; le culte d' Athéna Ilias formait le lien et la raison d' être."[256] The "festival" was the newly-created Panathenaic festival, closely modeled by Antigonos on the one at Athens, complete with parades, rhapsodes, and drama.[257] The backdrop was "the temple", the Archaic temple of Athena Ilias to whom the festival was dedicated. To understand the purpose of the Trojan League, we must consider the political situation during the period.

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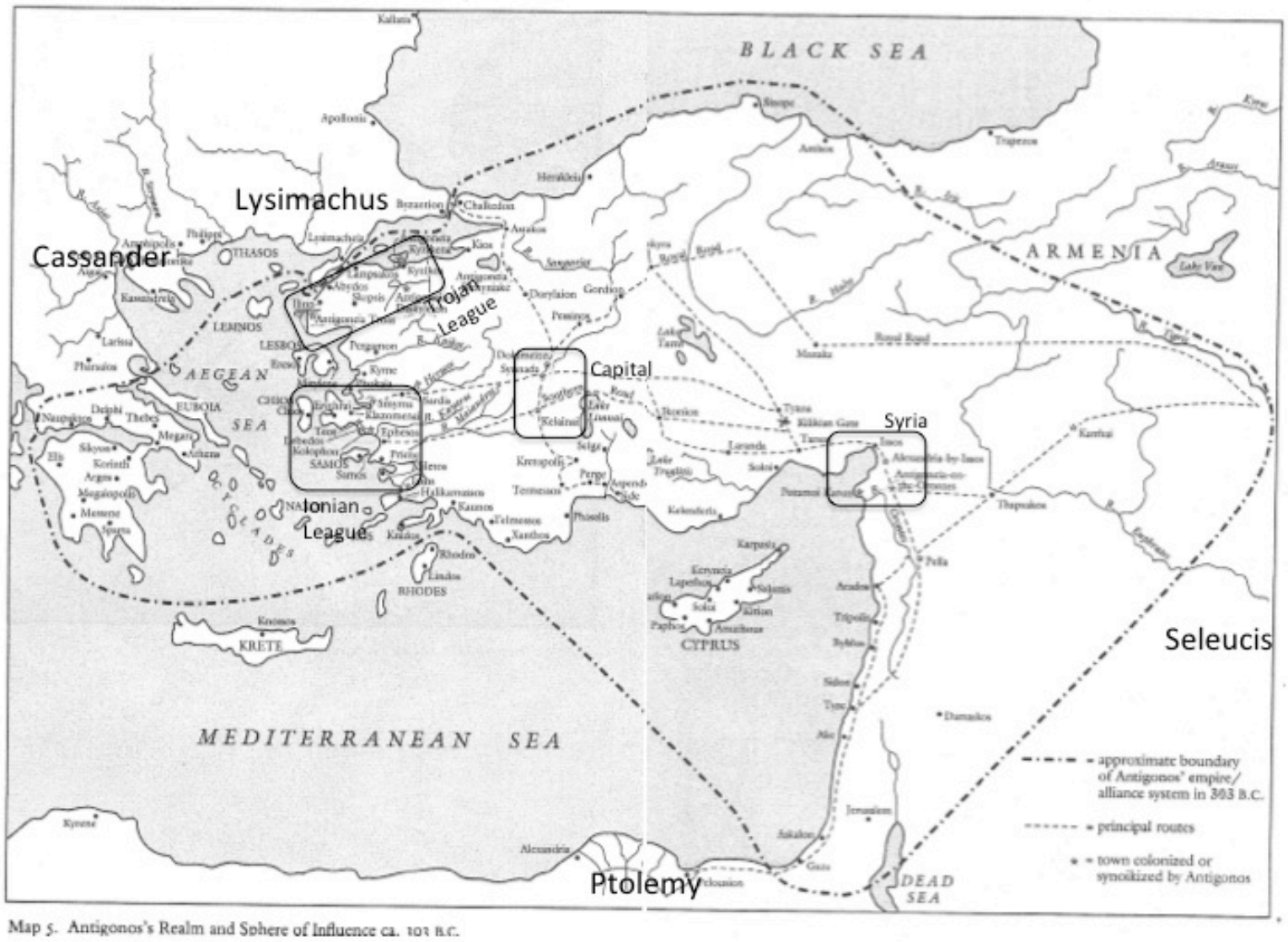
[252] Rose, 2003, p. 47
[253] *ibid*, p. 34-5
[254] Billows, pp. 218-220, Rose, 2003, p. 61
[255] Robert, p. 90, citing inscription L.25, from Antigonos' reign
[256] Robert, p. 30
[257] Rose, 2012, p. 160, Rose, 2003, p. 61



Map 5. Antigonos's Realm and Sphere of Influence ca. 303 B.C.

Figure 3.1 Antigonid Koinonia, Synoikia, New Cities, and Rival Diadokhoi (from Billows)

Antigonos faced threats[258] from four different directions, and he was ultimately overcome by his united enemies at the battle of Ipsos in 301. To the north, opposite the Troad, he face Lysimakhos, who controlled Thrace. His mainland Greek and island cities were threatened by Kassander, the ruler of Macedonia. In the east his Syrian possessions

[258] The information in this paragraph is summarized from Billows, especially chapters 4-8.

fronted both Seleukos in Mesopotamia and Ptolemy in Egypt. His principal need was for Greek settlers on the frontiers of his kingdom who could supply hoplites for his armies. All the Hellenistic kings founded Greek cities to encourage settlement, but Antigonos was likely the pioneer of this project.[259] His urbanization project was concentrated in four areas, as can be seen from the map in Figure 3.1. Four cities were founded in Syria, the most important being Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes (which was renamed Antioch by Seleucis after Ipsos). He made his capital at Kelainai and founded several cities in that region. Uniquely among the Hellenistic kings, Antigonos' kingdom included many ancient Greek cities, with whom he had a complicated relationship, officially "freeing" them from Kassander, but actually exercising a measure of control. On the cost of Asia Minor, where the cities had been long accustomed to Persian rule, his authority was greater and more direct. There he refounded the ancient Ionian League, which had been dissolved for centuries[260] and also the Trojan League of Athena Ilias. The political purpose of these Leagues was to serve as militarily strong buffer states against Kassander and Lysimachos and to provide trained soldiers for his armies.[261] The Aitolian League had shown the potential of such Leagues, and it is likely that Antigonos hoped his creations would be similarly formidable allies. We shall see in the next section that one component of his strategy was to encourage a "League Identity" centered around a common festival and common sanctuary. But there is also a connection with Athens that involves the Palladion.

Rose writes, "Functionally the custom of the Locrian maidens nearly parallels the office of the *arrhephoroi* of the Athenian Acropolis…. At both Athens and Ilion, two young

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[259] Billows, pp. 292-304
[260] *ibid*, pp. 217-8
[261] *ibid*, p. 216

maidens would have lived on the Acropolis for a year in service of the goddess Athena."[262] However, there was one very significant difference between the maidens and the *arrhephoroi*: the maidens were young women of marriageable age, whereas the *arrhephoroi* were young girls. The differences probably relate to the different mythological rationales for the ritual: the *arrhephoroi* represent disobedient daughters of Cecrops whose age is not significant, whereas the maidens represent Cassandra, who must be nubile. This strongly suggests that in his effort to construct an equivalent to the Athenian *Panathenaia* for his new festival, Antigonos was deliberately seeking a "Homeric" ritual specifically tied to Athena Ilias, that was parallel with but not identical to the Athenian festival of Athena Polias. This difference between the Trojan ceremony and the Athenian one may shed some light on the role of the Palladion.

Antigonos' relations with Athens were very good throughout his reign.[263] His navy liberated Athens from Kassander's hated rule and he was honored in the city with many titles, including Sōtēr.[264] His establishment of an Athenian-like Panathenaia at Troy was no doubt intended as an honor to both cities, perhaps a kind of "sister city" arrangement. But it seems likely that at least in the Archaic period, Athens and Troy differed on which city possessed the Palladion of Troy that witnessed Cassandra's rape. We saw in chapter 2, that beginning around 550 numerous Athenian Panathenaic vases depicted Cassandra's rape, suggesting that the Athenians believed that they possessed Cassandra's Palladion, but that by 500, red-figure vases start depicting a conflict between Achaian warriors over *two*

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[262] Rose, 2012, pp. 160-62
[263] See Billows, p. 225-36 for more details.
[264] *ibid*, p. 235

Palladia.[265] Some have suggested that the representations of multiple Palladia are derived from different cities' claims to possess the true one, with Archaic Ilion arguing that the statue never left Troy: "It was surely the priests of Athena in New Ilion itself who claimed that the holy image had remained in place throughout," meaning that their statue was Cassandra's.[266] (The fact that Xerxes made a special trip to sacrifice at this temple suggests that it claimed Homeric antecedents.) Sourvinou-Inwood, on the other hand, suggested that these images may represent dramatists' attempts to reconcile the Cassandra story with the tale of the theft of the Palladion by Odysseus and Diomedes in the *Little Iliad*, by positing two Palladia.[267] By the end of the fifth century, the story at Athens had become that their statue was the one stolen by Diomedes, which meant that it was not the one in place when Cassandra was raped. Thus by the time of Antigonos, it was possible to believe that Troy possessed Cassandra's statue and Athens possessed Diomedes' without offending either city. In any case, bringing the Lokrian Maidens to the temple of Athena Ilias to propitiate this very cult statue would be a strong endorsement of its authenticity as Cassandra's statue. We suggest that the inauguration of Antigonos' new festival provided the motivation for the arrival of the maidens at Troy.

VI. The Lokrian Maidens and Antigonos' National Identity for his Trojan League

I suggest that the tribute went through at least two and likely three distinct phases. As Graf proposes, the spread of Homeric stories led to the association of Athena with the Athena of Troy and by the late fifth century to the construction of the temple of Athena Ilias at Physkeis. During the first phase, some existing local ritual for young women at Lokris

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[265] See Chapter 2, Section IV
[266] M.L. West, p. 238
[267] Sourvinou-Inwood, 2011, pp. 227-45

was adapted to the Homeric stories of Cassandra and Ajax and linked to that temple. Lokris was devastated in the Third Sacred War, and the temple was likely damaged. Perhaps the ritual was suspended for a number of years, and this is the source of the "pause" of Aelian.

Then in 310 BC, Antigonos Monophthalmos decided to create a festival at New Ilion modeled on the Athenian Panathenaia, in order to celebrate Troy as the central sanctuary of his new League, the *Koinon* of Athena Ilias. He likely set up this festival for much the same reason that Peisistratos himself enlarged the Athenian festival, as we described in Chapter 2, namely, to create a Homeric identity for his new creation. During this second phase, the maidens were brought to Troy to serve much the same function that the *arrhephoroi* did at Athens, "serving" the goddess, perhaps by weaving a *peplos* or washing the statue or even cleaning the temple. Like the *arrhephoroi*, these women were honored for their service, not pitied. The Lokrian Maidens were chosen for this honor because of their clear association with the temple of Athena Ilias at Physkeis, and with the myth of Cassandra and Ajax. Unlike the actual *arrhephoroi*, who had only Athenian mythological connections, the maidens had actual Trojan connections. The maiden ritual already existed before Antigonos, and he simply moved it to Troy.

The career of Antigonos reminds one of that of Napoleon III,[268] just as Alexander is often compared with Napoleon I himself. Alexander and Napoleon conquered huge empires, but the aims of Antigonos and Napoleon III were much more modest, primarily to secure their own precarious positions. Just as Antigonos set up the Trojan and Ionian Leagues as buffers against his enemies, Napoleon III sought to create a friendly, basically subordinate, unified state out of the numerous independent duchies and republics of

[268] See P. Milza, *Napoléon III* (Paris, 2006) for a recent biography (in French).

Northern Italy, a state that would act as a buffer against Austria.[269] Just as Antigonos tried to make the "freedom of the Greek cities" the central ideology of his state and the focus of loyalty,[270] Napoleon III, like his uncle, tried to make French Revolutionary ideals—liberty, national independence, the end of feudalism—the central ideology of his campaign in northern Italy.

In Chapter 2 we found it helpful to compare Peisistratos' and Megakles' creation of a new Homeric identity for Athens with the creation of a new identity for Elizabethan England, using Helgerson as a guide. In the case of Antigonos, it is helpful to compare modern treatments of Napoleon III and the creation of a new national identity for "France." Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen* is useful for this process, especially in his treatment of national festivals as a way of replacing local festivals of saints with a new focus on the nation as a whole (compare the Panathenaic festival of Antigonos for the entire Trojan League with individual festivals in the component cities).[271] Antigonos had grand construction projects—building new Greek cities throughout his kingdom, establishing leagues of cities and their festivals—that were all designed to promote a new civic identity. Napoleon III also had great building projects—notably Haussmann's renovation of Paris and important architectural structures such as the Paris Opera and the Bibiothèque nationale. For earlier stages of this process, we may consult Avener Ben-Amos' important paper on the use of processions and monumental constructions replacing religious processions and Christian cathedrals as a focus of French national identity.[272] This can be

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[269] A. Blumberg, *A Carefully Planned Accident: the Italian War of 1859* (Selinsgrove, NJ, 1990) is a useful analysis of the goals of the key participants in the war.

[270] See Billows, p. 189-236.

[271] Weber, pp. 377-398.

[272] Ben-Amos, pp. 50-81.

compared to Antigonos' promotion of Troy itself and the temple of Athena Ilias as the center of the Trojan League.

Ultimately, Antigonos failed, as did Napoleon III—all their dreams undone in a single terrible battle, Ipsos and Sedan, but the identities they helped create in Italy[273] and the Trojan Confederation lived on. After the death of Antigonos in 301 at the Battle of Ipsos, there was a period of instability for a number of decades as war waged among the Seleucids, the Attalids, and the Antigonids. During that period, control of Antigonos' Trojan *koinon* passed from one dynast to another, eventually being absorbed by Pergamon, then Rome, and its Trojan identity was adopted by the Attalids and eventually be Rome.

Meanwhile, back at Lokris, there was fighting between the Antigonids, the newly rising Aitolian League, and the barbarian Celts. Lokris and Troy were only united in one political entity or two friendly entities for about fifteen years under Monophthalmos and then in the early days of the reign of Seleukos I, when the Seleucid Kingdom was allied with Monophthalmos' son Antigonos Gonatas. After 275 BCE, the Aitolian League began to absorb towns.[274] Assuming that political instability hindered the effective organization of a multi-state ritual such as the service of the maidens in the *Panathenaia* at Troy, we posit a phase three, where the ritual was moved back to the Temple at Physkeis. The Mädcheninschrift dates from that period, so it probably records the re-establishment of a purely Lokrian ritual, with perhaps some elements from the Antigonid ceremony. (We accept that the discovery of the tablet near Physkeis implies that the ritual was probably at that time associated with the temple there.)

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[273] See A. R. Ascoli and K. von Henneberg, *Making and Remaking Italy: the Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford, 2001) pp. 1-119.

[274] See J. Grainger, the "Expansion of the Aitolian League 280-260 BC," *Mnemosyne*, 48:3 (1995) pp. 313-343, for a history of this period.

In all three stages, the maidens only stayed for a year, performed some ritual task, such as weaving a robe or washing the statue, and participated in a festival honoring the goddess. After serving as maidens, these aristocratic women were then married and honored afterwards for their service.

Our literary sources are from even later. They represent a combination of the mythological theory of the maiden tribute, the myth of Cassandra and Ajax, and the actual practice during the period it was at Troy and most visible to the Hellenic world. One strand of tradition emphasized the mythological elements, the other the actual ritual itself. In fact, it appears that the maiden ritual only took place at Troy itself for a decade or so under Antigonos I, and perhaps for a few more decades afterwards, but it remained a vivid memory for centuries to come. Similarly, looking backward to the sources for Antigonos' festival at Troy, to the cults of Athena Polias at Athens and forward to the Palladium at Rome, we shall see that the close connection he thought was necessary between the capital of a great state and the proper devotion to Athena Ilias had very ancient roots indeed.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Vestal Virgins' Palladium[275] and Trojan Latium

I. Introduction.

In the immediate aftermath of the catastrophe at Cannae, the Roman Senate, according to Livy, investigated how best to propitiate the gods, who were obviously extremely displeased with Rome. They consulted the oracle at Delphi and the Sibylline books, and, in accordance with their understanding of these guides, proceeded to perform a human sacrifice of two Gauls and two Greeks.[276] Human sacrifice was performed occasionally in many societies around the Mediterranean, but is notable in this case because of its rarity at Rome.[277] One additional step in particular that the Romans took was very unusual, and it was taken even before the others: *Duae Vestales … stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est … necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat.* "Two Vestal virgins … were found guilty of unchastity. One was buried alive, as is the custom, … the other committed suicide." (Livy 22.57.2)

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[275] In this chapter we will use the Latin spellings for the Roman statue; for the Greek *poleis* of Southern Italy, e.g., Croton and Heraclea; for the people and locations of the First Macedonian War: e.g., Attalus, Pergamum, Aetolia, Phoenice, Aegina; and for Pyrrhus.

[276] Livy 22.54.7-22.57.6

[277] *op. cit.*, 22.57.6 *minime Romano sacro* ("a completely un-Roman sacrifice"). See also A. Henrichs, "Human Sacrifice in Greek Religion: Three Case Studies," in J. Rudhardt and O. Reveredin (eds.), *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité.* Entretiens Hardt 27 (Geneva, 1980) pp. 195-242 for its general rarity in the Greco-Roman world.

The compulsory thirty-year virginity of the aristocratic Vestals and the dreadful penalty for their unchastity is another striking tradition from antiquity that continues to fascinate. In this chapter, I will argue that it has a deep connection with the earlier chapters on the creation of Homeric Athens by Peisistratos and on Monophthalmos' attempted creation of a heroic identity for his Trojan Confederation. This connection is through the Palladium, the statue of Athena that the Romans—contrary to the opinions of the Athenians and the citizens of Classical Ilion that we have previously discussed—believed had been taken to Italy from burning Troy by Aeneas himself. The Romans claimed it was stored in the Temple of Vesta (*Aedes Vestae*), in the Forum, directly adjacent to the Regia— at the very center of Rome.[278] There it was cared for and guarded by the Vestal Virgins as part of the Roman state's effort to insure the goodwill of the gods and maintain the *pax deorum*.[279] But this location of the Palladium at the Temple of Vesta is both curious and extremely significant. At Athens and Troy, the Palladion was kept in Athena's own temple and associated with an annual festival and procession. I shall identify the equivalent festival and temple for the Palladium, but the evidence suggests that it was at Lavinium, not Rome.

The Temple of Vesta at Rome also contained the Roman *penates*, the household gods of the city itself, which had, so it was said, been brought to Lavinium from Troy by

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[278] For the Palladium in the Temple of Vesta: Dion. Hal., *AR,* II.66.5-6. See also A. Carandini and P. Carafa, *Atlante di Roma Antica* (Rome, 2013) Vol. II, Region VIII, Tables 14 and 15, for maps of central Rome during the period 240-82 BCE, showing the location of the *Aedes Vestae* in the Forum. Table 23 shows reconstructions of the temple. A. Dubourdieu discusses the location of the Palladium, with sources, in his *Les Origines et le Développement du Culte des Penates a Rome* (Rome, 1989) pp. 460-7.

[279] Role of the Vestals: M. Beard, J. North, and S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 51-8. I have benefited from two other works on the Vestals: A. Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins: Sex and Category in Roman Religion* (London, 1998) and R. Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins: A Study of Rome's Vestal Priestesses in the Late Republic and Early Empire* (London, 2016).

Aeneas.[280] From sometime in the middle of the fourth century, likely after the defeat of the Latin League in 338, the Romans celebrated an important connection between Rome and the old Latin city of Lavinium, which, according to myth, had been founded by Aeneas himself after his flight from Troy. When they were present, the consuls led a procession from Rome to Lavinium to perform sacrifices there to Vesta and to the Trojan *penates*.[281] At this celebration, Lavinium was hailed as the mother city, the metropolis of Rome and all Latium. Archaeology in 1968-69 revealed there a 7th or 6th c. tomb, in all likelihood reconstructed in the late 4th c. as the Tomb of Aeneas.[282] Somewhat more distant from the tomb was a temple to Athena Ilias (known locally as Minerva Tritonia), where archaeologists have found countless late 4th and 3rd century offerings, offerings that gradually cease after the year 200, when the offerings were buried.[283] Timaeus and Lycophron (mid and late 3rd century) knew a tradition that the Trojan *penates* were kept in this temple.[284]

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[280] Dubourdieu, p. 467-9, discusses the cult of the Penates at Rome and Lavinium at some length.

[281] F. Pina Polo, "Consuls as *curatores pacis deorum*," inH. Beck, et. al. (eds.), *Consuls and Res Publica: Holding High Office in the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2011) pp. 104-108. It should be noted that Beard, et. al., p. 323-4, argue that the late sources for this festival suggest that it was an "invented tradition" of the early Empire. I find more convincing the arguments of Gruen and Pina Polo that this festival fits in the period after the Latin War, a take also consistent with A. Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power* (Oxford, 2001) pp. 141-8. This issue will be discussed at greater length in Section III.

[282] P. Sommella, "Heroon di Enea a Lavinium," *Atti della Ponteficia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti* 3.44 (1971-2) pp. 47-74

[283] The archaeology of Lavinium has been reported in F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium,* I and II (Rome, 1972 and 1974) and in the exhibition catalog *Enea nel Lazio: Archeologia e Mito* (Rome, 1981). Most recently, we have C. Potts, *Religious Architecture in Latium and Etruria, c. 900-500 BC* (Oxford, 2015). Earlier accounts are Dubourdieu, *op. cit.*, G. Dury-Moyaers, *Énée et Lavinium* (Brussels, 1981) and M. Torrelli, *Lavinio e Roma* (Rome, 1984).

[284] See below, Section III.

We shall follow Gruen and argue that these sacrifices at Lavinium were part of a conscious Roman effort to create a common "Trojan" identity for Latin people everywhere as part of Rome's campaign to unify Latium and Latin colonies into the Roman state after the victory in the Latin War in 338.[285] When the loyalty of the Latin cities and Latin colonies was being tested by Hannibal, especially after Cannae, the Romans appealed to this common Trojan identity, and simultaneously warned the Latins of the consequences of infidelity, by sacrificing two of their own Vestals to appease Athena Ilias, whose original Trojan cult statue, the Palladium, was guarded by the Roman Vestals, and, we shall contend, was yearly taken on the sacrificial procession to Lavinium and temporarily installed there in the Temple of Athena Ilias as part of the annual celebration.

The subject of this chapter is how the Palladium came to Rome and came to be associated with the Vestals, and how the Vestals thus became part of the national defense policy of Rome. I shall argue that the Palladium itself was a late-comer to the celebration of Athena Ilias at Lavinium, and to the Temple of Vesta at Rome, and to this process of identity creation. I shall suggest that it was captured at the end of the Pyrrhus Wars around 270 from the Italiote League sanctuary, the Temple of Athena of ancient Siris (the old name of the League capitol of Herakleia).[286] However, instead of leaving the Palladium at the Temple of Minerva at Lavinium, the Romans kept it safely at Rome. (Lavinium was very

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[285] E. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Ithaca, 1992) Chapter I, "The Making of the Trojan Legend," pp. 6-51.

[286] The most recent source on the Italiote League is M. Fronde, "The Italiote League and Southern Italy," in H. Beck and P. Funke (eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2015). See also J. W. Wonder, "The Italiote League," *Classical Antiquity* 31-1 (April 2012) pp. 128-51. Pyrrhus was the subject of an international conference at Brown University in 1988. See the proceedings, *The Age of Pyrrhus* (Louvain, 1992), especially the essays by K. Raaflaub (p. 13-50) and J. C. Carter (p. 97-146). For Siris archaeology, see A. J. Graham, *CAH* III.3 (2nd ed.) (Cambridge, 1982) pp. 172-175, and also S. Hornblower, *Lykophron* (Oxford, 2015), pp. 363-5 for a summary of recent discussion.

exposed to coastal raids—the Romans had built their first maritime colonies of Ostia and Antium in 338 precisely to protect against sea-borne raiders[287]—and stealing the Palladium would be an important trophy for such raiders.) We shall argue that every year the Vestals brought the Palladium with them to the Minerva Temple at Lavinium in the procession from Rome with the consuls and there sacrificed to her as Athena Ilias.

Thus, the Palladium became an integral part of the Trojan identity of Latium, and the Vestals became not just the guardians of the eternal flame of Vesta, but also the guardians of the Palladium, itself the guarantor of the security of the city. Athena Ilias was notoriously regarded as being touchy about sacrilege committed before this statue.[288] Clearly the disaster at Cannae meant that a divinity was offended. Then, when Hannibal seemed to threaten the very gates of the city, the additional danger caused by any offense to Athena Ilias must have seemed immediate. After Trasimene, Hannibal made it his practice to release Latin captives without ransom, as an inducement for the Latin colonies to abandon their Roman alliance.[289] But as the Latin colonies contributed a very large fraction of the Roman army,[290] it was critical simultaneously to assure them that the

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[287] E. T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization Under the Republic* (Ithaca, 1970) p. 76.

[288] See, e.g., Chapter 2, Section IV, footnote 53, for Euripides' *Troades* 69-71, citing the failure of the Achaians to punish Locrian Ajax for raping Cassandra before this statue as the reason for her wrath against the *nostoi* of the Achaians from Troy, for which also see Lyk. *Alex*. 348-951 (the entire central section of the poem). See the discussion below in Section IV of the wrath that fell upon Siris after another sacrilege committed before this statue.

[289] A. Goldsworthy, *The Punic Wars* (London, 2000) p. 189. See Polybius 3.9-85.5; Livy 22. 4.1-7.5

[290] Notionally, a Roman army consisted of half Roman citizens and half "allies" (*colonii* and *socii*) (Poly. 8.26) P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower: 225 B.C.—A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971) pp. 677-686 discusses the ratio of "allies" to Romans and notes that the allies may have *on paper* constituted as much as 2/3 of the total army during the Hannibalic War. On the other hand (p. 420-1), this paper strength may not have reflected reality, since really only the "loyal allies" (the Latin colonies, Etruscans, Umbrians) could be depended upon,

"Trojan" identity of Latins was respected by punishing an offense against the Trojan deity, and to warn them that any infidelity of their own to Rome would also be severely punished. The Romans always maintained a "zero-tolerance" policy toward unfaithful allies; sacrificing two noble maidens was surely a notable warning against any infidelity.

The transfer of the Italiote Palladium to Rome was thus an important early component of the process of creating a common national identity for the widely dispersed Latin people, who had been politically unified after the Latin War into a single Roman state. As we shall see, this process of national identity creation was very similar to Peisistratos' project in 6th century Athens, and that of Antigonos in the late 4th century Troad, where the Palladion was also central. We shall then use the important studies by Linda Colley and Graham Parry to analyze this process of Latin identity creation by comparing it to a similar process of national identity creation that occurred under the Stuart and early Hannoverian monarchs, creating out of England, Scotland, and Wales a nation called "Great Britain."

II. Prodigies, Disasters and the *Pax Deorum*

Perhaps the chief responsibility of Roman magistrates, senators, and priests was to maintain the *pax deorum*, the mutual treaty between the Roman state and the gods that ensured Rome's survival and continued prosperity and success:

> Roman religion was national and civic, and its practice was a political issue since it concerned the entire *civitas*. Most religious activities were performed in public, according to stringent rules, and their main purpose was to maintain or restore the *pax deorum*. There were experts grouped into various priestly *collegia* who served as essential, qualified advisors, but the management of religious affairs was in the hands of the Senate and the maintenance of the direct relationship between the community and the gods

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especially while Hannibal remained in Italy. Of these, the Latins constituted the largest number and the most loyal.

> was assigned to the magistrates, particularly to the consuls as supreme magistrates of the *civitas*.[291]

If a god or gods were disturbed, they communicated their disturbance through certain signs, "prodigies" (*prodigia*), unusual occurrences, seemingly contrary to nature.[292]

> For the Romans, the occurrence of a prodigy signified a break in the *pax deorum*, a rupture in their relationship with the divine, such that the impending wrath of the gods needed to be averted though the proper performance of expiatory rites.[293]

Not all unusual events, however, counted as prodigies. A definite procedure had to be followed: the event was reported to a magistrate, who, if he thought it was significant, reported it to the Senate, which then might accept it as such.[294] If the Senate agreed that it was indeed a *prodigium*, the Senate could either immediately issue a decree ordering the consuls to perform an expiation ceremony, or else consult experts to interpret the meaning of the prodigy so as to determine the proper deity to appease and the form to do so.

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[291] Pina Polo, p. 97

[292] "Prodigies may be defined as unusual events signifying the wrath of the gods and a disruption to the *pax deorum*, the "peace" with the gods. Thus, a *prodigium* … was always a bad sign." V. Rosenberger, "Republican *Nobiles*: Controlling the *Res Publica*," in J. Rupke (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Oxford; 2011) p. 293. See also Pina Polo, pp. 98-102, and Beard, et. al., pp. 37-39. See also the rather amazing list of prodigies in Livy 22.1.8-20, including, for example, "at Antium, when some men were reaping, bloody ears of corn had fallen into their basket," and "a hen was changed into a rooster and a rooster into a hen." The basic study of prodigies in Roman religion is B. MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation: a Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome* (Brussels, 1982); more recent are S. W. Rasmussen, *Public Portents in Republican Rome* (Rome, 2003), also E. Orlin, *Foreign Cults at Rome: Creating a Roman Empire* (Oxford, 2010), especially Chapter 4 "Prodigies and Expiations," pp. 111-36, and S. Satterfield, "Prodigies, the Pax Deum and the Ira Deum," *CJ* 110.4 (2015) pp. 431-445.

[293] Orlin, p. 111. This interpretation of the meaning of prodigies is the standard one. Satterfield takes a somewhat different approach, arguing instead that the prodigy certainly meant that the pax deorum was needed, but not necessarily that mistakes by the Romans were leading to the wrath of a deity; instead it might be a warning simply that some evil was about to occur, not necessarily human-inspired or the result of divine wrath.

[294] "But the mere observation of a phenomenon considered as supernatural was not enough for it to be automatically considered a *prodigium*. For that purpose it was essential for the Senate to recognize it as such...," Pina Polo, p. 99. See also Rosenberger, p. 293-4.

> Only then did the presumed divine signs officially become *prodigia*… If the prodigies were already known or even if they were frequent and considered to be not too important, Senators would straightaway order expiatory ceremonies. These were entrusted to the consuls, who could then decide on the specific form of the rituals to be celebrated in honour of the gods, as Livy sometimes emphasizes.[295] However, if the prodigies were unknown, or if they were considered to be particularly serious, the Senate would decide to consult the experts: pontiffs, augurs, persons in charge of the Sibylline Books, or haruspices… Upon receiving an answer, the Senate met again to deal with the question and then commissioned the expiation ceremonies that had been recommended.[296]

The first item on the agenda at meetings of the Senate was a report by the presiding consul on any prodigies that had arisen since the last meeting.[297] Disasters, such as a plague or military defeat, were apparently understood as uncorrected dissatisfaction on the part of divinities—and even if Satterfield is correct that not all disasters were regarded as resulting from divine anger, they did constitute evidence that warning prodigies had been missed, and thus that drastic remedies might be needed to restore the *pax*.[298] Livy's account of the Second Punic War displays his own analysis of this situation, but given his reliance on records of prodigies and expiations, it likely reflects to some extent also the actual views at the time of the Hannibalic War.[299] Rosenberger (p. 297) writes that, "What

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[295] Livy 31.5.3; 32.1.13-4

[296] Pina Polo, p. 99

[297] See the discussions in Rosenberger, p. 294, and Pina Polo, p. 99. It is a little unclear whether this discussion took place only at certain meetings of the Senate, for instance, the first after new consuls took office, or more frequently. Presumably, it depended on the consuls' estimate of seriousness of the prodigy. Less important ones could be handled at the annual session.

[298] The Roman actions in each of the cases considered here certainly suggests that they thought a divinity had to be appeased.

[299] See D. S. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (Leiden, 1993), p. 77, which describes in Books 21-30 recurrent oscillations of religious dereliction followed by failure in the field, in turn followed by expiation. Disasters were of course a subject for immediate discussion by magistrates and the Senate, so that expiation could be made as quickly as possible. Rosenberger, p. 294 also discusses Livy's sources for prodigies and expiations during this period.

changed in the middle of the third century BC was the frequency and the political quality of prodigies." The actions of the Senate after Cannae must be understood in this larger context.

Livy and Polybius record several occasions during the Second Punic War when disasters or prodigies led the consuls and Senate to consult experts to determine how to appease the gods: two in particular after military disasters (Lake Trasimene in 217 and Cannae in 216) and several after prodigies, including a meteor shower in 205, just before the final expedition by Scipio to Africa and the Battle of Zama.[300] In all cases, expiatory remedies were suggested by experts, and policies were adopted by the Senate. Before discussing the aftermath of Cannae, it is worth examining in some detail the recommendations and expiatory policies that were adopted on two other occasions: in 217 after Trasimene and in 205, just before the expedition to Africa. In both case we find that when the Senate sought to appease the gods after a military disaster or an especially ominous *prodigium*, the expiatory remedy adopted usually had both a divine significance and an altogether practical secular purpose of securing an important military alliance—in these two cases with an appeal to a common mythical Trojan ancestry. We will find the same Trojan appeal in the sacrifice of the Vestals.

A. Venus Erycina: Securing Allies Against Carthage

> The Second Punic War introduced two new gods into Rome, Venus Erycina and the Magna Mater from Asia Minor. Both came on the recommendation of the Sibylline Books, both were mountain goddesses who found homes on the hills of Rome, and both are something of a puzzle.[301]

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[300] Livy 22.9.7-11 (Trasimene and Venus Erycina), 22.57.2-6 (Cannae and Vestals), 29.10.4-11(meteor shower and Magna Mater)

[301] Erskine, p. 198

The cult of Venus Erycina was introduced at Rome, just after the battle at Lake Trasimene, as an expiation to an offended deity. The expiatory remedy for this disaster was for the Romans to construct in Rome a temple for and thus appease the goddess Venus of Eryx, an important deity of the Elymians, a Hellenized pre-Greek, people occupying the extreme western tip of Sicily, who had been very important allies of Rome during the First Punic War.[302] It seems to have been widely accepted by Greeks from at least the fifth century that the Elymians were originally Trojans come to Sicily after the fall of Troy. See, for example,

> After the capture of Ilion, some of the Trojans, having fled the Achaeans in ships, arrived in Sicily, and, sharing a border with the Sicanians, they were together called the Elymians and their cities were called Eryx and Egesta [Segesta].[303]

Livy does not mention any notion of shared Trojan identity in his discussion of this episode, but Erskine argues persuasively that this was precisely the intended effect *on the Elymians* of this Roman move. The Romans and the Elymians had been allies for almost 50 years by this date, and their shared Trojan kinship was almost certainly a feature of the bonds between them—real or mythical kinship was a regular trope of Hellenistic diplomacy at this time:

> It is necessary … to consider the significance of Venus Erycina in relations between Romans and Sicilians. As this was one of the most important sanctuaries in Sicily, described by Polybios as "The most outstanding in wealth and general magnificence of all the holy places in Sicily" (1.55.8), the establishment of a temple of the goddess in Rome could hardly have escaped notice. It created a bond between the Romans and the people of northwestern Sicily, and by extension with the rest of Sicily. This is the

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[302] For example, the final years of the first Punic War were fought around Mount Eryx (Polyb. I.55-9).

[303] Ἰλίου δὲ ἁλισκομένου τῶν Τρώων τινὲς διαφυγόντες Ἀχαιοὺς πλοίοις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ ὅμοροι τοῖς Σικανοῖς οἰκήσαντες ξύμπαντες μὲν Ἔλυμοι ἐκλήθησαν, πόλεις δ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἔρυξ τε καὶ Ἔγεστα. (Thuc. 6.2.3)

> appropriate context for the Trojan myth… So, from the perspective of Greek and Hellenized peoples with their strong sense of kinship, both real and mythical, the establishment of a temple of Venus Erycina would have been but a manifestation of the [common Trojan] kinship that already existed between the Elymians and the Romans.[304]

It is unclear when the Romans and the Sicilians first came to accept the notion that Aeneas had visited Sicily on his way to Lavinium and had helped to found the cult of Venus at Eryx (see the discussion of Lavinium and the Trojan Myth in the next section). However, the idea that the Romans should appease Venus Erycina did not depend on this detail, only that Venus Erycina be accepted as a common "Trojan" deity of both Elymians and Latins. The honors paid to this goddess were ostensibly to appease her anger for Rome's neglect, which had led to the military disaster, but they also had the completely secular effect of strengthening the important alliance of the Elymian cities Segesta and Eryx of Western Sicily against Carthaginian naval attacks on Roman positions in Sicily.[305] Romans had good reason to worry that Hannibal's success at Trasimene might be followed by a resumption of Carthaginian designs on Sicily. The establishment of the "Trojan" cult of Venus Erycina guarded against both the divine and altogether secular dangers.

B. The Magna Mater: Securing an Ally Against Macedonia

The final major event during the Second Punic War that led the consuls to consult the Sibylline Books was the meteor shower of 205. When the sacred books were examined a very *non-enigmatic* prophecy was found therein, stating

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[304] Erskine, p. 204. See especially Erskine's detailed discussion of Hellenistic diplomacy and its reliance on mythical kinship in his Chapter 7, "Greek States and Roman Relatives," pp. 162-198.

[305] Orlin, pp. 71-76 also discusses the Venus Erycina episode in his discussion of the adoption of foreign cults. He accepts this interpretation of the "diplomatic overtones" (p. 74) of Rome's actions.

> quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset eum pelli Italia uincique posse si mater Idaea a Pessinunte Romam aduecta foret.[306]

Not surprisingly, this prophecy was interpreted by the consul (Scipio himself), and accepted by the senators, to mean that his proposed African expedition would be successful if the Magna Mater of Mount Ida in Anatolia (the "Idaean Mother") were brought to Rome:

> in eiusdem spei summam conferebant P. Scipionis uelut praesagientem animum de fine belli quod depoposcisset prouinciam Africam.[307]

One might wonder why a meteor shower would suggest the Magna Mater, until one realizes that the principal cult object of the goddess was a "black stone" that had supposedly fallen from the sky.[308] But the causality probably went in the other direction, since the connection of the Magna Mater with Attalus I, king of the critical Roman ally Pergamum, in all likelihood explains why the meteor shower was accepted as a prodigy in the first place.

The year 205 was very important for another reason, which was, in practical and secular terms, far more important than any meteor shower. That year the Treaty of Phoenice, ending the First Macedonian War, was signed in Epirus.[309] This year was thus on the cusp of a great transformation in Roman politico-military affairs: from conquests in the Western Mediterranean (Southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, and Spain), which had

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[306] Livy 29.10.5 "Whenever a foreign enemy shall wage war against the land of Italy, it would be possible for him to be defeated and driven from Italy if the Idaean Mother were brought to Rome from Pessinus."

[307] Livy 29.10.8 "[The senators] also cited in support of this hope Scipio's request for Africa as his province as evidence that he had a presentiment of the end of the war."

[308] Livy 29.11.7 calls it a "sacred stone" (sacrum … lapidem). Its color is referenced in Arnobius, *Against the Pagans*, 7.49. See P. Borgeaud (L. Hochroth, trans.), *Mother of the Gods: from Cybele to the Virgin Mary* (Baltimore, 2005). K. Sumers, "Lucretius' Roman Cybele" in E. N. Lane (ed.), *Cybele, Attis, and Related Cults* (Leyden, 1996), pp. 337-365 argues that the rites of Cybele in book 2 of Lucretius represent his actual observations of the cult at Rome.

[309] See the account of the negotiations and the treaty in Livy 29.12.

characterized Roman ambitions since the Pyrrhus War and the First Punic War, to a new focus aimed at the Eastern Mediterranean (Macedonia, Greece, and Anatolia—later Syria and Egypt as well), which was to be the main target of Roman ambitions until Julius Caesar.

In 215, just after the disaster at Cannae, Philip V of Macedon had concluded a treaty of alliance with Hannibal and had proceeded to menace Roman colonies on the coast of Illyria, planted there to protect against piracy in the Adriatic.[310] Rome found allies against Philip in the Hellenistic world, especially the Aetolian League on land and Attalus I of Pergamum in the Aegean Sea.[311] The First Macedonian War sputtered along in fits and starts until 205, when both sides decided to end it at roughly the *status quo ante* with the Treaty of Phoenice. Rome kept Philip away from its Illyrian colonies and Attalus generally did well in the Aegean, gaining Aegina, but Macedonian forces mostly won on land against the Aetolians. At the conclusion of the war, Scipio prepared to invade Africa and finally end the war with Hannibal. The interpretation of the prodigy of 205 must be understood in this political-military context.

The most important character in the expiatory remedy of the Magna Mater was Attalus I, king of Pergamum.[312] He had been the most successful Roman ally in the First Macedonian War, and the threat of his fleet in the Aegean had kept Philip from deploying his full forces against either Illyria or Aetolia. He had gained from the Treaty of Phoenice

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[310] Livy 23.33 describes the alliance between Philip and Hannibal concluded after Cannae.

[311] J. E. Lazenby, *Hannibal's War: a Military History of the Second Punic War* (Norman, OK, 1998) pp. 157-193 and Goldworthy, pp. 253-60, are good accounts of the First Macedonian War in the context of the war against Hannibal.

[312] Most of this analysis is taken from Erskine, pp. 205-24. I found especially convincing his analysis of (1) the Trojan element in the Magna Mater episode, despite its absence in Livy and Attalus' own tenuous connections with Troy, and (2) the comparison of Rome's use of putative Trojan ancestry primarily as a diplomatic tool for dealing with potential Hellenistic allies instead of as an element of Rome's own national identity.

and had every incentive to preserve it and keep Philip observing it. Attalus had ambitions in Anatolia, particularly against the Seleucid Kingdom, which controlled much of the central area along with the southern coast. Rome was able to satisfy Attalid ambitions thirteen years later with the Roman Seleucid War, after which Rome left Pergamum in control of the bulk of Anatolia until 133, when Attalus I's grandson, Attalus III, willed his kingdom to Rome. But Attalus I's relations with the cities of the Troad are somewhat obscure:

> The exact status of the cities of Troad has been the subject of much discussion. Probably they were allies rather than direct subjects, although this is a distinction that in practice would have been fairly fine. Attalos laid claim not only to the contemporary Troad, but also to the Trojan past, or at least part of it.[313]

We may assume that the Attalids were the inheritors of Monophthalmos' efforts to create a "Homeric" identity for the cities of the Troad, and by extension the entire kingdom, one centered around the temple of Athena Ilias.[314] For example, the signatories of the Treaty of Phoenice included both Attalus and the small state of Ilium.[315] Eskine suggests that this very small polis was added to the treaty at Attalus' suggestion, precisely to point to the Trojan past that Rome putatively shared, a past that was further confirmed by the Magna Mater episode:

> It is hard to see a role for Ilion here except as a representative of the Trojan past, a past to which both Pergamon and Rome could lay claim. When the Magna Mater made its way to Rome courtesy of Attalos, it came with the epithet *Idaea* attached; the cult was thus shaped to embrace both Pergamon

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[313] Erskine, p. 219. Attalus' dynasty claimed descent from the Arcadian Telephus through his son Eurypylus, from his wife Laodice, the daughter of Priam. Eurypylus fought for the Trojans, and the Attalids claimed Trojan royal ancestry.

[314] C. B. Rose, the excavator of Hellenistic Ilion, in his *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy* (Cambridge: 2013), p. 185, writes that there were significant connections between the Attalids, as far back as Attalus I, and the temple of Athena Ilias, likely including financing. The later Attalids continued this identification—a statue of Eumenes II was erected in the sanctuary itself, for example.

[315] Livy 29.12.14

> and Troy. The Magna Mater offered a cult shared between Pergamon and Rome that could confirm and reinforce the political relationship established by joint participation in the First Macedonian War and the agreement which followed it. Trojan mythology and kinship tied the whole package together. Thus the relationship between Pergamon and Rome operated on several different planes, political, religious, and mythological, while the shared cult and shared mythology carried overtones of kinship. All this brought Pergamon and Rome closer together.[316]

Importantly, although Livy does not include any "Trojan" reference in his account of the Magna Mater episode, he does call her "Mater Idaea," which implies a connection with Mt. Ida in the Troad, and Cicero also calls her that c. 70,[317] suggesting that this epithet, and thus her Trojan identity, antedates any Caesarian propaganda and likely goes back to 205.

Even though the war with Macedon was (temporarily) over, Rome was still in need of a military ally to keep Philip in line while the bulk of the Roman Army went to Africa with Scipio. Just as the expiation of Venus Erycina helped secure an ally against a Carthaginian stab in the back while the Romans confronted Hannibal after Trasimene, so the expiation of the Magna Mater surely helped secure an ally against a Macedonian stab in the back during the African campaign.[318] Then, after Rome finished with Carthage in 201, the Senate resolved to put an end to the Macedonian problem. Flamininus defeated Philip in the Second Macedonian War (200-196) with Attalus as an essential ally.[319] Although Attalus I died in 197, the Romans fought alongside his son Eumenes during the successful Roman-Seleucid War (192-188). During this campaign, L. Scipio ostentatiously sacrificed to Athena Ilias at her temple at Troy, likely a statement of shared Trojan ancestry with

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[316] Erskine, p. 222

[317] Cic. II *Verr*. 5.186 with 4.97

[318] Orlin, pp. 76-82 discusses the Magna Mater episode, reaching the same basic conclusion that I have: noting the recently concluded First Macedonian War, the danger of Philip to Rome, and the important of Attalus as an ally.

[319] See E. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, Vol. II (Berkeley, 1984) pp. 382-98 and references therein.

Pergamum.[320] The resulting Peace of Apamea in 188 gave the Attalids control of most of Anatolia.[321]

It is worth noting the common themes of the Venus Erycina and Magna Mater episodes. In both cases, Roman diplomacy, adopting conventional Hellenistic tropes, used a common mythological kinship to strengthen an important military alliance. However, in both cases, the mythological Trojan ancestry was almost certainly more important to the non-Roman party than to Rome's own identity. The Romans used "Trojan-ness" instrumentally with other parties:

> In both instances the emphasis on Trojan ancestry reflects the Greek perspective, the Greek way of looking at the transaction… But Trojan ancestry is not yet an integral part of the Roman self-image and thus the way the introduction of these gods is perceived in Rome itself is quite different. Livy's account is probably closest to the third-century Roman outlook…[322]

When we look at Cannae, we will also find there a Trojan connection that was more important to an ally than to Rome, but an ally that was critical to Roman military success: namely, the Latin colonies. But to understand the connection between the Latin colonies and Troy, we must explore the nature of the Trojan myth, how it came to Italy, and how it came to be associated with the Vestal Virgins.

III. Vestals, Lavinium, and the Trojan Myth of Latins

From the previous cases—the inaugurations of the cults of Venus Erycina after Trasimene and of the Magna Mater just before the Africa campaign—it is altogether plausible that the expiatory remedy of the Vestals' sacrifice had a similar dual purpose, to appease an offended deity and practically to strengthen a military alliance against

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[320] Livy 37.37.2-3
[321] See Gruen, pp. 620-44 and references therein.
[322] Erskine, p. 224

Hannibal. The nature of the expiation suggests that the offended deity was one closely associated with the Vestals, and there were two such deities: Vesta herself and Athena Ilias, the deity of the Palladium, which was guarded by the Vestals. Vesta herself was a peaceful deity not associated with Troy. Athena Ilias, on the other hand, most definitely was both warlike and quintessentially Trojan. In our first two cases of expiation the practical appeal was the carrot: spending Roman money and time honoring a basically foreign deity with an expensive temple and ritual. In the case of the Vestals, however, while the divine purpose of the sacrifice was likely to appease a shared angry deity, the practical effect included a heavy stick: a severe warning against the consequences of infidelity to Rome. The most important allies in the period after Cannae were the Latin colonies that Hannibal was deliberately courting with his immediate release policy, allies who, as we said above, contributed half the soldiers in the Roman Army.[323]

Our thesis addresses the formation of national identity in the ancient world, and in this context the identity of "Latins," especially the Latin colonies, in the period from 338-202 is very interesting. Erich Gruen argued that this Latin identity was consciously shaped and propagated by Rome after the Latin War to encourage solidarity with Rome, and that it was largely based on a myth of common Trojan origin.[324] We find this interpretation to be very persuasive, although, as we shall see, it must be partially tempered by the cautions of Erskine that the Trojan myth was used by Romans almost entirely in their dealings with

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[323] For the Latin colonies set up after the end of the Latin War in 338, see Salmon, pp. 55-94. For the "Old Latins" (*prisci Latini*), that is, the original inhabitants of Latium, who were a small minority of Latin speakers by 216, see A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor, 1963), for an interpretative survey that largely accepts the traditional account. For a more recent version, consult T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (London, 1995) pp. 293-304. For a more skeptical analysis of these traditions, see G. Forsythe, *A Critical History of Early Rome* (Berkeley, 2005) pp. 183-92.

[324] Gruen, 1992, pp. 28-9.

Latin colonies, not inside Rome itself, and that the period of its use was confined primarily to 338-202.[325] The later re-emergence of this myth after 50 BC was driven by the political ascendency of the Julii.[326]

This section focuses on the origins of the Trojan myth of Latin origins, and particularly the place of the Latin city Lavinium in this story. Here we draw on the previously cited works of Gruen and Erskine along with recent archaeological excavations at Lavinium. I shall show that the Trojan cult at Lavinium goes back to at least the fourth century, according to the earliest Greek sources, and can be associated by archaeology with a temple and a reconstructed tomb. We will largely follow Gruen and argue that the Trojan myth was actively promoted by Rome among the Latins after its 338 victory in the Latin War, and that it was connected to an annual festival at Lavinium celebrating the *penates* of Troy, the tomb of Aeneas, and a temple of Athena Ilias, locally known as Minerva Tritonia.

A. Latium and the Trojan Myth

In order to understand why a sacrifice designed to appease Trojan Athena would evoke a common heritage with Rome's Latin allies, we must examine the origins and growth of the "Trojan Myth": the story that voyagers from Troy had come to Italy shortly after the Trojan War, both Greeks from the winning side and Trojan losers, and there established important cults and institutions, especially in Latium.

The myths of refugees from Troy in the West are only a subset of an extensive genre of Greek stories about the heroic age that center around famous wanderers and their adventures. These stories are quite old—the *Odyssey* is one of the earliest and certainly the

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[325] Erskine, pp. 15-43, 143-148, 168-185
[326] *ibid*. pp. 17-23

most influential. The *Nostoi*, a very early poem from the Epic Cycle, collected a number of such stories about the returns of Achaean heroes from Troy.[327] Erskine notes that the stories of Trojan refugees in the West should be understood in this context of heroic wanderers.[328]

The earliest Greek accounts of Trojans in the West are from the fifth century. Hecataeus supposedly claimed that Capua in Campania was named after the Trojan Kapys. Pindar's *Pythian V* has the sons of Priam's counsellor Antenor in Cyrene. Herodotus reports that the Libyan tribe Maxyes claimed they were descended from Trojans. Thucydides, as mentioned above, wrote that the Elymeans of western Sicily were Trojan refugees. Finally, in Euripides' *Andromache*, Cassandra's twin brother Helenus travels to Epiros and marries Andromache after Neoptolemus' death, thereby fathering part of the Epirote peoples.[329]

However, most stories of Trojans in the West were "either created or amplified" by western Greek writers themselves, especially Sicilians, during the third century.

> For western Greeks, the stories of heroic wanderers after the Trojan War held special appeal. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that Sicilian writers cultivated the tale of Trojans voyaging west. … They served as pivotal transmitters and formulators.[330]

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[327] M.L. West, *The Epic Cycle* (Oxford, 2013) p. 250, assigns the Nostoi to "the last quarter of the seventh century."

[328] Erskine, p. 135, "Cityless, these survivors of the war had no choice but to wander. Aineias is the most famous of them, but there are many other stories of migrant Trojans…" See also I. Malkin, *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley, 1998), especially Chapter 7, pp. 210-33, which discusses Siris. F. Hartog, trans. by J. Lloyd, *Memories of Odysseus* (Chicago, 2001) is less useful for our purposes, but worth reading.

[329] Hekatios FGrH 1F62 (Steph. Byz.); Pind. *Pyth*. 5.82-8; Hdt. 4.191; Thuc. 6.2.3; Eur. *Andr*. 1243-52 with schol. on 1254.

[330] Gruen 1992, p. 14-15. Gruen also notes the Thucydides 6.2.3 reference mentioned earlier to argue that by the fifth century at the latest "Sicilian traditions have Trojans reaching their island."

For our purposes, the most important of these Sicilian writers were the historian Timaeus of Tauromenium (mid 3rd c.) and the epic poet Lycophron (late 3rd c.). They provide our earliest continuous descriptions of the myths of Trojans in the West during the period from 300-200, particularly of Trojans in Latium, and they are almost contemporaneous with the sacrifice of the Vestals. Timaeus is especially important because he visited Latium, and knew a tradition of Trojans at Lavinium. The somewhat later Lycophron knew a much more complete story of Aeneas in Lavinium (a story he may have derived partially from Timaeus). He will also be important in the next section when we discuss the Palladium.

The gap between Thucydides' fifth century account of Trojans in Sicily and Timaeus' third century story of Trojans in Latium contains the critical 60-year period from the Latin War of 340-338 through the Second and Third Samnite Wars to the outbreak of the Pyrrhus War of 277-260. During this period, Rome defeated the Latin League, dissolved it and created a network of loyal Latin colonies, and then with the help of legions from these colonies, defeated the Samnites and took the area of Roman hegemony to the very borders of the Greek poleis around the Gulf of Taranto (see below, subsection E). Gruen, I think correctly, identifies this period as the one where the Trojan myth became central to the identity of Latin colonies. The next subsections outline this theory.

B. The Trojan Myth in Timaeus

The earliest mention of Trojans in Latium is to be found in Fragment 59 of Timaeus, written in the first half of the third century BC and quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[331] Timaeus seems to have visited Lavinium, where he was told by the locals that there were

[331] *FGrH* 566F59 = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.67.4. See especially C. Baron, *Timaeus of Tauromenium and Hellenistic Historiography* (Cambridge, 2013) for the most recent analysis of this writer.

sacred objects stored in their sanctuary, including a "Trojan ceramic vessel" (κέραμον Τρῳκὸν):

> Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὧδε ἀποφαίνεται; κηρύκεια σιδηρᾶ καὶ χαλκᾶ καὶ κέραμον Τρῳκὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν Λαουινίῳ κείμενα ἱερά, πυθέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων.[332]

Dionysius is himself convinced that the objects referred to are the "Penates," but since he prefaces his citation with a list of Greek words for Penates, it seems likely that Timaeus did not write this word, or even know of it.[333]

Timaeus' familiarity with stories of the supposed Trojan past of Rome, and thus of the Latins, we can also infer from Polybius' coverage of Timaeus' account of the "Trojan" origin of the Roman sacrifice of the October Horse.[334] Polybius denounces Timaeus in typical fashion for his credulity in believing this story.[335] (See Chapter 3, Section II.C for more examples of Polybius' low opinion of Timaeus' scholarship). Here Timaeus argues (to the scorn of Polybius) that the Horse Sacrifice was done as "memorial of the destruction of Ilium":

> καὶ μὴν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Πύρρου πάλιν φησὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔτι νῦν ὑπόμνημα ποιουμένους τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἴλιον ἀπωλείας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τινὶ κατακοντίζειν ἵππον

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[332] "The writer Timaeus says that the sacred objects lying in the innermost sanctuary at Lavinium are iron and bronze herald's wands and a Trojan ceramic vessel; he says he learned this from the locals." (Baron, p. 47).

[333] Erskine, p. 144

[334] C. B.Pascal, "October Horse," *HSCP* 85 (1981) pp. 262-91 examines the sacrifice of the October Horse in some detail, and casts a skeptical eye on earlier theories, especially its alleged Indo-European antecedents.

[335] *FGrH* 566F36 = Polyb. 12.4.b

> πολεμιστὴν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ Κάμπῳ καλουμένῳ, διὰ τὸ τῆς Τροὶας τὴν ἅλωσιν διὰ τὸν ἵππον γενέσθαι τὸν δούριον προσαγορευόμενον.[336]

The remaining fragments of Timaeus that refer to Rome do not mention the Trojan legend.[337]

C. The Trojan Myth in Lycophron

Our most complete early source for the Trojan Myth is Lycophron's *Alexandra*, a complete Hellenistic poem, written in iambic trimeter, the main meter of classical tragedy, apparently composed somewhat later than Timaeus and using him as a source.[338] Hornblower dates the poem to c. 200-190, immediately after the Second Punic War, which means that the author cannot be the tragedian Lycophron, who lived in the early 3rd century; we will however continue to refer to him as "Lycophron".[339]

The dating of Lycophron is extremely significant because of the remarkable "Trojanness" of the poem—Alexandra (Cassandra), the ostensible narrator, is of course herself the Trojan princess whose rape by Ajax constitutes an episode that is central to both of our previous chapters. Lycophron knows of the Trojan origins of the Elymians and

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[336] "And in his work on Pyrrhus again he [Timaeus] says that the Romans even now preserve the memory of the destruction of Ilium, on a certain day shooting down a war horse before the city in the area called the Campus, because the capture of Troy was effected by means of the so-called wooden horse." (Baron, p. 45)

[337] *FGrH* 566F60 = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.74.1 discusses the founding of Rome, which Timaeus says happened in the same year as the founding of Carthage. *FGrH* 566F61 = Pliny H.N. 33.42-3 discusses Roman coinage.

[338] I have based my discussion of the *Alexandra* primarily on the most recent complete study of the poem, S. Hornblower, *Lycophron: Alexandra, Greek Text, Translation, Commentary, and Introduction* (Oxford, 2015). Less useful for our purposes is C. McNelis and A. Sens, *The Alexandra of Lycophron: A Literary Study* (Oxford, 2016), which uses Hornblower's Greek edition, but only analyzes parts of the poem, unfortunately not including either the Siris or Latium sections.

[339] Hornblower, pp. 36-9. The dating of the *Alexandra* has been controversial for many years. See Chapter 3, Section C for a longer discussion of the dating issue.

of their great temple of Aphrodite at Eryx (the "Venus of Erycina" discussed earlier in this chapter).[340] He also knows of Aeneas in Lavinium and the founding of other Latin cities.[341] And as we shall see in the next section, he knows of a great temple to Athena at Siris, founded by Trojans, which contained a famous cult statue.[342] In other words, he provides evidence that the fully developed Trojan myth of Latin origins existed during the Second Punic War at the time of the sacrifice of the Vestals, and that the building of the temple of Venus Erycina and therefore likely the transfer of the Magna Mater of Mount Ida were both part of Roman "mythological diplomacy".

The key section in the *Alexandra* describing Latium is 1253-62:

κτίσει δὲ χώραν ἐν τόποις Βορειγόνων
ὑπὲρ Λατίνους Δαυνίους τ᾽ ὦκισμένην,
πύργους τριάκοντ᾽ ἐξαριθμήσας γονὰς
συὸς κελαινῆς, ἣν ἀπ᾽ Ἰδαίων λόφων
καὶ Δαρδανείων ἐκ τόπων ναυσθλώσεται,
ἰσήριθμον θρέπτειραν ἐν τόκοις κάπρον;
ἧς καὶ πόλει δείκηλον ἀνθήσει μιᾷ
καλκῷ τυπώσας καὶ τέκνων γλαγοτρόφων.
δείμας δὲ σηκὸν Μυνδίᾳ Παλληνίδι,
πατρῷ᾽ ἀγάλματ᾽ ἐγκατοικιεῖ θεῶν.[343]

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[340] *Lyc*. 951-977 (Trojan founding of Elymian cities), 959 (temple of Aphrodite at Eryx). See also Hornblower's commentary, pages 356-63.

[341] *ibid*, 1236-1280. (Aeneas' foundations in Italy) See also Hornblower's commentary, pp. 440-53.

[342] *ibid* 978-984 (Ionian Greeks take over Trojan-founded Siris: "a city similar to Ilion" (πόλιν δ᾽ ὁμοίαν Ἰλίῳ), 985-92 (The killing of Ionians by Achaians in Athena's temple before her cult statue causes the statue to close its eyes in disgust at the sacrilege, just as when Locrian Ajax raped Cassandra before the Trojan Palladion.) Hornblower's commentary is on pp. 367-69.

[343] He [sc. Aeneas] will found a place in the regions of the Aborigines,
beyond the settlements of the Latins and Daunians:
thirty towers, numbered after the offspring
of the dark sow, which will have been brought by ship
from the peaks of Ida and the Dardanian regions,
the nurse of that same number of piglets, all from one litter.
In one of these cities he will dedicate an image of her

The puzzling items in this text are several. Aeneas founds thirty "towers" (πύργους) "beyond" or "above" or "farther inland from" (ὑπὲρ) the settlements of the Latins. Why thirty, why call them towers, and why are they beyond the Latins if they are supposed to be the Latin settlements? Greek πύργος usually refers to fortifications (walls, gates, gate towers), e.g. *Il*. 7.338, 437. So the word likely means thirty fortified settlements. I propose that the phrase "settlements of the Latins" likely refers to *Latium vetus*, the original territory of the *prisci Latini*, while the Aeneas foundations are the Latin colonies of which there were precisely thirty in the year 209, according to Livy (27.9), scattered all over central and southern Italy. Cornell notes that "By 200 BC the few remaining independent communities in Latium were only a small minority of the Latin name; the majority of Latins lived in the colonies which were spread throughout Italy."[344] In other words, "beyond the (old) settlements of the Latins." These colonies were always fortified, because their purpose was to "serve as fortified outposts in conquered territory."[345] The Latin colonies came to be geographically very dispersed even by the time of Pyrrhus, and so Latin national identity was likely not tied to the geography of Latium. On the other hand, it was quite distinct from Etruscan, Greek, and Samnite identity, despite frequently having adjacent territory with those communities.

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and her suckling brood, crafting it in bronze.
He will build a temple to the Myndian and Pallenian goddess,
where he will house the statues of his ancestral gods.
(trans. Hornblower, pp. 446-9)

[344] T. Cornell, "City-States in Latium" in M. H. Hansen (ed.), *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures* (Copenhagen, 2000), p. 209. See especially Salmon, pp. 55-94, for a discussion of the spread of Latin colonies in the period from 338-200.

[345] *ibid*, p. 211.

"Pallenis" (Pallenian) is attested as an epithet of Athena and "Mindian" in all likelihood refers to a city on the coast of Anatolia where there was a cult of Athena,[346] so line 1261 is describing a temple to Athena Ilias in Latium, almost certainly the one at Lavinium described below.[347] The "statues of his ancestral gods" (πατρῷ᾽ ἀγάλματ᾽ …θεῶν) are usually interpreted as the *penates*,[348] although, like Timaeus, Lycophron never uses the term. If Lycophron is correct, the *penates* were stored in the temple of Athena Ilias at Lavinium, consistent with Timaeus' account. The "sow" remains somewhat mysterious, and is not necessary for our thesis. The puzzling term here is "dark" (κελαινῆς) for the sow's color, when Vergil uses a *white* sow to explain the name Alba Longa.[349] I tentatively suggest that Lycophron is not describing anything about the founding of Alba Longa, but instead is providing a distorted account of an event from the recent past, namely the arrival of the black stone of the Magna Mater in Rome, which was also brought "from the peaks of Ida and the Dardanian region" and then dedicated in a temple.[350]

In summary, the Latium section of the *Alexandra* shows that Lycophron was familiar, around the year 200, with a temple to Athena Ilias at Lavinium, containing the Trojan *penates*, and that he also knew of thirty Latin colonies spread throughout Italy that shared a common Trojan identity.

D. Archaeology of Lavinium and the Trojan Myth.

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[346] Hornblower, p. 448, 356
[347] See, e.g., Hornblower, p. 448, citing A. Momiglano, *CAH* 7 (2nd) 2.70.
[348] *ibid*
[349] *Aen*. 8.43-6
[350] It was also dark, rounded, and maternal; this is wildly speculative, of course.

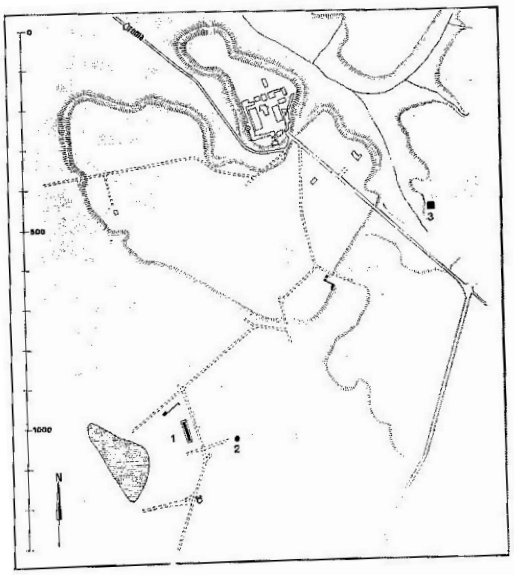
The archaeology of Lavinium adds support to the accounts of Timaeus and Lycophron above.[351] Figure 4.1[352] contains a map of the Lavinium site, including the site of the temple of Athena Ilias (Minerva Tritonis), which is surely the one referred to by Lycophron. Although the wall of the *temenos* has been found, no trace of the temple itself remains. The most dramatic discovery is a 3rd century pit below the *temenos* containing the remains of over 100 terracotta statues; most show a helmeted Athena, the largest of which is life sized. All of these, even the largest, are certainly dedications to the goddess; they date from the 5th century through the 3rd century, mostly from the 3rd, and seem to cease after the 3rd.[353]

[351] For the archaeology of Lavinium see F. Castagnoli, 1972 and 1974. More recently, see the exhibition catalog *Enea nel Lazio*, 1981, and C. Potts, 2015. The discoveries before 1994 are summarized in R. R. Holloway, *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium* (London, 1994). The earlier works by Dury-Moyaers (1981) and Torelli (1984) have also been consulted when appropriate.

[352] The map is from Holloway, p. 129; the statues are from Potts, p. 76 and plate 47.

[353] Potts, p. 76. Even the largest is not a cult statue, but simply a lavish dedication: "The context in which the statue was discovered [in a pit with dozens of similar statues], however, cautions against according it particular prominence."

Fig. 19. Lavinium, Eastern Sanctuary. Statue of Minerva Tritonia. Terracotta, 1.96 m high, *c.*fifth century BC. Museo Archeologico 'Lavinium' di Pomezia, inv. no. P 77.38.



Lavinium, the archaeological area. 1, the Thirteen Altars; 2, *Heroon* of Aeneas; 3, sanctuary of Minerva.

Plate 47. Lavinium, Eastern Sanctuary. Statue of Minerva Pallas. Terracotta, 95.5 cm high. Fifth century BC. Museo Archeologico 'Lavinium' di Pomezia, inv. no. 77.43.

Figure 4.1 Dedications at the Temple of Athena Ilias at Lavinium

The most important conclusions that can be drawn from these findings at the temple of Athena at Lavinium concern the dating and importance of the temple. Holloway convincingly argues that the style of the statues, most notably the large one, is derived from the Parthenon Athena, and therefore is likely from the fourth century.[354] As we shall see in the next subsection, Gruen's theory is that the political importance of Lavinium dates primarily from the end of the Latin War in the last third of the fourth century, and the subsequent military importance of Latin colonies. The large number of dedications from the late fourth and especially the third century would seem to support this idea. Presumably the dedications were by Rome and the colonies to honor the deity that represented their common Trojan identity. The cessation of dedications in the early second century is also consistent with the end of the Punic Wars and is therefore likely due to the reduced importance to Rome of these colonies compared with (say) the Pergamum alliance.

Lycophron wrote that the *penates* of Troy were kept in this temple; and this brings us to the issue of the *penates* and Vesta in the archaeology of Lavinium. Unlike the ultimately Greek Trojan legend, the *penates* are purely Latin. According to two late (5th c. AD) sources,[355] every year, the newly elected consuls led a procession from Rome to Lavinium to lead sacrifice to Vesta and the *penates*.[356] However, despite Lycophron's apparent belief that (in his own day) the *penates* were kept in the Athena temple, archaeology seems to indicate that in earlier times, perhaps as early as the 6th century BC,

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[354] Holloway, p. 140

[355] Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* 2.296 and Macrobius' *Saturnalia* 3.4.11.

[356] Pina Polo, pp. 104-8. The general consensus (e.g., Alföldi, Gruen, Pina Polo, and Holloway) is that despite its late attestation, this annual procession did take place from at least as early as the 3rd century BC.

sacrifices and dedications to the *penates* were made at a different location outside of Lavinium, the "Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars". See Figure 4.2 for this sanctuary.[357] The altars were constructed over a period of more than two hundred years, from the 6th to the 4th centuries.[358]

We are concerned with the late 3rd century sacrifice of the Vestals, so the nature of celebrations at Lavinium in the 6th and 5th century and the very controverted nature of the "Latin League" in those centuries need not detain us, but one early dedication is interesting. A 6th century offering at Altar 8 had a plaque affixed to it with an Archaic Latin inscription of dedication to Castor and Pollux, showing a very early identification of the *penates* with the *dioscuri*, while Athena Ilias-related terracotta dedications are found only in the 3rd century layer.[359] Whatever the nature of 6th and 5th century celebrations at Lavinium, the construction of the Temple of Athena Ilias shows that a new phase began in the 4th century.

Nearby a small tumulus contains a 7th or 6th century aristocratic tomb that was restored in the late 4th century and became the object of a cult; pottery associated with the dedication of this shrine is dated to just before 300 BC.[360] Dionysius of Halicarnassus apparently visited Lavinium and saw this shrine, which he said the locals called the "*Heroon* of Aeneas."[361]

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[357] These images are from Holloway, p. 131.
[358] Holloway, 130-4
[359] *ibid*
[360] *ibid*, pp. 135-8
[361] Dion. H. *Ant.* 1.64.4-5

Figure 10.2 Lavinium, the Thirteen Altars.

Figure 10.3 Lavinium, plan of the Thirteen Altars.

Figure 4.2 The Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars and Chronological Plan of Construction

This dating provides further evidence that celebration of the "Trojanness" of Lavinium most probably was confined to the period of the late 4th and 3rd centuries. Figure 4.3 shows the "*Heroon* of Aeneas" excavation and a diagram of its fourth century

restoration.[362] Similarly, the consular procession to Lavinium to honor Vesta and the *penates* by the third century plausibly culminated at the Temple of Athena, as Lycophron suggests, even if in earlier years the *penates* might have been kept near the Thirteen Altars.

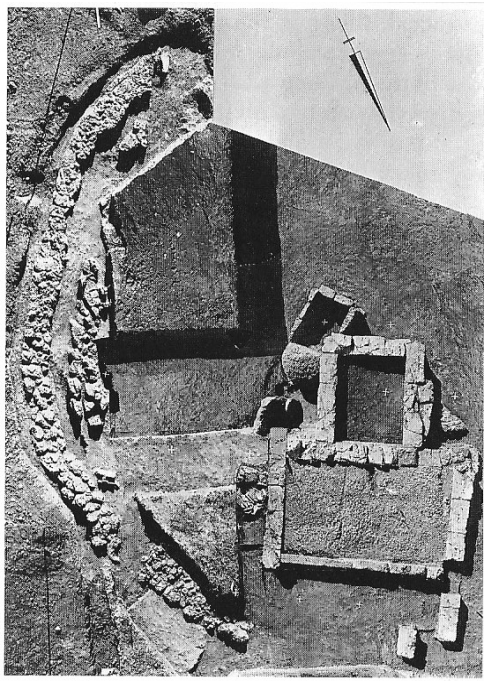

Figure 10.9 Lavinium, *Heroon* of Aeneas. The original tomb is the rectangular chest partially disturbed by the angle of the inner chamber of the later *heroon* chamber.

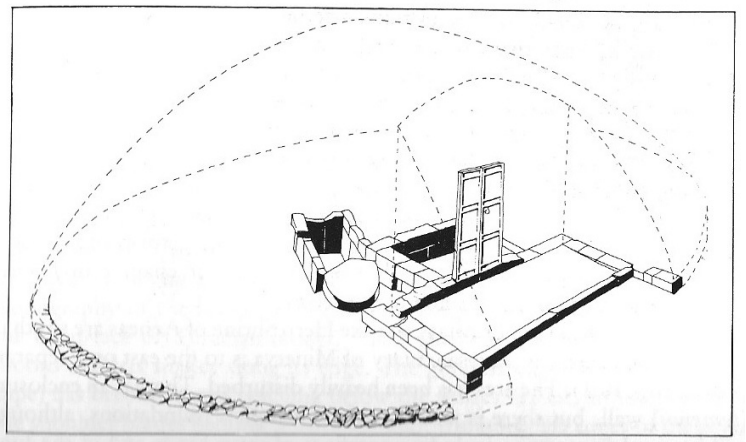

Figure 10.10 Lavinium, *Heroon* of Aeneas after restoration of the fourth century.

Figure 4.3 The *Heroon* of Aeneas at Lavinium

E. Trojan Myth, Latin Colonies, and the Roman Conquest of Italy

Despite the attested early identification of the *penates* with Castor and Pollux, it seems clear that by the late 4th century a general remodeling of the Lavinium site along Trojan lines had occurred: the restoration of the early tomb, its attribution to Aeneas, the equation of the *penates* with the *penates* of Troy, and especially the construction of the

[362] Holloway, p. 137, who notes that it was disturbed in the 6th century, perhaps by an early local cult at the site, possibly even of Aeneas; thus explaining how he came to be associated with Lavinium in the first place. This also might explain the black-figure Aeneas-Anchises pottery found in the area.

Temple of Minerva, with the goddess identified as Athena Ilias. The question arises: what was the historical and political context that led to this remodeling? Erich Gruen laid out a convincing context in his *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (1992)—Lavinium became the centerpiece of a Roman effort to provide cultural bonds to connect the increasingly dispersed "Latin" cities to each other and to Rome after the Latin War.

> The later fourth century brought a convergence of political and cultural circumstances that made the Trojan connection in a Latin context particularly attractive…. The dissolution of the Latin League after 338 set Roman relations with Latium on a new and different footing; [this] new situation encouraged attention to cultural bonds that tied Latium to Rome… The tradition of Trojan origins took shape in the later fourth century… Lavinium, seat of religious cults and possessor of a celebrated past, gained revitalized recognition through a formal treaty with Rome [and] the practice of Roman officials' honoring the cult of the Penates at Lavinium… And equally important the assimilation of the legends announced a link with the Hellenic world…[363]

I would add one more element to Gruen's thesis—that the "Latin communities" with which Rome was most interested in developing bonds were the new, widely dispersed Latin colonies, that played a critical military and political role in the 135 years from the end of the Latin War to the end of the Punic Wars. Let us recall Cornell's comment that we quoted earlier: "By 200 BC the few remaining independent communities in Latium were only a small minority of the Latin name; the majority of Latins lived in the colonies which were spread throughout Italy."[364] Salmon's discussion of the spread of Latin colonies shows how important they were to the Roman military during the Second and Third Samnite Wars, the Pyrrhus War, and the Punic Wars, supplying half the legions and providing fortified strongpoints with supplies along critical transportation routes.[365]

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[363] Gruen, pp. 28-9
[364] Cornell, 2000, p. 209
[365] Salmon, pp. 55-94.

To summarize: the Trojan myth of Latin origins, if not *created* immediately after the Latin War, was made the centerpiece of Rome's cultural propaganda machine aimed at the Latin colonies during this period. It therefore became part of Rome's diplomatic arsenal, which it later found useful in other dealings with the Hellenistic world: for example, with Sicilian Eryx and with Pergamum.[366] To connect the military importance of the Latin colonies to the situation after the battle of Cannae, consider a later incident that occurred when the military situation was much less dire: Livy reports that just seven years after the battle, twelve of the thirty Latin colonies essentially went on strike against excessive Roman military demands.[367] These twelve pointed out the unsettling truth that since Cannae, their men had not been allowed to come home, unless captured by Hannibal, who made a practice of releasing captive Latins! Rome was so dependent on the other eighteen colonies, who also complained but still supplied troops, that the twelve were not punished until 204, and even then only mildly. The necessity of ensuring the loyalties of the colonies immediately after Cannae was much more critical, when the outcome of the war was far from certain.

Since the Vestals, the priestesses of Vesta, almost certainly accompanied the procession to Lavinium every year, which was to sacrifice to Vesta, it is likely that prominent colonists attending the ceremony might have met some of the Vestals, and thus the Vestals' sacrifice must have made a deep impression and served as a vivid warning. It seems very likely that the sacrifice was done precisely to create that impression.

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[366] As Erskine emphasizes (e.g. p. 224), however, this cultural propaganda was part of Rome's *external* relations and was not particularly important to Rome's internal identity, for which Romulus, the kings, and the establishment of the Republic were the key elements.

[367] Livy 27.9

IV. The Vestals, the Palladium, Siris/Heraclea, and the Pyrrhus War

But if warning the Latins was the practical and political purpose and significance of the sacrifice of the Vestals, what was the divine significance? Why were the Vestals to blame for the wrath of Athena Ilias?**[368]** Why should she be especially enraged if a priestess of another goddess (Vesta) happened to be unfaithful to her vows (to that other goddess)? What was the religious or theological *theory* that might have accounted for the idea that the Vestals had offended this Trojan deity? This question brings us to the Palladium. Our contention is that the crimes of the Vestals were presumed to have taken place "before the eyes of the goddess," that is, in sight of the Palladium, the ancient cult statue of Athena Ilias, kept in the Temple of Vesta. Since the Vestals lived in the *Atrium Vestae*, which was part of the complex that included the temple of Vesta,[369] any lover visiting their quarters would come to the temple, so the vow-breaking would have occurred near the statue, in plain sight of the goddess herself, see Fig. 4.4.[370]

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[368] I have made use in my account here of the Vestals of A. Staples, *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins* (London, 1998), who advances a theory of the Vestals as fertility priestesses that should be corrected by R. Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins* (London, 2006). See also the relevant sections of Beard, et. al. and Rupke (ed.).

[369] See Staples, pp. 137-8, who also notes that the Vestals were not totally cloistered in the Atrium, although they lived there, since any violations would conveniently be revealed by the gods though *prodigia*, so conventional "evidence" of unchastity was not needed.

[370] Carandini, Table 16. The building was one complex containing the Vestals' residence and the temple.

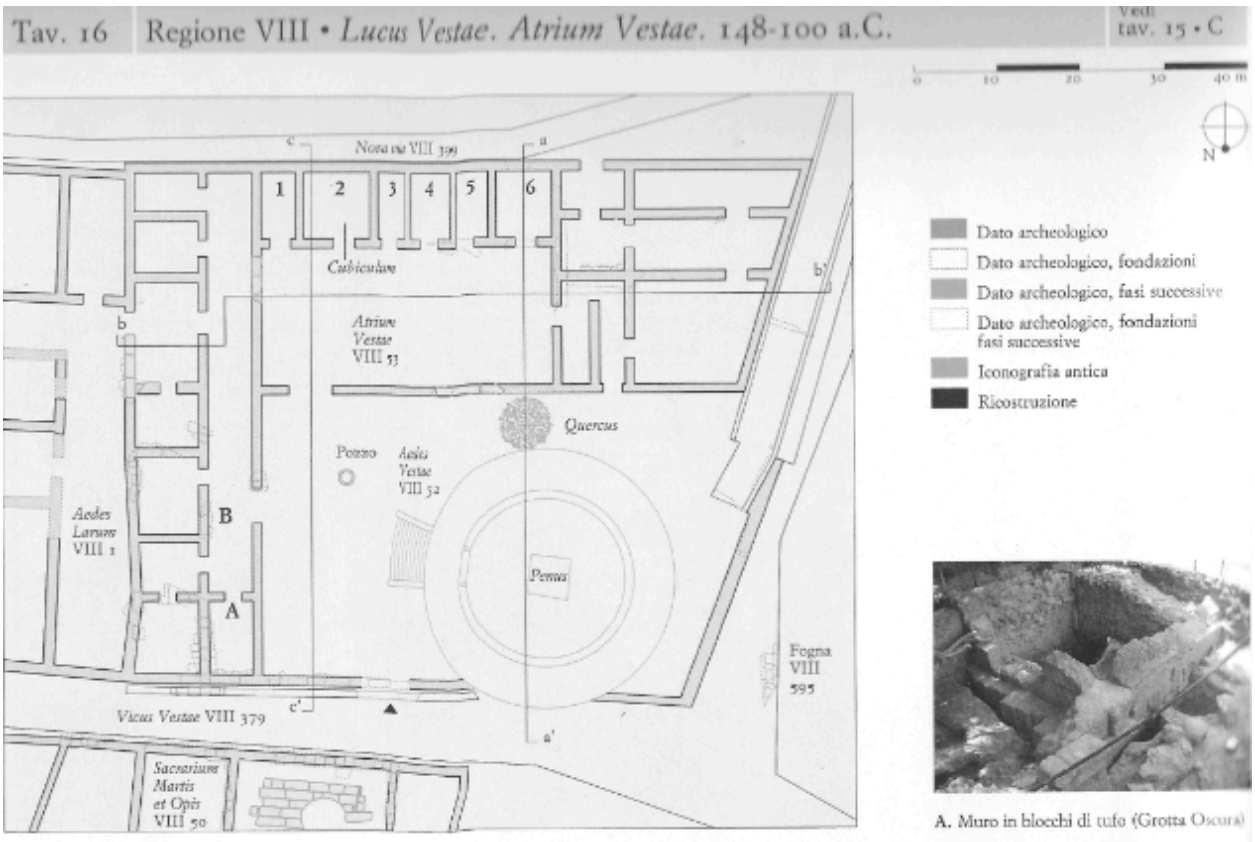

Figure 4.4 Penus and Atrium Vestae

Athena Ilias had a terrible wrath when crimes were committed in her sight, especially when they were not immediately punished.[371] At Troy, the Achaeans felt the wrath of Athena during their homecoming because they did not immediately punish Locrian Ajax for his crime against Cassandra, committed before the goddess in her temple.[372] Her wrath against the Trojans for letting her statue be captured by Odysseus and Diomedes led to the fall of the city itself,[373] as it later did to the Italian city of Siris (for which see below). So the Romans likely theorized that the disaster at Cannae was the wrath

[371] See J. S. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena* (Princeton, 1983) for more on this theme.

[372] Euripides, *Troades*, 69-71. See especially Lycophron, *Alexandra* 348-951.

[373] See the Little Iliad discussion earlier. I will gloss over the difficulties created by the "two Palladia" issue. By 200 BC, theories had emerged which allowed the theft by Odysseus and the rape by Ajax to both be considered as blasphemies against Athena.

of Athena Ilias, once again triggered by a crime committed in her very presence, and they did not feel like tempting her to even greater wrath by leaving the miscreants unpunished. Thus the Palladium links the crimes of the Vestals to the Trojan legend and the wrath of Athena, providing a plausible explanation for the sacrifice of the Vestals after Cannae. But the Palladium's presence at Rome then becomes a puzzle, since the Trojan legend is closely linked to the Athena Ilias temple at Lavinium, and there is no such temple at Rome. So when did the Palladium come to Rome, and why was it kept in the Temple of Vesta?

Although the Palladium is not mentioned in the generally accepted fragments of Timaeus, the critical central section of Lycophron records the rape of the narrator, Cassandra, by Locrian Ajax before this statue of Athena, and the response of the goddess:

> τῆμος βιαίως φάσσα πρὸς τόργου λέχος
> γαμφαίσιν ἅρπαις οἰνὰς ἐλκυσθήσομαι,
> ἠπολλὰ δὴ Βούδειαν Αἴθυιαν Κόρην
> ἁρωγὸν αὐδάξασα τάρροθον γάμων.
> ἡ δ᾽εἰς τέραμνα δουρατογλύφου στέγης
> γλήνας ἄνω στρέψασα χώσεται στρατῷ,
> ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσοῦσα καὶ θρόνων Διός,
> ἄνακτι πάππῳ κρῆμα τιμαλφέστατον.[374]

The tragic *nostoi* of the Achaian leaders that resulted from their failure to punish Ajax are then narrated in the next 600 lines of the poem, the entire central section. The key phrase recording the visible reaction of the goddess to the sacrilege is γλήνας ἄνω στρέψασα χώσεται στρατῷ, "[She,] having turned her eyeballs upward, will be angry at the army." The word *glenas,* "eyeballs," is found in only one other line in the poem, line 988,

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[374] Lyc. *Alex*. 357-64. "At that time I shall be dragged violently to the vulture's nest,/ a frenzied dove in his crooked talons,/ crying out often for the help of the Ox-binder, the Seagull goddess,/ the Maiden, to help and defend me from this rape./ And she, turning her eyes upward to the wooden coffers/ of the temple's ceiling, will be angry with the army,/ she who fell from heaven and the throne of Zeus/ to become the most precious possession of my royal ancestor" (trans. Hornblower, pp. 197-8.)

where it refers again to the eyeballs of a statue of Athena reacting to a sacrilege performed before her. After describing the Southern Italian city of Siris on the Tarentine Gulf, founded by Trojans, then taken from them by Ionians, then conquered from them by Achaeans, and finally sacked in 550 BC, the poet writes of these Achaeans:

> πόλιν δ᾽ὁμοίαν Ἰλίῳ δυσδαίμονες
> δείμαντες ἀλγυνοῦσι Λαφρίαν κόρην
> Σάλπιγγα, δῃώσαντες ἐν ναῷ θεᾶς
> τοὺς πρόσθ᾽ἔδεθλον Ξουθίδας ᾠκηκότας.
> γλήναις δ᾽ἄγαλμα ταῖς ἀναιμάκτοις μύσει
> στυγνὴν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἰάονας βλάβην
> λεῦσσον...[375]

The striking parallels between the account of the rape of Cassandra in Athena's temple at Troy and the sacrilege at the temple of Athena at Siris ("a city like Troy"), including the similar reaction of the cult statues in both cases, suggests that we are meant to see Siris as a new Troy, just as Rome is new Troy at the end of the poem.[376] Thus, it seems likely that we are meant to identify the statue of Athena at Siris with the Palladion of Troy, and possibly also to understand that the Palladium of Rome (new Troy) is the same statue. It seems plausible that in Lycophron's time it was understood that the Roman Palladium had been taken from the Athena Temple of Siris by the Roman victors after the Pyrrhus War and the fall of Tarentum. There is essentially no conclusive proof of this, I candidly admit, so I shall simply propose it as a hypothesis. The evidence for it is largely circumstantial: it consists of three parts: (1) the known appearance of the Palladium at

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[375] Lyc. *Alex*. 984-90. "Ill-fated men, they take over a city similar to Ilion,/ and cause pain to the Laphrian maiden,/ the Trumpeter, killing in the very sanctuary of the goddess/ the Xouthians [Ionians] who formerly inhabited the place./ The statue will close its bloodless eyes/ when it sees the harm done by Achaians to Ionians…" (trans. Hornblower, pp. 367-9.)

[376] Hornblower, p. 366, argues that the Troy-like character of Siris also explains the length of this excursus: "Siris, like Rome, … is a new Troy."

Rome sometime before the year 241 BC; (2) the role of Siris/Heraclea as the cult center of the "Italiote League," led by Tarentum, the main adversary of Rome in the Pyrrhus War, which was captured in 272 BC; (3) the contemporaneous transfer of the cult statue of Vertumnus to Rome from Volsinii, cult center of the Etruscan League, after the final Etruscan defeat in 265 BC.

A. When Did the Palladium Arrive at Rome?

None of the texts mentioning a Palladium at Rome is earlier than the first century BC, the earliest being three orations of Cicero: the *Pro Scauro* (54 BC), the *Pro Milone* (52 BC), and *Philippics* XI (44 BC). The last of these merely mentions the "statue which fell from heaven, and is guarded by the protection of Vesta: which, as long as it is safe, insures our safety also" (signum quod de caelo delapsum Vestae custodiis continetur; quo salvo salvi sumus future),[377] but provides nothing useful about its arrival at Rome, nor does the *Pro Milone.*[378] However, the *Pro Scauro* reference is very important for dating the Palladium:

> …illius L. [48] Metelli, pontificis maximi, qui, cum templum illud arderet, in medios se iniecit ignis et eripuit flamma Palladium illud quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperi custodiis Vestae continetur.[379]

The story of L. Caecilius Metellus (cos. 251), who defeated the Carthaginians at the battle of Panormus (present-day Palermo), capturing many elephants (which were paraded

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[377] Cic. *Phil*. 11.10

[378] *Pro Milone* 33 contains a taunting reference Clodius' actions during the Bona Dea affair, alluding very obscurely to a rescue of the Palladium, which may be Aeneas' rescue of it from Troy, or possibly L. Caecilius Metellus rescue of 241 BC (for which see below).

[379] Cicero *Scauro* 48, "That great Lucius Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus, who, when that temple was on fire threw himself into the middle of the flames, and saved from the fire the Palladium, which, as it were a pledge of our safety and imperium, is guarded by the protectors of Vesta."

through Rome in his triumph), and then in the year 241, as *pontifex maximus*, rescued the Palladium from a fire in the Temple of Vesta, was well known in Cicero's Rome and later.[380] The Caecilii Metelli were a very prominent family from his own day to Cicero's; coinage issued during their various consulships often features either elephants or images of the Palladium,[381] all this suggesting that the event of 241 actually took place. So we may accept 241 as the *terminus ante quem* for the arrival of the Palladium at Rome. For the *terminus post quem*, we may accept the beginning of the "Trojanization" of the Lavinium cult in the late 300s.[382] These dates bracket the Third Samnite War, the Pyrrus War, the sack of Volsinii, and the First Punic War. I am arguing for a date around 272 BC at the end of the Pyrrhus War and the breakup of the Italiote League.

B. Siris/Heraclea and the Italiote League of Tarentum

"Siris has an unusually complicated history and mythical tradition," Hornblower writes in his commentary on the Athena Temple episode at Siris (978-93) in the *Alexandra*; the most important complication that affects our analysis is the location of Siris relative to

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[380] See, e.g., Ovid *Fasti* 6.437; Livy *Per*. 19; Dion. Hal. 2.66; Lucan 1.598. See also Dubourdieu pp. 487-502 for a discussion of this incident.

[381] See the comprehensive study of the Caecilii Metelli in D.W. Simmons, "From Obscurity to Fame and Back Again: The Caecilii Metelli in the Roman Republic" PhD dissertation (BYU, Provo, 2011). There is a controversy about whether or not the tradition that Metellus was blinded in rescuing the Palladium was original to the story or a later Imperial addition, but this need not detain us. Consult Simmons for more details on this controversy.

[382] Dubourdieu, pp. 460-7 argues against the contention of M. Sorti, "Lavinio, Roma, e il Palladio," in M. Sorti (ed.), *Politica e religion nel primo scontro tra Roma e l'Oriente* (Milan, 1982), pp. 55-78, that the Palladion was first proclaimed to be at Rome during the war with Antiochus in 192. He accepts an origin around 300 with the Trojan legend at Lavinium.

the later Heraclea, which was either founded on the same site or at a nearby site.[383] To summarize: according to (apparently) Timaeus, Siris was founded by Trojans fleeing the fall of their city; it was then conquered by Greeks from Ionia; then they were conquered by other Greeks from Achaea, in an action that greatly offended the goddess, since many people were killed in her temple during the conquest. As a result of her wrath, the new Achaean Siris was defeated by a coalition of neighboring cities, and the city was razed to the ground and abandoned around the year 550 BC. The city was refounded in 430, after being abandoned for more than a hundred years,[384] as a joint Taras-Thurii colony and renamed Heraclea. The best evidence suggests that the same site, modern Policoro, was reoccupied. [385] Heraclea has only been partially excavated, because the modern town of Policoro lies over much of the ancient site, and in particular the Temple of Athena has not yet been found.[386]

By c. 400, Heraclea came under the control of Taras (Tarentum); it was then used in the late fourth century by the Tarentines as the capital of their newly re-organized anti-

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[383] Hornblower, pp. 363-9 contains a very up-to-date summary of the state of the controversy about the history and siting of Siris/Heraclea, as well as the sources for the Trojan origins of the original Siris. Timaeus appears to have been the original source for most of the later accounts.

[384] Herodotus at 8.62.2 writes that in 479 Themistocles threatened to take the Athenians from Greece and occupy the abandoned site of Siris, "since it was ours of old" (ἥ περ ἠμετέρη τέ παλαιοῦ ἔτι), i.e., Ionian.

[385] A. J. Graham, "The Western Greeks," *CAH* 2nd III.3 (Cambridge, 1982) pp. 172-5, notes that Policoro is definitely the site of Heraclea and that settlement there goes back to the eighth century, while "no evidence of ancient settlement has been found on the river Siris, where Strabo 6.1.14 placed the city."

[386] See however note 389, where Van Keuren analyzes the coinage of Heraclea during the Pyrrhus era and conclusively shows the centrality of Athena at Heraclea during this period, so there almost certainly was such an Athena temple then.

Roman "Italiote League."[387] Originally an alliance of Achaean colonies, led by Croton, to resist the campaigns of Dionysius I of Syracuse during the first quarter of the fourth century, by c. 330 the League had come under Tarantine domination. The Achaean version of the Italiote League had its federal capital at Croton, with the League sanctuary at the Hera Lakinia sanctuary near Croton, based on the evidence of League coinage of that era.[388] When Tarentum took over, the League capital was moved to Heraclea, and it seems very likely that an Athena temple served as the new League sanctuary (again, based on the League coinage from the new era).[389] Since ancient Siris had been on the site of Heraclea, it is almost certain that this sanctuary was the Athena temple of old Siris, which therefore was at Heraclea. The fate of this cult statue after the final defeat of Pyrrhus and Tarentum in 273 is a mystery; the Italiote League itself was dissolved and replaced by one-on-one treaties between Rome and the Greek cities of South Italy.[390]

An argument against our interpretation of the Siris statue as the Palladium might be Strabo's description of the site during his own day (c. 15 AD). He writes at 6.1.14:

> εἶθ' Ἡράκλεια πόλις μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ ποταμοὶ δύο πλωτοὶ Ἄκιρις καὶ Σῖρις, ἐφ' οὗ πόλις ἦν ὁμώνυμος Τρωική: χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς Ἡρακλείας ἐντεῦθεν οἰκισθείσης ὑπὸ Ταραντίνων, ἐπίνειον αὕτη τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν

[387] "Italiotes" (Ἰταλιῶται) is the Greek term for Greek settlers in Italy. See M. P. Fronda, "The Italiote League and Southern Italy" in H. Beck and P. Funke (eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2015) pp. 386-402, for an up-to-date discussion of the evidence for the Italiote League.

[388] Fronda, p. 395, for evidence of Hera as patron, notes the minting of similar coins bearing the head of Hera Lakinia by the Achaian colonies during the early fourth century.

[389] Fronda, p. 396-401, speculates that the sanctuary of Demeter at Heraclea might have served as the League sanctuary, but an analysis of 383 Heraclean coins minted during the early third century, virtually of all which bear the head of Athena, strongly suggests that Athena was the patron deity: F. Van Keuren, "Mint Study of the Late Staters from Heraclea Lucaniae" in T. Hackens, et. al. (eds.), *The Age of Pyrrhus* (Providence, 1992) pp. 237-65.

[390] Fronda, p. 402. Two studies of the Pyrrhus War are T. Hackens, *et. al.* and P. Garoufalias, *Pyrrhus King of Ephesus* (London, 1979) pp. 55-122. See also K. Lomas, *Rome and the Western Greeks: 350 BC—AD 200* (London, 1993) pp. 39-58.

> ὑπῆρξε. διεῖχε δ᾽ Ἡρακλείας μὲν τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, Θουρίων δὲ περὶ τριακοσίους τριάκοντα. τῆς δὲ τῶν Τρώων κατοικίας τεκμήριον ποιοῦνται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος ξόανον ἱδρυμένον αὐτόθι, ὅπερ καταμῦσαι μυθεύουσιν ἀποσπωμένων τῶν ἱκετῶν ὑπὸ Ἰώνων τῶν ἐλόντων τὴν πόλιν: τούτους γὰρ ἐπελθεῖν οἰκήτορας φεύγοντας τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν, καὶ βίᾳ λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν Χώνων οὖσαν, καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὴν Πολίειον: δείκνυσθαι δὲ καὶ νῦν καταμῦον τὸ ξόανον. ἰταμὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ οὕτω μυθεύειν, ὥστε μὴ καταμῦσαι ἀναινόμενον, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἀποστραφῆναι κατὰ τὸν Κασάνδρας βιασμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταμῦον δείκνυσθαι: πολὺ δὲ ἰταμώτερον τὸ τοσαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐξ Ἰλίου κεκομισμένα ξόανα, ὅσα φασὶν οἱ συγγραφεῖς: καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν Λαουινίῳ καὶ ἐν Λουκερίᾳ καὶ ἐν Σειρίτιδι Ἰλιὰς Ἀθηνᾶ καλεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖθεν κομισθεῖσα.[391]

Strabo claims that ancient Siris was actually on the River Siris twenty-four stadia from Heraclea. Furthermore, he claims that in his day there was a wooden image on the Siris River site that the inhabitants claimed was set up by the original Trojan settlers, and that it was the famous statue of Trojan Athena that closed its eyes at the massacre that took place in the temple, in other words, the statue Lycophron described. (We may notice, that Strabo has a somewhat different account from Lycophron—his massacre is of the Chones by the Ionians, whereas Lycophron's is of the Ionians by the Achaians.) Moreover, he says (scoffingly) that the inhabitants claimed that the statue was the original Athena statue from

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[391] Then comes the city Heracleia, a short distance above the sea; and two navigable rivers, the Aciris and the Siris. On the Siris there used to be a Trojan city of the same name, but in time, when Heracleia was colonized thence by the Tarantini, it became the port of the Heracleotes. It is Twenty-four stadia distant from Heracleia and about three hundred and thirty from Thurii. Writers produce as proof of its settlement by the Trojans the wooden image of the Trojan Athene which is set up there—the image that closed its eyes, the fable goes, when the suppliants were dragged away by the Ionians who captured the city; for these Ionians came there as colonists when in flight from the dominion of the Lydians, and by force took the city, which belonged to the Chones, and called it Polieium; and the image even now can be seen closing its eyes. It is a bold thing, to be sure, to tell such a fable and to say that the image not only closed its eyes (just as they say the image in Troy turned away at the time Cassandra was violated) but can also be seen closing its eyes; and yet it is much bolder to represent as brought from Troy all those images which the historians say were brought from there; for not only in the territory of Siris, but also at Rome, at Lavinium, and at Luceria, Athene is called "Trojan Athena," as though brought from Troy. (trans. H. C. Hamilton, 1903)

Troy, but that the inhabitants of Rome, Lavinium and Luceria made identical claims of their statues. Thus, if Lycophron's statue was still at Siris, it would seem that Rome had not taken it, so the Roman statue could not have been from Siris.

However, Strabo's claim about the location of Siris is flatly contradicted by the archaeology (see Graham's assertion, quoted above in n. 385, "no evidence of ancient settlement has been found on the River Siris, where Strabo placed the city.") We also know that Heraclea minted coins bearing Athena's image when it was the capital of the Italiote League and was almost certainly the home of the league temple. So whatever Strabo saw in 15 AD, it was not the cult statue of the Italiote League Athena, which was originally at Heraclea/Siris and likely captured by Rome when the League fell.[392]

C. The Fate of the Cult Statues of the Italiote and Etruscan Leagues

From the evidence of the Heraclea coin horde, it seems almost certain that Athena was the patron deity of the Tarentum-dominated Italiote League during the first quarter of the third century, and that her federal cult sanctuary was at Heraclea, at a sanctuary that was the old Athena Temple of Siris. Lycophron's statement that the original Siris was "a city like Troy," founded by Trojans, and his prominent story of the parallel behavior of the cult statue in the Siris Athena Temple and the one at Troy itself (a story he likely derived from an account by Timaeus written shortly after the fall of the Italiote League[393]) all strongly suggest that the cult statue at the federal Athena sanctuary at Heraclea was

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[392] However, it is not strictly necessary for our thesis that the Palladium came to be central to Rome's "Trojan identity" campaign with the Latins that the Palladium came from Siris. It might have been from somewhere else and converted into a Trojan statue as part of the campaign. It only matters that it came to be so regarded before 241 BC. But the mythos of the Siris statue would have certainly helped that process.

[393] Hornblower, p. 364, argues that Lycophron's source for the Trojan origin of Siris was Timaeus.

claimed by Italiotes to be the Trojan Palladion itself. When Tarentum fell to the Romans in 273 and the League was dissolved, the center of Italiote loyalty was forcibly transferred to Rome. I think that, as a symbol of that transfer, the cult statue was also transferred.

Rome did exactly such a transfer of a League cult statue to Rome when M. Fulvius Flaccus conquered Volsinii, the capital of the Etruscan League, in 265. The cult statue of Vortumnus (Etruscan "Veltune," an epithet of Tinia, the chief Etruscan god), the patron god of the League[394] was transferred to Rome and installed in a temple to Vertumnus, decorated with a fresco of the triumph of Flaccus.[395] Rome's basic policy was dissolve competing Leagues by turning League loyalty into Roman loyalty. It seems to have proceeded in a parallel fashion with the Latin League, the Etruscan League and the Italiote League.

What happened to the Italiote cult statue of Athena after it was taken? The Vortumnus statue was installed in an appropriate temple to the god at Rome after it was taken from Volsinii, but as there was no temple to Athena Ilias at Rome, this apparently did not happen to the Athena statue—or did it? I think that the statue was likely taken to the temple of Athena Ilias at Lavinium, a very appropriate temple indeed, where it became an important part of the annual celebration of the Latins' Trojan identity: of Trojan Aeneas, the Trojan Penates, and Trojan Athena Ilias. And there it would have remained except for a

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[394] Acccording to Varro (5.46), "Vortumnus' was *deus Etruriae princeps* ("chief god of Etruria"). For "Veltune" as a location epithet for Tinia, meaning "Tinia of Velzna (Volsinii)" see K. Busby, *The Temple Terracottas of Etruscan Orvieto*, PhD dissertation (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2007) pp. 80-1.

[395] Festus 228L See also Propertius 4.2.3-4, writing as Vertumnus, *nec paenitet inter / proelia Volsinios deseruisse focos*. ("I do not regret having abandoned Volsinian hearths in the midst of battle"). See Beard, et. al., pp. 132-4, for this episode as an instance of *evocatio*, which is not quite what happened with the statue of Athena, since she was not a foreign deity, especially not at Lavinium. None the less, the transfer of a conquered league's cult statue to Rome seems to be quite closely parallel.

very practical consideration. As can be seen from the map in Figure 4.1, the Temple of Athena Ilias is outside the (modest) fortifications of Lavinium, and thus unprotected, and Lavinium itself is very close the seacoast. After the start of the First Punic War in 263, which was soon accompanied by raids by Carthaginian ships on the coast of Latium,[396] it seems plausible that the sacred Trojan Palladium would be taken from the unprotected Minerva Temple to safekeeping behind the strong walls of Rome, and there would have been no more appropriate storehouse than in the temple of the Vestals, who participated every year in the Lavinium procession. We may speculate that the statue was taken by the Vestals every year from her storage location and brought along with the procession to Lavinium, much as cult statues often were taken in processions.[397]

Putting the Palladium in the custody of the Vestals ran the risk of another Theano episode.[398] Before their association with the Palladium, the priestesses of Vesta were supposed to be chaste, just as they were supposed to keep the sacred fire burning. It is significant that letting the sacred fire go out led only to a beating, but unchastity to death.[399] I suspect that the extremely severe punishment for unchastity did not antedate the arrival of the Palladium at the Temple of Vesta. As was discussed in Section III, after the year 200, the Trojan ceremonies at Lavinium gradually died out as the Latin colonies

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[396] See J. E. Lazenby, *The First Punic War* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 62-3, for Hamilcar's raids on Italy, starting in 260.

[397] See Chapter 2 for several examples.

[398] In the *Little Iliad*, Odysseus and Diomedes are assisted in finding the real Palladion (see the discussion in Chapter 2, Section IV and Chapter 3, Section II.A) by Theano, priestess of Athena. The story that a priestess betrayed her city after falling in love with Odysseus is reminiscent of Medea betraying the Golden Fleece to Jason and surely reinforced the impression of female infidelity leading to military catastrophe.

[399] Staples, p. 148

became less important, but the Palladium stayed in the Temple of Vesta, its history and role gradually forgotten, as with many older Roman artifacts and rituals.

V. The Construction of a "Trojan" National Identity for Latin Colonies

Why then were the Vestals sacrificed? It was done to appease Athena Ilias, goddess of the Palladium, guarded by the Vestals, and to help secure the loyalty of the Latin colonies after Cannae. It was part of a century-long effort by Rome to create and exploit a Trojan identity for Latin colonies throughout Italy, and thereby to encourage a distinctive *esprit* amid hostile Samnite and Greek cities.

This use by Rome of ancient symbols and war to create a unity of former rivals is closely paralleled in the the 17th and early 18th century Stuart and Hannoverian efforts to create a unified British identity for England and Scotland. The period in question stretches from the coronation of James VI of Scotland as James I of England to the suppression of the Jacobites in 1745, corresponding to the period in Roman history from the end of the Latin Wars to the end of the Punic Wars. During this entire period the creation this "British" identity was closely associated with the House of Stuart and writers patronized by the court. The early Stuarts scoured ancient chronicles to find an appropriately heroic myth to sustain this identity.[400] Brutus the Trojan,[401] the goddess Britannia,[402] the Celtic rebel

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[400] See especially G. Parry, "Ancient Britons and Early Stuarts," in R. H. Wells, et. al. (eds.), *Neo-Historicism: Studies in Renaissance Literature and Politics* (Cambridge, 2000) pp. 153-179.

[401] The legendary founder of Britain, according to Goeffrey of Monmouth and later Holinshed. Parry, p 177, notes that even after Camden published his *Britannia* in 1586, using actual Roman sources and thus debunking the old stories, poets found Brutus a much more compelling figure than anything in Tacitus, and we find him as late as in Milton's *History of Britain* from the mid 1640s.

[402] M. Dresser, "Britannia," in R. Samuel, *Patriotism: the Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, v. III National Fictions* (London, 1989) pp. 27-50, shows how this

queen Boadicea[403] were all coopted by Stuart writers to promote a united Britain. But the most important all-British "icon" of both the early and later Stuarts, corresponding to the Palladion itself, was the Stuart monarch himself (or herself), who claimed the right to rule directly from god (see Filmer's *Patriarcha*, written 1620-40), and whose divine touch could cure disease.[404] James I called himself the "King of Great Britain;"and as a man who was simultaneously Scottish, Welsh (through his grandmother, Mary Tudor), and English, he was the quintissential Briton, and his image, and later those of the other Stuarts, was everywhere.[405]

In the 18th century, after the Act of Union in 1707, this process continued.[406] The world-wide war with France beginning with the Seven Years' War and continuing through the defeat of Napoleon closely parallels the Roman struggle with Carthage from 264 through 201, which involved most of the Western Mediterranean. The preliminary wars of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) and Austrian Succession (1743-48) were of purely

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deity was copied from old Roman coins and later made a symbol of Stuart Britain. The later Stuarts used the image on their own coins.

[403] Parry, p. 171-4, examines John Fletcher's *Bonduca* (c. 1613) and Edmund Bolton's *Nero Caesar* (1624), both of which present Boadicea as a crazed barbarian and have as their hero the British general Caratach, who makes a dignified submission to Roman rule and thus a "union" with the Romans. He also notes that Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (1609) has basically the same plot.

[404] See S. Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, 2015). The rite of the Royal Touch to cure scrofula received its greatest fame during the Stuarts, especially Charles I and II, while Anne was the last British monarch to practice the rite. Supposedly the very last person she touched on March 30, 1792 was a young Samuel Johnson. The Jacobite pretenders claimed to possess the power until the 1780s.

[405] Perhaps the most lavish was the ceiling of the Whitehall banqueting house by Rubens (1628-9) painted under Charles I. See R. Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography, v. III Jacobean and Caroline* (Woodbridge, 1998) pp. 127-58, and plates 97-129, especially plate 98, "The Judgment of Solomon: James I recreates the Empire of Great Britain." Strong calls this ceiling "the most expensive commission of the 17th century."

[406] As noted above in note 15, the authoritative source on the creation of British national identity during this period is Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*.

European scope and rather parallel the Samnite Wars and Pyrrhus Wars, which were struggles for the domination of Southern Italy. In both the British and Latin cases, the loyalty of recently unified former enemies was a central concern. The Spanish and French sponsored major Scottish revolts in both 1715 and 1745, but by time of the American War, Scottish loyalty has been secured and was never again challenged.[407] In fact, Scottish regiments played major roles in all of Britain's subsequent wars.

As in Latium, where the Trojan myth went into abeyance after the Punic Wars, the old "British" myths of Stuart days—Brutus the Trojan, Britannia, and Boadica—were largely put aside after the American War.[408] Similarly, we may date the eclipse of Lavinium and of the Palladium to the period that saw the Roman conquest of the Greek East. But for the 130 years between the Latin Wars and the end of the Punic Wars, the myth of Trojan origins was central to the national identity of the Latins.

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[407] See Colley, p. 4.

[408] M. G. H. Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 83

CHAPTER FIVE

The Creation of National Identity in the Ancient World

A rational army would run away. –Montesquieu[409]

I. National Identity and War

Why did Peisistratos bring the statue of Athena Ilias to his new temple on the Acropolis? That dramatic performance was done to help create a "Homeric" identity on a par with that of Thebes and Argos to inspire Peisistratos' now militarily mighty Athens. Monophthalmos staged the ritual of the Lokrian Maidens at the cult temple of his newly formed Trojan League to link his league to an appropriately heroic identity, thereby to encourage patriotism and make possible victories like those of the Aitolian and Akhaian Leagues.[410] The Vestals were sacrificed to help insure the loyalty of the Latin colonies after the military disaster of Cannae, via an appeal to common "Trojan" identity that had been created after the Latin Wars.

All the constructions of national identity examined in the prior chapters took place in the context of interstate rivalry and war, which is where they also take place in the modern world. Consider, for a moment, the current construction of an acceptable national identity for post-Communist Russia. The Great Patriotic War, Stalin as military leader, and the heroes of Stalingrad have become increasingly central, even as communist Lenin has

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[409] Cited in J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York, 1976) p. 308.

[410] See E. Mackil, *Creating a Common Polity: Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon* (Berkeley, 2013), pp. 347-70, for a discussion of their military.

receded into the background.[411] In such a construction, symbols are extremely important, especially religious symbols with a national significance. For example, one of the first large constructions of post-Soviet Russia was the rebuilding of the cathedral of Christ the Savior in central Moscow, which had been a swimming pool in Soviet days: the Cathedral had been built originally in the 1830s to celebrate the defeat of Napoleon, and it now symbolizes Putin's Russia as an amalgam of the victorious Red Army and Orthodox Christianity.[412] Similarly, we might note the employment of modern communication technology. The most expensive movie ever produced in modern Russia is the recent *Stalingrad*, which cost almost $30 million.[413] The primary purpose of this state-funded film was not to make money, but to inspire a patriotic feeling toward the Russian nation. Haskins noted the relevance of Benedict Anderson's ideas of "imagined communities" to understanding the creation of the new Russian national identity.[414] The same may be said for the relevance of war and religion to national identity creation in the ancient world.

The symbol that we have found to be central in all three of our cases of national identity construction in the ancient world—Peisistratos's Athens, Monophthalmos' Ilion, and the Roman Republic—was the Palladion of Athena Ilias. In each case the goal of communicating the myth around this symbol was likely to inspire loyalty and devotion to the state and thus to mobilize masses of men for military purposes.

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[411] See, for example, O. Malinova, "Political Uses of the Great Patriotic War in Post-Soviet Russia from Yeltsin to Putin," in ed. J. Fedor, et. al., *War and Memory in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus* (Moscow, 2017), pp. 43-70, and the references cited therein.

[412] E. Haskins, "Russia's Postcommunist Past: The Cathedral of Christ the Savior and the Reimagining of National Identity," *History and Memory*, 21.1 (April, 2009), pp. 25-62

[413] "Russia's first big-budget 3D movie shootings over." rt.com/RT.2012-08-16 (retrieved 2012-08-16)

[414] Haskins, p. 25

II. National Identity and the Future of the Past

Did the efforts at national identity creation that we have studied actually succeed? In the Roman case, it seems to have worked quite successfully from 338 all the way through 201 in keeping the Latins loyal. After the defeat of Hannibal and the new Roman focus on the East and the Pergamum alliance, the need to secure Latin loyalty was much less critical. We may date the eclipse of the Trojan myth to this period. The Trojan myth was important for Roman diplomacy during the critical period of 338 to 200 when the foundations of the later empire were established. Only after Julius Caesar did it become important again, just as Rome was turning West, and it remained a key part of Roman Imperial propaganda for centuries.[415] At Athens, the unity of Attica has been dissolved into a larger Greek identity that still retains many Homeric elements; the Homeric poems have never been lost, and the old plays are still performed. The Trojan League was the heart of Attalus' creation of a Trojan identity for Pergamum, which was in turn swallowed up in Rome's empire and so became linked to the Trojan myth of the later Julii. Pergamum was the political basis of a Greek speaking Anatolia, and it became the heartland of the Eastern Roman Empire and the later Byzantine Empire.

The switch to Christianity replaced Athena Ilias with the Virgin Mary, but there is a direct connection between the Palladion of Athena and later protective icons of the Virgin, the Theotokos.[416] Even today, a Theotokos icon, Our Lady of Kazan, the most holy Russian Orthodox icon, supposedly brought from Byzantium in the 13th century and stolen in 1904,

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[415] See the discussion in Erskine, pp. 17-32, "Troy and the Iulii," and pp. 245-53, "Ilion under the Caesars"

[416] B. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (Philadelphia, 2006) especially Chapter 3, "In the Context of War" and pp. 63-65, which explicitly connects the Theotokos with the Palladion of Athena Ilias.

is the palladium of Russia. It is credited with stopping the Poles in 1612, the Swedes in 1709, and Napoleon and 1812; its loss is blamed for the defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and World War I and the victory of the Bolsheviks.[417] Some say that the icon was found and taken in processions around the city of Leningrad during the Siege in World War II, where it saved the city from the Germans. Pope John Paul II returned an icon, said to be the original,[418] to Russia in 2004, where it is now on display in the Cathedral of the Elevation of the Holy Cross in Kazan. From the Palladion of Troy to the Palladium of Russia, the image of a divine virgin with enormous protective power has inspired devotion to both the virgin herself and to the nation.

III. Athena—Guardian of the Wall, Protector of the Community

As a coda to our study, it might be interesting to ask why Athena in particular should be seen as the appropriate symbol for national identity, and just how old this association might be. There seems to be some evidence for a Mycenaean protective deity, usually represented as merely a figure-eight shield with a head and limbs, who may have been the antecedent of Athena.[419] Her representation as a shield recalls the Cassandra images on Panathenaic dedications, where Athena is always shown with a large protective shield held over the girl.[420] Athena's epithet *polioukhos* probably originally meant protector of the

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[417] See S. Milov "The Complicated History of the Kazan Icon of the Mother of God, " orthochristian.com/114554.html (retrieved 2019-04-19), for an Orthodox perspective.

[418] Reminiscent of the dispute between Athens and Troy over who had the real Palladion, the Russian Orthodox Church today claims that the icon provided by the Pope is not the real Lady of Kazan, but a copy made in 1730.

[419] J. M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 13

[420] Connelly, J. B., "Narrative and Image in Attic Vase Painting," in ed. P. J. Holliday, *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 90-5. See Fig. 2.1

fortified citadel itself, the original meaning of *polis*,[421] and Athena was the goddess of the citadel's walls and gate. But in the three cases we have discussed, the significance of Athena had changed to mean something like "protector of the entire walled polis," that is, the central urban concentration in a large, recently-unified state,[422] a development that may have something to do with the creation of strong city walls around the capital city. The building of the city walls at Athens seems to coincide with the establishment of the enlarged Panathenaia.[423] Rome's Servian Wall was built sometime in the fifty or so years before Pyrrhus.[424] We do not know much about the walls of Monophthalmos' Troy, but he certainly intended that the city be formidable.

It seems therefore likely that Athena was in Late Bronze Age Greece the deity of the protective wall and its gate, with the wall defining the protected area within which members of the community could seek refuge—originally just the citadel, later the whole city. In Late Bronze Age Anatolia, contemporaneous with Mycenaean Greece, the city gates in the Cyclopean walls of Hittite and Luwian cities were often flanked by a pair of sphinxes, later a symbol for Athena.[425] These sphinxes are usually seen as representing the so-called

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[421] See for instance the discussion of Indo-European *pelh$_x$ in J.P. Mallory and D.Q. Adams, eds., *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, (Chicago: 1997), pp. 210-11, along with numerous other studies (see the citations in Morris, 1987 and 1998).

[422] Scully, pp. 41-53

[423] R. Weir, "The Lost Archaic Wall around Athens," *Phoenix* 49.3 (Autumn, 1995) pp. 247-58

[424] S. G. Bernard, "Continuing the Debate on Rome's Earliest Circuit Walls," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 80 (2012), pp. 1-44

[425] For example, the helmet of Athena in the Parthenon was embellished with sphinxes, see Hurwit, 1999, p. 235. Chapter 2 (above) discusses, among other instances, the sphinxes on the very early temple of Athena at Assos, and the sphinxes on pillars next to the Bluebeard temple at Athens and the temple of Aphaia at Aigina.

Damnaššara female divinities,[426] the guardians of the gate and thus of the protective boundary of the community. Volkert Haas, in his study of Hittite religion wrote:

> Da in der Regel an der rechten und an der linken Seite des Tores oder der Tür jeweils ein Wächter postiert ist, sind Wächtergottheitten zumeist Dyaden, wie die *Damnaššara*-Sphingen.[427]

These guardian sphinxes at the gates can still be seen at the sites of Hattusas and several other Hittite cities. It seems possible that Athena was the Mycenaean equivalent.[428]

Why a female divinity, a goddess, as the deity of city protection? The key to understanding the role of Athena in the Cassandra story, and possibly of the original *Damnaššara* deities, may be found in the primary function of the cult statue and the deity it represents: protector of the community itself, whose "virginity" was symbolized by Cassandra's. The idea of defense by means of wall and gate seems to have been associated with a female perspective during some periods of classical antiquity; one might say that it was gendered. (Contrast, for instance, Andromache's advice to Hector in *Iliad* 6 with the Spartan boast that they did not need walls because "we have men".) Military defeat and the sacking of a city were almost always followed by the rape and enslavement of the women, so the breach of the walls and fall of the city was metaphorically identified with rape: e.g., in *Iliad* 24:100, Achilles wishes to Patroclus "that alone we might loose the sacred *krēdemna* of Troy," where *krēdemna* is the headband holding the veil that modest women

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[426] V. Hass, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 335-6

[427] *ibid*, p. 473

[428] Interestingly, Hittite deities were from time to time taken to a river and ceremoniously washed, see *ibid*, pp.744-5 for an example. Compare this ceremony with Athena's *plynteria*. I would like to thank Prof. Gary Holland for directing me to this item.

were supposed to wear in public.[429] Athena, who is both a virgin and a warrior, is the perfect symbol for the defender of the honor and integrity of the city.

[429] See M. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition* (Berkeley, 1974) pp. 51-60, for a discussion of the symbolic valence of the *krēdemna*.

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