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Athenian Political Art from the fifth and fourth centuries: Images of Tribal (Eponymous) Heroes

SUMMARY



The Cleisthenic reforms of 508/7, which firmly established democracy at Athens, imposed a new division of Attica into ten tribes, each of which constituted a new political and military unit,

but included citizens from each of the three geographical regions of Attica – the city, the coast, and the inland. Enrollment in a tribe (according to heredity) was a mandatory prerequisite for citizenship.

As usual in ancient Athenian affairs, politics and religion came hand in hand and, after due consultation with Apollo's oracle at Delphi, each new tribe was assigned to a particular hero after whom the tribe was named; the ten

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THE TRIBAL HEROES AS A GROUP: HISTORY

Aristotle indicates that each hero already received worship by the time of the Cleisthenic reforms, although little evidence as to the nature of the worship of each hero is now known (Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 21.6). Even if the locus of their individual cults is obscure, each hero may be identified, according to his mythology, with a particular part of Attica (e.g. Ajax of Salamis). Tribal documents seem to have been deposited at the local shrine of each hero, as well as by the statue of the relevant hero in the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes at the Agora in Athens.

The concept of an eponymous hero was an established tradition before the reforms of Cleisthenes; the four Ionian tribes, for example, were said by Herodotus to have been named after the sons of Ion (Hdt. 5.66). And the reverence of a hero whose name might be similar or identical to the name of the place where s/he was worshipped is an ancient mode of thought that by the classical period comes quite close to the concept of personification – the representation of a thing, place, or abstraction as a person or by the human form – so that in many cases it is impossible to determine whether the hero was named for the place or *vice versa*. Either way, however, through the democratic era, each eponymous hero came to be so closely identified with

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his tribe that his figure served to represent that group of people in a political sense. In the Agora – the market and political center of Athens – the heroes were commemorated (and worshipped?) together at the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, attested as early as Aristoph. *Peace* 1183, but enshrined in its current form – east of the Metroon on the west side of the Agora – in the 340s or 330s.

The tribal heroes as a group: mythology

Just as politics and religion were inextricably entwined at Athens, so were myth and history, which together served to support political and/or religious institutions. So it is no surprise that in a funeral oration Ps.-Dem. 60.27ff chooses first to praise the heroism of the deceased and then to connect some small fragment from the mythology of each tribal hero with the courage and patriotism of the fallen warriors. Thus the frequent appearance of the heroes – individually and particularly together - in mythological contexts dating to the era of the Democracy (from 508 down to 322) – whether as tragic characters on the stage or figures ornamenting vases may be considered politically motivated. Just as personifications symbolize places, institutions, and abstractions, the roles of the eponymous heroes in visual as well as the literary arts – whether or not in mythological contexts – is as symbols of the tribes with which they shared their names. Whether to patriotic tribesmen or to (dis)interested others, they advertise their

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tribes. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the heroes are always shown in a good light in Athenian visual arts.

The individual heroes: Ajax

Ajax (tribe: Aiantis)

Mythology: Ajax, son of Telamon and of (P)eriboia, is attested as a hero from Salamis as early as Homer (Hom. *Il.* 2.257, 7.199; Hdt. 5.66). His genealogy is further discussed by archaic and classical authors (Xen. *Hunt.* 1.9, Paus. 1.42.4, and Pind. *I.* 6.45), as are his off-



spring (Soph. *Aj.* 574–75; Plut. *Sol.* 10; Hdt. 6.35.4), and his role as a warrior at Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.557; Soph. *Aj.* 861; Hom. *Od.* 11.543–60; Hdt. 8.64).

Worship: Ajax was worshipped primarily at his home, Salamis (Paus. 1.35.3–4 notes a temple with an ebony statue) but also at Athens proper (probably in the Eurysakeion in Melite, for which see *Hesperia* 7 [1938] 18, 94 no. 15; this may be the sanctuary recorded in two inscriptions: Agora I 286 and *IG* II², 1008.87). Pausanias also mentions a Megarian cult of Athena Aiantis (Paus. 1.42.4)

The individual heroes: Aigeus

Aigeus (tribe: Aigeis)

Mythology: Aigeus was said to be the son of Pandion or Skyrios (Apollod. 3.15.5), or perhaps was adopted by Pandi-

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on (Plut. *Thes.* 13.1) and, despite several marriages (to Meta [Melite?] and Chalkiope), remained childless until he slept with Aithra (who subsequently bore Theseus) at Troizen (Apollod. 3.15.7; Plut. *Thes.* 3.5). He later married Medea



(Eur. *Med.* 1384 ff.; Apollod. *Epit.* 1.5; Paus. 2.3.8), then was reunited with his son, Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 12.2–6), and leapt to his death by jumping off the Acropolis when he saw black sails on Theseus' ship (Paus. 1.22.5; Diod. 4.61.7).

Worship: Aigeus received a *heroon* (that is, a hero-shrine) at Athens, according to Paus. 1.22.5 (supported by Harpocration *s.v.* "Aigeion"); this may have been at the Delphinion, where he was said to live (Plut. *Thes.* 12.6), or the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania, which he founded on account of his childlessness, according to Paus. 1.14.7.

Tribal connection: The only tribal detail relevant to Aigeus that is known to have been recorded is that Aigeus' priest

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was chosen from among the tribesman of the Aigeis tribe $(IG \text{ II}^2, 952)$.

The individual heroes: Akamas

Akamas (tribe: Akamantis)

Mythology: Akamas was a son of Theseus, and brother of Demophon (*Ilias Parva* fr. 17 Kinkel, *Iliupersis* fr. 3 K). His maternity was disputed, however (his mother is said to be Phaidra [Diod. 4.62; Apollod. *Epit.* 1.18], Ariadne [*Schol.* Hom. *Od.* 11.321], or Antiope, by association). He is associated with colonisations in the Chersonnese (with Antimachos: *Sch.* Thuc. 1.11), at Cyprus (Strab. 6.83; with Phaleros: Lycophron 494 ff.).

Worship: Akamas' tribal shrine was at Kallithea (Xypete or Alopeke): see Athens, *EM* 13354/Athens, *EM* 13354a (ca. 361/0). He was also worshipped with his siblings (children



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Tribal connection: A fragmentary inscription, Agora XV 128 (*IG* II², 917; published in *Hesperia* 9 [1940] 116), may record a tribal priesthood.

The individual heroes: Antiochos

Antiochos (tribe: Antiochis)

Mythology: Antiochos was a son of Herakles (Ps.-Dem. 60.31; Apollod. 1.8.3) and Meda (Paus. 1.5.2). The descendants of his son Phylas led the return of the Heracleidae (according to Paus. 2.4.3; Apollod. 1.8.3; Diod. 4.37), and he had strong ties to Corinth and Boeotia. His only mytholog-

ical connection with Attica is attested in his appearance on vase imagery, particularly among the boys sent to the Minotaur (see the Francois Vase [Florence 4209]).



Worship: Antiochos, son of

Herakles, was worshipped appropriately at the Herakleion in Kynosarges (published by C. Karouzos in *ArchDelt* 8 [1923] 82–102); some fourth century tribal decrees found there refer to a priest of Antiochos); it is highly likely, however, that Antiochos' cult came to Kynosarges after the Cleisthenic reforms of 508/7, and his cult is not mentioned

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in Pausanias' discussion of the Herakleion there (Paus. 1.19.3).

Tribal connection: A member of the Antiochis tribe held the priesthood of Antiochos at Kynosarges, according to an inscription dated 169/8 (see Dow 1937, 71).

The individual heroes: Erechtheus

Erechtheus (tribe: *Erechtheis*)

Mythology: Erechtheus, who is often confused (in ancient as in modern discussions) with Erichthonios, was born from the Earth (Hom. *Il.* 2.546–51; Hdt. 8.55; Soph. Aj. 202 [Erichthonios]). His mother is sometimes reported to have been Nemesis at Rhamnous, where he was king, and where he founded her temple (Suda S.V. "Ramnousia Nemesis" (rho,33)). The Parian Marble (Marm. Par. 28 ff.) records that he was the son of Pandi-



on and Zeuxippe, and twin brother of Boutes, who became priest when Erechtheus became King of Athens (Apollod. 3.14.8). His marriage to Praxithea is recorded in Eur. *Erech.*

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His sons Kekrops II, Pandoros, and Metion, are mentioned by Apollod. 3.15.1, and he had many daughters – Kreousa, Prokris (by whom he fathered Aglauros, according to Hyg. *Fab.* 253), Chthonia, Oreithyia, and Hyakinthides. When he fought against Eleusis (Eur. *Erech.;* Thuc. 2.15.1) he gained victory by voluntarily sacrificing his daughters. His killing of Eumolpos (Apollod. 3.15.4) was avenged by Poseidon's trident (Eur. *Erech.* fr. 65.90, 92?; Eur. *Ion* 281–82) or by Zeus' thunderbolt, at the request of Poseidon (Hyg. *Fab.* 46; see G.W. Elderkin, *Hesperia* 10 [1941] 113).

Worship: Erechtheus was worshipped at the Erechtheion, which is thought to have been part of the Temple of Athena Polias (Paus. 1.26.5) or perhaps within the building known now as the Erechtheion (see K. Jeppesen, *The Theory of the Alternative Erechtheion* [Aarhus 1987]). Many sources confirm that he was worshipped on the Acropolis (Hdt. 8.55; Eur. *Erech.* fr. 65.90–4 Austin; *IG* I², 580) and Hom. *Il.* 2.546–51 attests that he was worshipped in the chief temple of Athena. (Hdt. 5.82 mentions also that he was worshipped in close connection with Athena Polias, perhaps at the Panathenaia).

Erechtheus received worshipped also at Marathon (according to Nonnus 39.210–13 or at Rhamnous, in the Temple of Nemesis (which he erected: Suda *s.v.* "Ramnousia Nemesis" (*rho*,33)).

Erechtheus may have shared worship with Poseidon (according to Paus. 1.26.5 the two shared an altar as dictated

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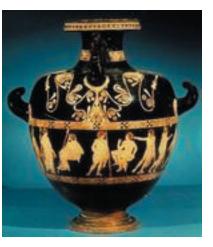
Amy C. Smith, "Athenian Political Art from the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BCE: Images of Tribal (Eponymous) Heroes," in C. Blackwell, ed., *Dēmos: Classical Athenian Democracy* (A. Mahoney and R. Scaife, edd., *The Stoa: a consortium for electronic publication in the humanities* [www.stoa.org], 2003. © 2003, A.C. Smith.

by an oracle); he is referred to as Poseidon Erechtheus in Eur. *Erech.* fr. 65.93–94, and *IG* I², 580 (see C. Austin, *Recherches de Papyrologie* 4 [1967] 59–60), although *IG* II², 1146 indicates that their cults were separate). For Erechtheus' connection with the Eteoboutadai (family of priests) see Plut. *Mor.* 841B, 843A–C; Harpoc. *s.v.* "Eteoboutadai".

The individual heroes: Hippothoon

Hippothoon (tribe: *Hippothontis*)

Mythology: Hippothoon was mentioned along with Eumolpos and Dolichos as an Eleusinian hero in Hes. fr. 227 M-w (and is shown at the mission of Triptolemos on vases). He was the son of Poseidon and Alope (Hellanicus *FGrH* 323a F 6; Hyg. *Fab.* 187; Paus. 1.39.3); his birth and mother's



subsequent death appeared in several tragedies (Eur. *Alope;* Choirilos *Alope;* cf. Aristoph. *Birds* 559). According to Hyg. *Fab.* 187, Hippothoon received Theseus into his ancestral lands after he had killed Kerkyon.

Worship: Hippothoon was worshipped at Eleusis, according to honorary decrees dating to the fourth century (*IG*

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II², 1149, 1153), and a heroon of Hippothoon is attested (Paus. 1.38.4; $IG II^2$, 1163).

Tribal connection: Hippothoon's priests were connected with the Eleusinian Mysteries (see, e.g. Palermo v 779 [*ARV* 2, 496.5]), and were dictated by heredity rather than chosen from among the tribe (Agora 15, 132 and 261).

The individual heroes: Kekrops

Kekrops (tribe: Kekropis)

Mythology: Kekrops, who was half man and half snake (Aristoph. *Wasps* 438; Eur. *Ion.* 1163–64; see also Berlin F 2357), has no recorded parentage; his autochthonous na-



ture, noted by Apollod. 3.14.1, encouraged Athenian pride in their sense of belonging to Attica. He was an early King of Attica, either the first (*Marm. Par.* A 1) or successor to Aktaios (Paus. 1.2.6). With Agraulos, daughter of Aktaios, he had three daughters, Aglauros, Pandrosos and Herse (Eur. Ion 270–72; Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 106) and a son, Erysichthon (Apollod. 3.14.1; Paus. 1.2.6). Kekrops is said to

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Worship: Kekrops was worshipped on the Acropolis (*IG* II², 1156), perhaps in a cave (Eur. *Ion* 1400), a tomb (Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3.45), or a corner near the south wall of the Erechtheion (*IG* I³, 474.59–63); here his priesthood was hereditary among the Amynandridai (*IG* II², 2388). By the time of Hadrian times Kekrops was also worshipped in the Thriasian Plain. Kekrops may also have received worship outside Attica: in Haliartos (Paus. 9.33.1) and in Megara (Hsych. *s.v. "En d'Aithuia"*).

The individual heroes: Leos

Leos (tribe: *Leontis*)

Mythology: Although another Attic hero (Leos the herald; see Plut. *Thes.* 13) is known by this name, Leos the eponymous hero has no mythology aside from a mention that he is the son of Orpheus (Bekk. *Anecd.* 1.277.14), the father of Kylanthos (Suda, Phot. *s.v.* "Leokorion" [lambda,262; see also lambda,261), and three daughters – Euboule, Phra-

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sithea or Praxithea, Theope or Theopompe – who sacrificed themselves to save Attica (Ps.-Dem. 60.29; Ael. VH 12.28; Diod. 17.15).

Worship: Leos was worshipped in the deme Skambonidai (*IG* I³, 244.C4–5) and perhaps in the Agora at the Leokoreion (discussed by S. Rotroff, *Hesperia* 47 [1978] 206–207).

Tribal connection: The priest of Leos was chosen from among members of the Leontis tribe in 212/1 (*IG* II², 847.51–52 = Dow 1937, 36). Tribal documents have been found on the Acropolis (*IG* II², 1742) and at Daphni (*IG* II², 2818), as well as in the Agora (*Hesperia* 9 [1941] 59–66 no. 8).

The individual heroes: Oineus

Oineus (tribe: Oineis)

Mythology: Oineus was a son of Dionysos (Ps.-Dem. 60.30) or an illegitimate son of Pandion (Paus. 1.5.2).

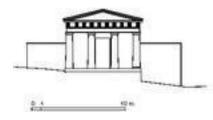
Worship: No evidence attests Oineus' individual worship or details of his tribal affiliation.



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THE INDIVIDUAL HEROES: PANDION Pandion (tribe: *Pandionis*)



Mythology: There were at least two Attic kings named Pandion. The first, successor and son of Erichthonios (*Marm. Par.* A 11) and Praxithea (Apollod. 3.14.6) was husband

to Zeuxippe, with whom he fathered Erechtheus (*Marm. Par.* A 15), Boutes, Prokne, and Philomela (Apollod. 3.14.8; for Prokne see Hes. *WD*. 568; Sappho 86D; and Palermo 12480 [*ARV* 21249.21]; for Philomela see also Hes. *WD* 566 [in Hom. *Od.* 18.518 she is daughter of Pandareos]). The second, son of Kekrops II (*Marm. Par.* A 17) and Metiadousa (Apollod. 3.15.5; Paus. 9.33.1) was expelled by Metion to Megara, where he married a daughter of King Pylas (Apollod 3.15.5; Paus. 1.5.3), and fathered Lykos, Pallas, Nisos, and Aigeus (*FGrH* 329 F 2; Soph. *TGrF* 4.24). Pandion is elsewhere mentioned as father of Teithras (*Sch.* Aristoph. *Frogs* 477) and Kephalos (Hyg. *Fab.* 270) and is credited with instituting the form of the Choes (*Sch.* Aristoph. *Ach.* 961; Aristoph. *Kn.* 95).

Worship: Pandion was worshipped by the fourth century on the Acropolis (IG II², 1138, 1144, 1157; Paus. 1.5.4). Pandion may have been worshipped at Plotheia, where games in his honor (?), the Pandia, were celebrated (*IG* I³, 258.9); he probably also received a sacrifice as founder of the Pan-

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dia (Kearns 1989, 81). Pandion received worship outside Attica, at his tomb in the cave Sanctuary of Athena Aithyia in Megara. He also received a monument in Megara (Paus. 1.5.3, 1.39.4, and Paus. 1.41.6).

G.P. Stevens has identified a Monument of Pandion in the Agora (see the line drawing above).

Images of the heroes: sculpture

Statues

- Marathon victory group by Pheidias at Delphi (with Athena, Apollo, and Miltiades), ca. 460–450: Paus. 10.10.1 (Erechtheus, Kekrops, Pandion, Leos, Antiochos, Aigeus, and Akamas).
- 2. Battle group of Erechtheus and Eumolpos, by Myron, ca. 460–450, on the Akropolis at Athens; Paus. 1.27.3; Paus. 9.30.1.
- 3. Type of the Munich King (original lost): a nude, mature male figure, possibly by Myron, ca. 450–440.
- Bronze group of the Trojan horse, by Stronglion, ca. 425, dedicated by Chairedemos, son of Eueangelos of Koile, on the Acropolis at Athens: Paus. 1.23.8; Aristoph. *Birds* 1128, 1130; Sch. Hsch. Suid. *s.v.* "dourios ippos". For the base see IG I², 535: Stevens 1936, fig. 13; Raubitschek 1949, 208 f., no. 176.
- 5. Monument of the Eponymous Heroes: Paus. 1.5.2.

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The earliest Monument of the Eponymous Heroes attested by physical evidence may be dated to ca. 330. At this time it constituted a long limestone statue base which carried ten bronze statues – one of each of the heroes, and tripods at each end (probably in commemoration of the fact that the Delphic oracle was consulted for the choice of the heroes). The entire base was surrounded by a barrier of fence posts (some marble and limestone posts remain), with wooden railings. This monument served as a public notice board for tribal affairs, general notices for the Assembly, and the heroes may also have received worship there.

- 6. Statue of Pandion on the Akropolis at Athens: Paus. 1.5.4.
- 7. Statue plinth with the name Pandion inscribed, in the Capitoline, Rome, from Orto di Panisperna (see *BullCom* 16 [1888] 488).
- 8. Statue of Hippothoon in the Agora at Athens (Paus. 1.39.3).

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Document Reliefs

- Louvre MA 831: "The Choiseul Marble," a relief on an account of the Treasurers of Athena, 409/ 8, with Erechtheus.
- Athens NM 1467: relief on an alliance decree, ca. 375–350, perhaps showing Kekrops.
- 3. Athens, NM 2756: relief from a document, ca. 400– 350, honoring a member of a phyle.



- 4. Athens, NM 3492: relief from a decree, ca. 350–325, honoring a priest, from the Herakleion at Kynosarges.
- 5. Berlin κ 113: relief from a document, ca. 350–300, from Athens, honoring a man.
- 6. Athens, NM 2947: relief from a document, ca. 350–300, honoring an ephebe.
- 7. Athens, NM 3491: relief from a decree, ca. 330–320, honoring Prokleides, from the Herakleion at Kynosarges

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8. Athens, NM 2911: relief from a document, 323/22 honoring a man.

Votive Reliefs

- 1. Athens, NM 2995: a relief from a votive (or perhaps a decree), ca. 400–375.
- 2. Athens, NM 1478: relief showing Oineus (?) with worshippers, ca. 350–325.

Architectural sculpture

- 1. The North Metopes of the Parthenon, 447–442 (Akamas *et al.* at the *Iliupersis* [Sack of Troy]).
- 2. The east side of the Parthenon Frieze, 442–438 Parthenon West Pediment, 438–432 (Kekrops and possibly Erechtheus at the contest between Athena and Poseidon).

Images of the heroes: paintings

Wall Paintings

1. (*Iliupersis* [Sack of Troy]) by Polygnotos in the Lesche of the Knidians, Delphi: Paus. 10.26.2 (Akamas and Ajax) (note also Ajax in the Nekyia: Paus. 10.31.1)

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Vase Paintings

Aigeus:

Aigeus at the Delphi oracle:

3. Berlin F 2538: tondo of the Kodros Painter's kylix, ca. 440–430 (Aigeus labelled; shown here).



Aigeus greets Theseus:

- 4. Louvre G 195: Red-figure skyphos fragments by the Brygos Painter, ca. 480–470.
- 5. Paris, Bib. Nat. 571: Red-figure cup fragments in the manner of the Brygos Painter, related to the Castelgiorgio Painter, ca. 480–470.
- 6. London E 264: Red-figure squat amphora by the Oinanthe Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 7. St. Petersburg St. 1692: Red-figure stamnos by Hermonax, ca. 470–460.
- 8. Fitzwilliam ? [*CVA* 2/1936, pl. 12.1a]: Red-figure pelike, ca. 440–430.

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9. St. Petersburg St. 1599: Red-figure neck amphora by the Schuvalov Painter, ca. 430–420.

Aigeus at the departure of Theseus (and Ajax):

- 10. Bologna PU 273: Red-figure cup by the Kodros Painter, ca. 440–430 (Aigeus, Ajax, and Theseus labelled).
- 11. Athens, NM 1185: Red-figure pelike by Aison, ca. 420–410 (Aigeus labelled).

Other scenes of Aigeus with Theseus:

- 12. Once Rome art market: Red-figure stamnos by the Tyzkiewicz Painter, ca. 480–470.
- 13. Bari 1396: Red-figure column krater by the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, ca. 460–450.
- 14. Bologna 364: Red-figure column krater, ca. 440-430.
- 15. New York 56.171.48: Red-figure calyx krater by the Group of Polygnotos, ca. 440–430.
- 16. Bologna 245: Red-figure column krater by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, ca. 440–430.
- 17. Athens, NM 13026: Red-figure pelike by the Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, ca. 440–430.
- 18. Madrid 32.679/a: Red-figure bell krater by the Painter of Munich 2335, ca. 430–420.
- 19. Florence 80: Red-figure skyphos fragments, ca. 430–420.

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- 20. Adolphseck 78: Red-figure calyx krater by the Kekrops Painter, ca. 410–400.
- 21. St. Petersburg B 2680: Red-figure bell krater near the Pronomos Painter, ca. 400–390.
- 22. Athens, NM 1434: Red-figure bell krater, ca. 390-380.
- 23. Ferrara, Spina 238c: Red-figure skyphos, ca. 390-380.
- 24. Ancona ? [*ARV* 21453.14]: Red-figure bell krater by the Filottrano Painter, ca. 350–340.
- 25. Thessaloniki 34.359: Red-figure bell krater by the Filottrano Painter, ca. 350–340.
- 26. Louvre G 526: Red-figure bell krater by the Filottrano Painter, ca. 350–340.

Ajax:

The departure of Ajax:

- 27. London E 16: Red-figure cup from Vulci, by Oltos, ca. 510–500.
- Ajax with an Aphlaston:
- 28. Athens, Acropolis 516: Red-figure skyphos fragment, ca. 480–470.

Akamas:

Akamas and Damophon as children?:

29. Vienna 1773: Red-figure skyphos from Orvietto, attributed to the Lewis Painter, ca. 480–470.

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Akamas founding a city:

30. Japanese private collection [Para, 380.5]: Red-figure pelike by the Painter of the Birth of Athena, ca. 450–440, with Damophon and Akamas labelled.

Akamas at an Amazonomachy:

31. London 1899.7–21.5: Dinos from Agrigento, attributed to the Group of Polygnotos, ca. 440–430.

Akamas with the Herakleidai:

32. Berlin 1969.6: Red-figure Lucanian column krater, ca. 420–410.

Erechtheus:

Erechtheus at the rape of Oreithyia:

- 33. Berlin 2165: Red-figure pointed amphora by the Oreithyia Painter, ca. 480–470.
- 34. London E 512: Red-figure oinochoe by the Pan Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 35. St. Petersburg в 805: Red-figure stamnos by Hermonax, ca. 470–460.
- 36. Villa Giulia ?: Red-figure pelike by Hermonax, ca. 470–460.
- 37. Athens, Agora P 8959: Red-figure pelike fragments by Hermonax, ca. 460–450.

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- 38. Bologna 273: Red-figure volute krater by the Boreas Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 39. Munich 2374: Red-figure calyx krater by the Boreas Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 40. Munich ? [*ARV* 21672]: Red-figure cup near the early Sabouroff Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 41. Wuerzburg L 511: Red-figure pelike by the Niobid Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 42. Bowdoin 08.3: Red-figure hydria by the Niobid Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 43. Once Lucerne art market: Red-figure hydria by the Niobid Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 44. Boston 1972.850: Red-figure calyx krater by the Niobid Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 45. London, v&A 663–1864: Red-figure hydria, ca. 450– 440.
- 46. Heidelberg ? [Brommer, VL 3262 в 7]: Red-figure fragment, ca. 450–440.
- 47. Coll. Ludwig: Red-figure Stamnos by the Christie Painter, ca. 440–430.
- 48. Frankfurt vF 406: Red-figure cup by the Euaion Painter, ca. 440–430.
- 49. Athens, NM 1586: Red-figure pyxis by the Euaion Painter, ca. 440–430.

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Erechtheus and Kekrops at the rape of Oreithyia by Boreas:

- 50. Munich 2345: Name vase (Red-figure pointed amphora) of the Oreithyia Painter, ca. 480–470 (Erechtheus and Kekrops labelled).
- 51. Warsaw 142359: Red-figure stamnos in the manner of the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, ca. 470–460.
- 52. Bologna 201: Red-figure column krater near the Boreas Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 53. Ferrara T 11 C VP: Red-figure volute krater by the Niobid Painter, ca. 450–440.

Erechtheus at the death of Prokris:

- 54. London E 477: Red-figure column krater by the Hephaistos Painter, ca. 440–430.
- The birth of Erichthonios:

Kekrops at the birth of Erichthonios:

- 55. Palermo 769: White-ground black-figure lekythos by the Ampurias Painter, ca. 500–490.
- 56. Kiel [*ARV* 21201.4]: Red-figure lekythos by the Selinus Painter, ca. 430–420.
- 57. Prague [Brommer, *VL* 3265 B 9]: Red-figure calyx krater fragment, ca. 420–410.
- 58. Palermo ?: Red-figure calyx krater near the Talos Painter, ca. 410–400.

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59. Athens, NM 1192: Late Red-figure loutrophoros fragment, ca. 410-400.

Aigeus and Kekrops at the birth of Erichthonios:

60. Berlin F 2537: Red-figure cup by the Kodros Painter, ca. 440–430.



Hippothoon:

Hippothoon as a child:

- 61. Ferrara τ 579: Red-figure volute krater from Spina, attributed to the Painter of Bologna 279, ca. 450–440.
- 62. Tuebingen 1610: Red-figure Kersch jug, ca. 330–320. Hippothoon with Eleusinian deities:
- 63. Louvre G 371: Red-figure stamnos from Etruria, by to the Berlin Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 64. Palermo v 779: Red-figure bell krater from Agrigento, by the Oreithyia Painter, ca. 470–460, with Hippothoon labelled.

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- 65. Copenhagen 3612: Red-figure stamnos by the Deepdene Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 66. London E 469: Red-figure volute krater from Altamura, by the Altamura Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 67. St. Petersburg 639: Red-figure volute krater by the Altamura Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 68. Ferrara т 313: Red-figure calyx krater from Spina, by the Niobid Painter, ca. 450–440.
- 69. Reggio ? [*ARV* 421.32]: Red-figure volute krater from Lokri, by the Niobid Painter, ca. 450–440.
- 70. Louvre G 343: Red-figure volute krater by the Niobid Painter, ca. 450–440.
- 71. Munich 2685: Red-figure cup from Vulci, by the Sabouroff Painter, ca. 450–440.

Kekrops:

Kekrops with the Kekropids:

- 72. Los Angeles A 5933.50.34: Red-figure calyx krater by the Mykonos Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 73. Los Angeles A 5933.50.12: Red-figure column krater by the Syracuse Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 74. Naples 3045: Red-figure pelike by the Leningrad Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 75. London E 788: Red-figure rhyton by the Sotades Painter, ca. 460–450.

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Kekrops and Buzyges:

- 76. Harvard 60.345: Red-figure bell krater by the Hephaistos Painter, ca. 430–420.
- 77. Kekrops at the contest between Athena and Poseidon:
- 78. Athens, NM 594: Red-figure pyxis lid fragments by the Mikion Painter, ca. 400–390.
- 79. St. Petersburg кав 6a: Kertsch hydria by the Painter of the Wedding Procession, ca. 360–350.

Pandion:

Pandion with Athena:

- 80. Paris, Bib. Nat. 260: Black-figure olpe by the Leagros Group, ca. 510–500.
- Pandion witnessing the deeds of Theseus:
- 81. Brussels R 303: Red-figure pointed amphora by the Syleus Painter, ca. 470–460 (inscribed Paneidon).
- 82. Ferrara T 18 C VP: Red-figure cup by the Diomedes Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 83. Phyle heroes in Trojan scenes (see also the Parthenon, North Metopes):
- Rape of the Palladion (Statue of Pallas Athena):
- 84. St. Petersburg St. 830: Red-figure plate from Etruria, by Makron, ca. 490–480, with Diomedes, Damophon, and Akamas labelled.

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The Trojan Horse:

- 85. Wuerzburg н 4695: Red-figure calyx krater, ca. 400– 390.
- The release of Aithra:
- 86. London E 458: Red-figure calyx krater from Vulci, by Myson, ca. 500–490, with Akamas and Damophon labelled.
- 87. Naples 2422: Red-figure hydria from Nola, by the Kleophrades Painter, ca. 480–470.
- 88. Bologna 268: Red-figure volute krater from Bologna, by the Niobid Painter, ca. 470–460.
- 89. Bologna 269: Red-figure volute krater from Bologna, by the Niobid Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 90. Munich J 341: White-ground plate from Vulci, ca. 460–450.
- 91. Berlin F 2408: Red-figure oinochoe from Crete, by the Nausicaa Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 92. Agrigento ?: Red-figure neck amphora, ca. 440-430.
- Akamas at the sacrifice of Polyxena:
- 93. Louvre G 152.: Red-figure cup from Vulci, by



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- 94. Louvre G 153: Red-figure cup from Italy, by Makron, ca. 490–480.
- Phyle heroes at Dithyrambic victories:
- 95. London E 284: Red-figure amphora attributed to the Nausicaa Painter, ca. 460–450.
- 96. Munich 2412: Red-figure stamnos from Vulci, attributed to the Hector Painter, ca. 420–410.
- 97. Copenhagen Chr. VIII 939: Red-figure bell krater from Greece, ca. 420–410.
- Other appearances of the eponymous heroes:
- 98. Richmond 79.100: Ram's head rhyton, attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, ca. 480–470, with Kekrops, Aigeus, and Pandion at a symposium of the Attic kings.
- 99. Palermo 12480: Red-figure oinochoe by the Eretria Painter, ca. 430–420 (Pandion labelled).
- 100. London 98.7–16.6: Red-figure volute krater from Greece, attributed to the Nikias Painter, ca. 420–410.
- 101. Naples Stg. 311: Red-figure lekanis by the Meidias Painter, ca. 420–410, with Antiochos and Pandion labelled.

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- 102. London E 224: Hydria (name vase) of the Meidias Painter (the "Hamilton Hydria"), ca. 420–410, showing Akamas, Antiochos, Hippothoon and Oineus in the Gardens of the Hesperides (side B, a detail of Antiochos and a detail of Oineus, shown here).
- 103. Syracuse 30747: Red-figure bell krater by the Dinos Painter, ca. 410–400, with Akamas, Pandion, and Oineus labelled.
- 104. Athens, NM ?: Red-figure oinochoe fragment from the Kabeirion (Thebes), attributed to the Helen Painter, ca. 370–360.

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