

could not be entered on the stelae.⁴⁷ But that was no ground for failing to bury them with their fellow-citizens; and as far as casualty-lists go, their names could have been entered as a separate category on a separate stela. Some of those who believed the liberated slaves were Athenian citizens have expressed surprise that these Athenian citizens were buried together with Plataean citizens. Marinatos considered that the Athenians were guilty of ὑβρις in 'burying their slaves together with the dead of their most loyal allies'.⁴⁸ E. Meyer thought that the Plataeans and the liberated slaves were both treated by Athenians as second-class persons and so were buried together;⁴⁹ but that was hardly the way to ensure the future loyalty of the Plataeans.

My present suggestion is that on liberation the slaves of the Athenians were given not Athenian citizenship but Plataean citizenship. At the time Athens and Plataea were in close alliance. If the Persians should invade by land in 490/489, as Athens expected,⁵⁰ Plataea would be in the front line, and it had good reason to wish to strengthen its military forces. When Xerxes did invade by land, Sparta had already trained very large numbers of serfs who fought in battle alongside Spartan troops at Themopylae and at Plataea. To have the liberated slaves receive Plataean citizenship was an excellent way of removing them from Attica, where their sympathy with any escaping slaves or with any slave rising might be dangerous.⁵¹ If my suggestion is correct, the burying of the liberated slaves in the Mound of the Plataeans is self-explanatory; for they were Plataean citizens.

At the same time we can explain the grant of Plataean citizenship to the liberated slaves who had fought in the Athenian navy at Arginusae. The Athenians were following a time-honoured precedent. Had they regained sea power in the Aegean in 405 and even gone on to win the war, they would probably have sent these new Plataean citizens to join the Plataeans at Scione or to help in refounding Plataea.¹⁸

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Appendix on the number of liberated slaves

Because the excavation was incomplete, one is dealing inevitably with approximations. Marinatos wanted to keep a part of the original Mound intact as 'the memorial' of the great battle (*PAE* 1970.25). This part was especially the northern arc beside three of the excavated graves (see *Ergon* 1970.11 fig. 6 and *AAA* iii 358 fig. 15), and Marinatos did not exclude the possibility of more graves (*PAE* 1970.25). If we discount the

⁴⁷ A. Notopoulos in *AJPh* lxii (1941) 352 ff.

⁴⁸ *AAA* iii 362. His proposal there to emend ἔτερος to ἔτερον in Paus. i 32.3 has won no approval.

⁴⁹ In *RE* xiv (1950) 2286 'als Leute zweiter Klasse'; Badian 104 went further: 'the Athenians regarded the Plataeans as in some sense δοῦλοι and showed it by burying them with the liberated slaves'.

⁵⁰ See my account of the campaign in *CAH* iv² (1988) 503f.

⁵¹ Sparta preferred to use these troops outside Laconia (*Thuc.* iv 80), and in 421 she settled Helot and Neodamodeis soldiers at Lepreum, as far as possible from Laconia (v 34.1).

boy of ten who cannot have been a slave liberated for military service, we have ten casualties for the ex-slaves and a possibility of say three more undiscovered by Marinatos. A rough rate of losses may be taken from the Athenian numbers, being 192 dead out of some 9,000 (see *Studies* 206 for the figure), i.e. c. 2%. On the reliability of the casualties-figure see Hammond in *JHS* clx (1989) 56 f.

The number of Plataeans in the battle was given as 1,000 by Justin ii 9 and Nepos *Milt.* 5, the former following probably a 'highly rhetorical Hellenistic writer' and the latter following Deinon, who reported the local Attic tradition (*Studies* 234-9). It was judged too high by How and Wells ii 114, because at the Battle of Plataea the Plataean troops numbered only 600 (*Hdt.* ix 28.6, which How and Wells accepted). But it may be that 400 Plataeans served on the large Greek fleet (then in the eastern Aegean), as Plataeans had already served on Athenian ships for the Battle of Artemisium (*Hdt.* viii 1.1). One wonders whether such Plataeans were the ex-slave Plataeans, and if so they might be these 400. At any rate casualties of ten men would be compatible with an approximate 2% of 400 ex-slave Plataeans fighting at the Battle of Marathon.

The Portland Vase revisited*

D. E. L. Haynes' 1964 booklet *The Portland Vase* and Bernard Ashmole's article of 1967 ushered in a spate of renewed speculations concerning the scenes depicted on the Portland Vase (FIG 1).¹ Despite the considerable literature since then, I venture to propose a new interpretation of part of the vase. First of all, it should be said that I accept the view of Ashmole (and others) against Haynes (and others) that the vase depicts two separate scenes and not one continuous one. I also accept (with many others) Ashmole's interpretation of the first scene as the love or marriage of Peleus and Thetis; the two lovers are figures A and C, Thetis being marked out as a sea-goddess by the sea snake in her lap, with Eros (B) and Zeus or Poseidon (D) looking on. In the case of figure D, I prefer Zeus to Poseidon, for two reasons: the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, we are told

* My thanks to Robin Osborne and to the referee and editor of *JHS* for helpful criticism.

¹ D. E. L. Haynes, *The Portland Vase* (London 1964; new edition 1975); B. Ashmole, *JHS* lxxxvii (1967) 1-17; D. E. L. Haynes, *JHS* lxxxviii (1968) 58-72; C. W. Clairmont, *AJA* lxxii (1968) 280-1; E. L. Brown, *AJA* lxxiv (1970) 189 and *AJA* lxxvi (1972) 379-91; E. B. Harrison in *Essays in Memoriam Otto Brendel* (Mainz 1976) 131-42; J. G. F. Hind, *JHS* xlcv (1979) 20-5; J. D. Smart, *JHS* civ (1984) 186; K.-H. Hunger, *Des Geheimnis der Portlandvase* (Munich 1988). E. Simon, *Augustus: Kunst und Leben in Rom um die Zeitwende* (Munich 1986) 163-5 gives much the same version as her previous *Die Portlandvase* (Mainz 1953). Another recent interpretation linking the Vase with Latin poetry is Kenneth Painter, 'The Portland Vase' in *Roman glass: two centuries of art and invention*, ed. Martine Newby and Kenneth Painter (London 1991) 33-45. This includes a valuable table listing all known interpretations of the iconography.

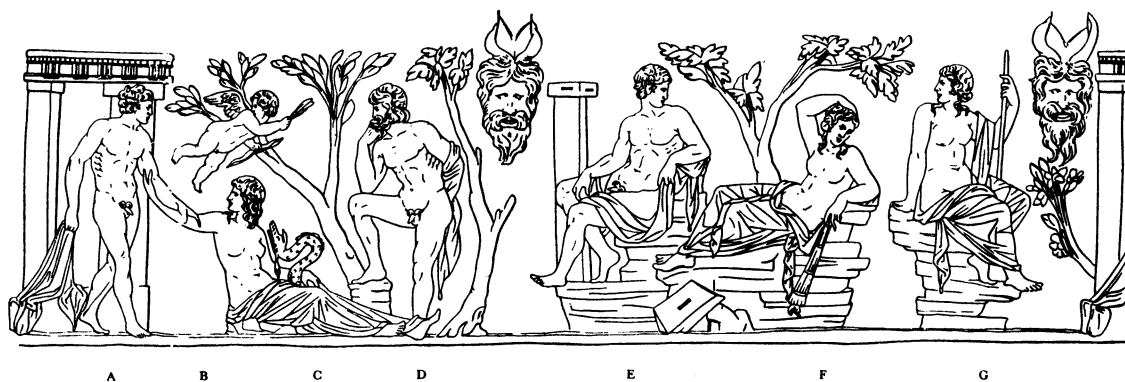


FIG. 1

in the Cyclic *Cypria*,² was part of Zeus' great master-plan for the reduction of the earth's excessive population through the Trojan War, and it is Zeus/Jupiter whose consent to the marriage is particularly stressed in the most notable literary source (cf. Catullus 64.21 *tum Thetidi pater ipse iugandum Pelea sensit*, 26-7 *Thessaliae columen Peleu, cui Iuppiter ipse, l ipse suos divum genitor concessit amores*).

Ashmole's view of the second scene as the marriage of Achilles and Helen on the White Island with Aphrodite looking on has found less agreement and presents some real difficulties,³ and none of the several ingenious identifications since proposed seems to me conclusive. Any interpretation of the second scene must clearly meet two criteria: it should yield a version which is an appropriate pairing for Peleus and Thetis, and it should adequately explain all the details of the depiction.

I propose that the scene depicted in figures E, F and G is the union of Paris and Helen, and that the figures are Paris, Helen and Aphrodite respectively. The identification of figures F and G as Helen and Aphrodite requires no arguments additional to Ashmole's; there are several vase-paintings of a seated Helen in company with Paris and naked from the waist up.⁴ Nor is it difficult to see the beardless and heroic E as Paris: though the Phrygian cap which so often serves to identify him is absent, there are several other depictions of Paris and Helen where Paris is bare-headed, beardless and naked except for a trailing cloak held up in a similar manner.⁵ The vase alludes to the first union of love between the pair on an island, possibly called Kranae,⁶

² *Cypria* fr. 1 in M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988). A recently-published narrative of the background to the *Iliad* from a 2nd/3rd century papyrus gives a different version of Zeus' motive, namely the wish to punish the impiety of the Heroic age (*P. Oxy.* 3829, col. ii, 9 ff.).

³ Pointed out by Haynes, *JHS* lxxxviii (1968), 62-8 and by Clairmont, *loc. cit.* (n. 1).

⁴ Cf. L. Ghali-Kalil, *LIMC* IV.1, Helene 95 and 96 (both illustrated *LIMC* IV.2 p. 309).

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* IV.1, Helene 96, 101, 143, 150, 155 (illustrated *LIMC* IV.2 p. 309 ff.).

⁶ The proper noun νήσω δ' ἐν Κρανάῃ (*Iliad* iii 445) is no more certain a reading than the conventional epithet νήσω δ' ἐν κρανάῃ ('rocky'); the adjective is preferred to

on the way from Sparta to Troy, an event mentioned in the *Iliad*, where Paris, rescued by Aphrodite from his duel with Menelaus and taken to Helen's bedroom, expresses his desire for her (iii 441-6):

ἀλλ' ὄγε δὴ φιλότῃ τραπέιομεν εὐνήθεντε·
οὐ γὰρ πῶ ποτέ μ' ὄδε γ' ἔρωσ φρένας ἀμφεκάλ-
υμεν,
οὐδ' ὅτε σε πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονος ἐξ ἑρατεινῆς
ἔπλεον ἀρπάξας ἐν ποντοπόροισι νέεσσι,
νήσω δ' ἐν Κρανάῃ ἐμίγην φιλότῃ καὶ εὐνή·
ὡς σεο νῦν ἔραμα καὶ με γλυκὺς ἕμερος αἰρεῖ.

On the vase, Aphrodite's role as arbitrating spectator is clear, and balances that of Zeus in the other scene on the vase; she is responsible for the union of Paris and Helen as her part of the bargain of the Judgement of Paris, just as Zeus, who turned down union with the beautiful Thetis and had a clear interest in having her married off to a mortal,⁷ oversees her union with Peleus. To reinforce Aphrodite's right to be there, Pausanias (iii 22.2) even tells us that a shrine was set up to her on Kranae in gratitude by Paris.

The details of the scene may now be interpreted. First of all, the rocks on which all three figures are set represent the island of Kranae and even perhaps allude to the literal meaning of its name ('Rocky'); this convention in ancient art is documented by Ashmole.⁸ Second, the inverted torch which Helen holds has an apt symbolism for her union with Paris; normally in Roman art the inverted torch is a symbol of death,⁹ but in a depiction of a man and woman it must also, like Helen's reclining position on a kind of rocky *lectus genialis*, have connotations of marriage.¹⁰ The suggestion clearly

the noun by G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad, a commentary: i* (Cambridge 1985) 329.

⁷ Because her son would be greater than his father—cf. Pindar *Isthm.* 8.34-8, [Aeschylus] *PV* 768, Apollodorus *Bibl.* iii 13.4-5.

⁸ *JHS* lxxxvii (1967) 7.

⁹ F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains* (Paris 1942) 409 n. 3.

¹⁰ For another example of this dual symbolism compare the normal and reversed torches on the Low Ham mosaic as interpreted by J. G. F. Hind, *art. cit.* (n. 1) 24.



FIG. 2

is that the union of Paris and Helen is a destructive one for Troy, destined to 'burn the topless towers of Ilium'. A closely similar use of the symbol occurs in Vergil, writing at about the time the Portland Vase was produced. At *Aeneid* vii 321-2 Juno rhetorically characterises the forthcoming union of Aeneas and Lavinia as repeating that of Paris and Helen and as being equally catastrophic for the Trojans:

quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter,
funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae.

The torch of marriage becomes the torch of death and destruction, a common reversal or ambiguity in Latin poetry.¹¹ Finally, the detail of the fallen capital in the foreground of the scene. If this is not a workshop mark,¹² it may also suggest the fall of the lofty city of Troy, cohering as Ashmole argued with the inverted torch as a symbol of destruction.¹³

Parallel representations of the marriage or union of Paris and Helen are not common: the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* lists only two, neither of which seems to be situated on an island.¹⁴ One type of scene which is more common and usually includes Aphrodite as well as Paris and Helen is that of Aphrodite's persuasion of Helen in Sparta to elope with Paris. *LIMC* lists fifteen examples, one of which (FIG. 2) is a copy of a lost wall-painting from Pompeii.¹⁵ In it we see Helen seated opposite a standing Paris, with Cupid

physically linking them in the centre and Aphrodite leaning over the back of Helen's chair. The distribution of the figures, with the hapless Helen seated between the conniving Paris and Aphrodite, is clearly similar to that on the Portland Vase: in both depictions Paris and Aphrodite rise in dominance over their victim, and are also put into close relation with each other—Aphrodite is clearly looking at Paris on the Portland Vase, and may be doing so on the wall-painting. This is a suggestive parallel for the vase, produced by an artist working in the vase's region of origin within a century of its creation.

It remains to prove the connection of this scene of the union of Paris and Helen with the union of Peleus and Thetis. Visually, one union balances the other, each being sanctioned by a watching divinity, but the two are also causally interconnected in terms of traditional mythology, for Paris' union with Helen is his reward for his decision in the Judgement of Paris, an arbitration which was necessitated by Eris' casting of the golden apple at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.¹⁶ Both unions are necessary antecedents for the Trojan War, and are included as such in Zeus' plans for depopulating the world in the Cyclic *Cypria*;¹⁷ the union of Helen with Paris is of course the cause of the war, while the marriage of Peleus and Thetis leads directly to the birth of Achilles, destined to be the war's greatest hero.¹⁸

Finally, it should be considered how all this relates to the occasion of the vase's creation and to its possible function. Most scholars have viewed the vase as a wedding-present, a natural conclusion from the two scenes of male/female union which it evidently contains. The interpretation of the vase advanced above does not exclude this plausible notion: its scenes of union can easily be read at more than one level, since the unions of Peleus and Thetis and of Paris and Helen can be seen as great exemplars of romantic and divinely-sanctioned love as well as dark moments portending the destruction of Troy.¹⁹ The designer of the vase, whether or not identical with the consummate craftsman who made it, produced an ambiguous programme, positive and joyful on a superficial view but darker and more subtle on closer investigation, not unlike some of the textures of contemporary Augustan poetry. Indeed, the destruction of Troy which the scenes on the vase anticipate was a

¹⁶ For Eris' intervention cf. Procius' summary of the *Cypria*, now in Davies, *op. cit.* (n.2), and the papyrus narrative mentioned in n. 2. The detail of the apple is probably a Hellenistic addition—cf. M. Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol 1989) 36.

¹⁷ Cf. *Cypria*, *loc. cit.* (n.2). Procius, however, makes it clear (*loc. cit.* n.16) that the *Cypria* placed the first union of Paris and Helen at Sparta and their marriage at Troy. The scene on the Portland Vase follows the Iliadic version.

¹⁸ Somewhat differently, a contrast between the fortunate union of Thetis and Peleus and the disastrous one of Helen and Paris is made by Alcaeus, fr. 42 LP—cf. D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955) 278-80.

¹⁹ For the romantic view of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis cf. Alcaeus *loc. cit.* (n.18) and the opening of Catullus 64; it was one of the standard rhetorical examples of blissful union—cf. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981) 153 and 367. The love of Paris and Helen was often romanticised, particularly by the love-elegists—cf. e.g. Propertius ii 15.13-14, Ovid *Ars* ii 5-6.

¹¹ Cf. Ovid *Met.* vi 430, *Her.* vi 45-6, Silius ii 184, Apulieus *Met.* iv 33.4 and D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Cambridge 1956) 315-6.

¹² As argued e.g. by Haynes, *JHS* lxxxvii (1968) 67.

¹³ *JHS* lxxxvii (1967) 14-15.

¹⁴ L. Ghali-Kalil, *LIMC* IV.1, Helene 190, 191 (illustrated *LIMC* IV.2 p. 318).

¹⁵ *ibid.* IV.1, Helene 145 (illustrated *LIMC* IV.1 526).

favoured theme of Augustan literature, largely for the opportunity it gave to stress how Rome arose out of its ashes.²⁰

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²⁰ For the theme of Troy's destruction turned to praise of Rome cf. above all the *Aeneid* and Propertius iv 1.87 *Troia cades, et Troica Roma resurgens*.

BHPICOC

In $\bar{\Lambda}$ 101-112 Agamemnon kills Isos and Antiphos, who were travelling on their chariot. They were sons of Priam, the former a νόθος, the latter γνήσιος. Agamemnon recognises them because earlier in the war they had been ransomed by Achilles, who, having captured them, bound them with withies on Mount Ida, where they had been tending their flocks of sheep.

The text of line 101 is not secure. Editors, Monro and Allen, for example, customarily give: αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ῥ' Ἰκόν τε καὶ Ἄντιφον ἐξενάριζων, but several manuscripts omit ῥ'. So did Zenodotos, perhaps because, as Walter Leaf insisted, ῥ' is 'quite otiose'. Leaf thought a name consisting of the simple adjective $\Phi\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ unlikely, adding Ἰκός, however, even without the Φ , is equally unknown as a proper name. ῥῆσιον or even ῥῆσιον (another unknown name), may be right.¹ Yet Ἰκός should not be ruled out, since it may be toponymic: 'Der eine Priamossohn heisst Ἰκός; ihn hat <E.> Maass (Herm. 24, <(1889)> 645 <-647>) scharfsinnig als Eponymen von Ἰκός auf Lesbos gedeutet'.²

However, Poseidippos the epigrammatist adopted a different collocation of letters. He is reported to have proposed, or to have accepted, Βῆσιον,³ with—one must suppose—ἐξενάριξεν to supply the missing indicative. The name Βῆσιος according to a reported statement of Aristarchos was not 'now' in the epigrams of Poseidippos, but it had stood in the so-called 'Pile' (Ὠρός).⁴

The problem is to explain why Poseidippos preferred Βῆσιον to βῆ ῥ' Ἰκόν. The solution, I suggest, is again toponymic. In the Athenian quota lists there are named among tributaries in the Troad, in 453 and at intervals thereafter, Βηρύσιοι ὑπὸ τῆ Ἰδῆ. The spelling of their name and of their city's name is not consistent. Stephanos of Byzantion (165, 8 Meineke) has Βέρυστι, Τρωικὴ πόλις, with the *ethnikon* Βερυστίτης. To be compared is Βῆριθρος, πόλις Τρωικῆ, with the

ethnikon Βηρίθριος (167, 6 Meineke). Coins have BIPY,⁵ recalling the form Birytis. The city has not been identified, but J.M. Cook, after noting the frequency of BIPY coins at Ilion, was inclined to place Birytis nearby, possibly at the site on the Ballı Dağ.⁶

In taking the letters BHPICON in $\bar{\Lambda}$ 101 as one word Poseidippos understood them to be the name of the eponymous hero of the *polis* of the Βηρύσιοι in the Troad. Why he included an epigram for the hero in the 'Pile', but not in another work, we are not told; but doubts about the correct spelling of the placename, and so about the soundness of the grouping of letters BHPICON, may have caused him to change his mind. However, he was interested in at least one other hero connected with a locality in the Troad: Stephanos (295, 5 and 8-11 Meineke) cites him for the variant form Ζελίτη of Ζέλεια and quotes from his epigram or elegy on Pandaros son of Lykaon, whom, as Aristotle seems also to have done (Fr. 151R), he may have regarded as a Lykaonian, not a Lykian.⁷

Berisos, to conclude, is a hero with little authority in the text of $\bar{\Lambda}$ 101, but behind Poseidippos' hesitant interpretation of a group of letters in the line there stood his knowledge of a real place in the Troad.

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⁵ J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 311.

⁶ Cook, *op. cit.* 357.

⁷ *Suppl. Hellen.* 700 L.-J./P.

οὐδὲ Λυκαονίη δεξατό τε Ζελίτη
ἀλλὰ <παρὰ> προχοῆσι Τιμουντίσι τοῦτο κοί Ἐκτώρ
σημα καὶ ἀγγέμαχοι θέντο Λυκαονίδα.

1 Λυκαονίη Meineke: Λυκάων codd. ('Nisi malis Λυκάν et sequente versu Ζελίτη' Meineke).

2 <παρὰ> Bergk: Τιμουντίσι Wilamowitz (προχοῆσι Τιμουντίσι Bergk): ἀλλὰ προχοῆσι Τιμόντος διὰ τοῦτο κοί Ἐκτώρ codd. (p. 295, 10 Meineke, app.crit.).

Redistribution of land in Solon, fragment 34 West

οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀπραγίῃσιν ἠλαθόν· ἐλπιδ' εἶχον ἀφνεήν,
κάδοκ[ε]ον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν δάβον εὐρήσειν πολύν,
καί με κατίλλοντα λείως τραχὺν ἐκφανεῖν νόον.
χαθῦνα μὲν τότε ἔφρασαντο, νῦν δέ μοι χολοῦμενοι
λοξῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρωσιν πάντες ὥστε δῆϊον.
οὐ χρεῶν' ἄ μὲν γὰρ εἶπα, σὺν θεοῖσιν ἦνυσσα,
ἄ, λλ, α δ' οὐ μάτην ἔερδον, οὐδέ μοι τυραννίδος
ἀνδάνει βίη τι[.]εἶν, οὐδὲ πει[.]ρητῆς χθονὸς
πατρίδος κακοῖσιν ἐσθλοῦς ἰσομοίρην ἔχειν.

Part of the standard account of Solon's reforms is that Solon, though pressured to do so, refused to expropriate the land of the wealthy and redistribute it to the poor.¹

¹ A notable exception to this standard account is the view of G. Ferrara, *La politica di Solone* (Napoli 1964) 124-26, that Solon, fr. 34 W is addressed to 'nobili "demagoghi" ' who wished to take advantage of the peasants' discontent, using the peasants' support to gain riches and power for themselves, but were thwarted by Solon who did not revise the constitution to give poor and rich an equal share in government. Something of the same view appears to be expressed more briefly by T.C.W. Stinton, 'Solon, fragment 25,' *JHS* xcvi (1976) 159-62.

¹ *The Iliad* I (repr. Amsterdam 1971) 476. For instances of the name Ἰκός or Ἰκός see R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic* (Oxford 1962) 54-55.

² Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1920) 185 n. 2.

³ 'ex epigrammatis sive e Soro (de Beriso)', *Supplementum Hellenisticum* 701 L.-J./P.

⁴ Schol. Ven. A $\bar{\Lambda}$ 101 (3.144, 13-16 Erbse). Ζηνόδοτος ἔξω τοῦ ῥ' βῆ Ἰκόν. μὴ ἐμφέρεσθαι δὲ φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστάρχος νῦν ἐν τοῖς Ποσειδίππου ἐπιγράμμασι τὸν Βῆσιον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ὠρῶ εὐρεῖν. For problems concerning the Ὠρός, which need not detain us here, see Gow and Page, *Hellenistic epigrams* ii (Cambridge 1965) 483-84; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i (Oxford 1972) 560; and Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* lxxxiii (1963) 96.