The Judgement of Paris in Ancient Greek Art and Literature

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Abstract

The Judgement of Paris has been one of the most influential and popular myths throughout antiquity. Significant work has been done by previous scholars on the collection and analysis of artistic representations of the Judgement. This thesis is also looks into the Judgement of Paris in ancient Greek art, but it mainly focuses on the collection and analysis of the references to the myth in Greek literature from the eighth century B.C. to the second century A.D. Special attention is paid to recurring themes and the problematic that the Judgement story raises, as well as to the interaction between those themes and specific genres. The detailed account and analysis of the references available sheds light not only on the perception of the myth itself, but also on conceptions of morality, beauty, life choices, gods, free choice, responsibility and even humour in antiquity. Through this thesis it is possible to see the transformations of the Judgement of Paris throughout centuries of literature, from its very first appearance in Homer's *Iliad* to the enjoyable world of Lucian, realising the vast possibilities of this mythological tradition.

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Introduction

At the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the goddess Eris (Strife) causes a dispute among three major goddesses, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, concerning who is the fairest.[1] As the argument among the three proves insoluble, Zeus commands Hermes to guide them to Mount Ida for Paris to judge their beauty. Paris is a shepherd in Ida, unaware that he is the younger son of king Priam and queen Hecuba, and thus a prince of Troy. The goddesses each offer Paris a bribe to win him over: Hera promises kingship over Europe and Asia, Athena promises to make him the best warrior, whereas Aphrodite promises him Helen, wife of the Spartan king Menelaus. Paris chooses Aphrodite and with her help goes to Sparta and abducts Helen. Menelaus, his brother Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, and the rest of the Greeks seek revenge for Paris' folly, which leads to the Trojan war.

[1] Eris' motive for causing the dispute vary. In the *Cypria* (fr. 1 West) and Apollodorus (*Ep.* 3.2) there is no reason given, but in Hyginus (*Fab.* 92) Eris was not invited, while in the much later (6th c. A.D.) Colluthus' *Rape of Helen* (35-40) she is disregarded by Cheiron, in whose grove the feast is taking place, and ignored by Peleus. Sources also vary on how Eris caused the dispute: the *Cypria* (fr. 1) mentions only that Eris 'set up a dispute about beauty' (νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστησιν), while in Apollodorus, Hyginus and Colluthus Eris causes the argument by tossing an apple towards the three goddesses as a prize of beauty.

The Judgement of Paris constitutes the main cause for the Trojan war and thus a key portion of the Trojan mythological cycle; yet it is not always included in accounts of the war. The variety of concepts encapsulated in the Judgement of Paris and the variety of its references in literature render it a topic worth pursuing in more depth and in regards to the various literary and artistic environments in which it is encountered in antiquity.

In this Introduction, I set out recurring themes that arise from, but also affect, the role of the Judgement of Paris in literature and art. There are various elements of the myth that have made it possible for the story to be manipulated artistically in different ways within different literary environments and thus these themes are discussed throughout the thesis either individually or combined, depending on the genre and the period. As specific artefacts and texts are discussed in detail throughout the thesis, this introduction will be only lightly referenced, as full referencing of both primary and secondary sources will be provided in the chapters on individual genres. Overall, this is an overview of the recurring thematic elements of the Judgement of Paris that provide its adjustability to a variety of writers and texts, but also its deep ideological and philosophical significance.

Myth and Folktale

The distinction between myth and folktale is not an easy one. Myth is normally about gods, especially in relation to the understanding of the world.[2] Thus, as

[2] Radermacher (1938) 64.

Stinton argues, 'typical myth is cosmogony'.[3] Accordingly, Rose suggested before Stinton that 'we may define a myth proper as the result of the working of naïve imagination upon the facts of experience', [4] meaning that myths are an attempt to explain natural phenomena, historical events or anything that is part of an experienced reality. In that sense, the Judgement of Paris is a myth, not only because it is about gods, fitting Stinton's wider sense of the term, but also because it is an attempt to explain the Trojan war, an event based on historical reality.

Folktale, fairytale, or *Märchen* in German, on the other hand is much harder to define. The three terms are more or less equivalent and certainly refer to traditional, imaginary, prose tales that have been handed down through the years,[5] but also denote stories narrating events that take place in an unreal world filled with the marvellous, according to Thomson.[6] Stinton, on the other hand, argues that '*Märchen* is about men or animals, often in their relation to the supernatural'.[7] While these are fine definitions, it is hard to tell the difference between myth and folktale, particularly in regards to the latter's connection to the supernatural; myth also deals with the supernatural since it is often about gods. There is, however, an element of folktale, that is crucial to its distinction:

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[3] Stinton (1965) 4 = (1990) 20. Note, however, that he suggests that this is the narrow sense of the term and that he also uses the word in a wider sense of any story involving gods.

[4] Rose (1928) 12.

[5] Thomson (1946) 4.

[6] Thomson (1946) 8.

[7] Stinton (1965) 4 = (1990) 20.

it aims at amusement, as Rose argues, rather than explaining or attempting to find the truth.[8] For the Judgement of Paris this makes all the difference, as both painters and writers have exploited the frivolous and potentially humourous nature of the story, especially in satyr play and comic dialogues. The Judgement has a certain autonomy to stand as an individual folktale, but its connections to the wider Trojan cycle and the Greek gods mean that it can also be considered a myth.

Scholars who have written about the Judgement of Paris (Reinhardt, Stinton, Davies) have pointed out the myth's affiliation to folktale. The presence of three goddesses follows a long tradition of the triplet motif, found elsewhere in Greek myth (e.g. Moirai, Charites), but often in folktale, too: three little pigs in the homonymous fairy tale, three fairy godmothers for The Sleeping Beauty, three bears for Goldilocks and so on. The motif is so familiar that it can be found in a variety of stories: from the three Magi travelling to see baby Jesus in the Bible, to the three Deathly Hallows of Harry Potter.

Nevertheless, apart from the triplet motif, the Judgement of Paris is drawn closer to the universe of folktale due to the overall setting of the story, too. Several of the folktale motif categories, as set out by Thomson, can be found in the story.[9] The 'mythological motif' is obvious, due to the presence of gods, but one can potentially trace 'the wise and the foolish', based on whether Paris chose wisely or not, 'deceptions', in regards to Aphrodite's dangerous bribe, 'ordaining

[8] Rose (1928) 14.

[9] For the full index see Thomson (1946) 488-500.

the future', as all the bribes promise Paris something for his future life, 'sex' in Aphrodite's lustful gift and 'traits of character', as Paris' choice is one of a moral standing. Relevant too to the traits of character and the wise and the foolish is the motif of the 'test'. Three agents, in this case the goddesses, offer the hero, Paris, bribes/prizes, the evaluation of which will ultimately determine his moral standing.[10] Paris encounters a group of women who embody different lifestyles.[11] These women are initially placed in the role of helpers, who offer a piece of advice, here in the form of a bribe, but will eventually cause the hero's downfall, a motif common in folktale.[12] Under this scope, Paris is at first the 'hero' of the story, who has to make a choice, but after the abduction he becomes the 'villain', because he has chosen lust over kingship or heroism and raped somebody else's wife.

While this three-fold test appears to stem from the world of folktale, there is also an overlap and a connection with Indo-European mythological tradition. According to Dumézil, among Indo-European traditions there is a system of a 'tripartite hierarchy', three functions connected to particular social classes: 1) sovereignty or religion (rulers and priests), 2) force (warriors), 3) fecundity (producers of food and other goods; women in their sexual capacity).[13] The correspondence to the three goddesses of the Judgement of Paris and their

[10] But, see Davies (2003) 34-5 on the variation of the triplet as found in the Judgement of Paris in comparison to folktale.

[11] Davies (2003) 42; Louden (2006) 265.

[12] Davies (2003) 36-37.

[13] Nagy (1990) 201-2.

bribes is obvious, as too is Paris' role at the time as a shepherd, who is a producer of food and other goods, choosing a woman as a reward. That is not to say that the tripartite hierarchy of the Indo-European mythological tradition is not potentially also rooted to folktale patterns. However, it appears that the Judgement's structure is a combination of deeply rooted traditional material from backgrounds of Indo-European and Greek mythology and of folktale.

The Judgement of Paris is, thus, a non-heroic myth, a feature that is partially dependent upon the story's affiliation to folktale. Paris is no hero or king, but a shepherd, and in this mundane capacity he has to make a choice among three different lifestyles, and any choice he makes has consequences. In that sense, the myth is didactic, since Paris' bad decision brought destruction upon his city and his people.[14] The reasons for which Paris faced such a challenge, on the other hand, and caused the Trojan war, are surprisingly found in the events of a wedding that took place in the world of the gods and sparked a fight about beauty among the three goddesses. The frivolous nature of the wedding, the argument over who is the most beautiful of the goddesses and the concept of the beauty contest portray the gods and their actions in a light that resembles folktale, especially in terms of narrating events that belong in the sphere of the supernatural and the divine,[15] while the story's aftermath constitutes the quintessence of heroic mythology, the Trojan war.

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[14] See Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 171: 'The story appears too didactic to be heroic' and Stinton (1965) 4 = (1990) 19: 'the didactic tone is proper to folktale'.

[15] Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 178-9 on the Judgement resembling farces about gods, which, as a genre, came before epic. Reinhardt argues for this resemblance based on the story's light and

The Beginning of Evil

It is a natural human urge to seek and identify the beginning of things. The Greeks in particular were fascinated with beginnings; the large number of early cosmological texts and theories only attests to that. Hesiod's *Theogony* as well as Orphic and pre-Socratic fragments on cosmology and the composition of the world and the universe indicate that Greek thought was quite early oriented around the search and questioning of the beginning or the source of things. In this context, there is an early interest in the concept of the first inventor (πρῶτος εὑρετής), which features first in Hesiod (*Op.* 50-2) and the pre-Socratics and becomes a common *topos* from the fifth century B.C. onwards.[16] This conception of the primary source is naturally often accompanied by an element of causation; finding the initial event in a series of events entails a search for the causes of what has happened. Herodotus, in the first lines of his *Histories*, declares that he will display the cause (αἰτίην) of the Persian wars and then he goes on to discuss Io's abduction, which, according to the Persians was 'the first wrong that was done'.[17] The beginning is not only important in terms of timeline, but also represents the point in time when everything affected by this beginning that follows has been set in motion.

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potentially humourous character and on the gods' portrayal. Due to this element, the Judgement appears to be a very old story, according to Reinhardt; its affiliation to folktale patterns is an extra testament to that.

[16] On the *protos heuretes* see further Kleingünther (1933) and Murray (1989) 9-31.

[17] 1.2.1 τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the Judgement of Paris is its role as the primary cause of the Trojan war, or the beginning of evils (ἀρχὴ κακοῦ). The story is crucial to the mythological unity of the Trojan cycle as it provides a further layer of causation that incorporates divine interference. The Trojan war can be attributed to the abduction of Helen and the insult that Paris has committed against the Greeks. This is discussed or exploited in various texts, such as Herodotus or Euripides' *Trojan Women.* The Judgement of Paris, however, takes us before the abduction, or rather to a cause of the abduction, and, thus, leads both to Paris' crime and to the war. Taking into account that the gods participate in the war, too, the Judgement of Paris is an explanation behind their motives, that further demonstrates the common background of the whole tradition, especially in regards to the gods taking great interest in human affairs before and after the Trojan war.

In terms of the Judgement of Paris, causation lies within defining responsibility, especially in terms of whether gods or any of the mortals are to blame for the war. As the Judgement encompasses both mortals and gods the distinction is not easy. Was it Zeus with an overall plan or Aphrodite, who promised an immoral bribe, which would raise conflict? Was it Paris or perhaps Helen? Ultimately, there is a question of whether divine intervention excludes the possibility of human responsibility. Nowadays, it is often the case that fatalistic views of the world do not allow much room for the impact of human action, but for the Greeks these boundaries are not as solid. Divine intervention and human responsibility do not appear to be mutually exclusive by definition; rather there is a constant problematic on these boundaries and their

significance.[18] The Judgement of Paris entails both immortal action and clear cut mortal choice, so it balances exactly in the middle of the two and, depending how writers exploit it, can shift the impression of blame.

Not all writers mention the Judgement. The story affirms divine intervention and thus is used with caution by writers, especially when the main focus is on human responsibility or the mortal sphere, without any hint of supernatural influences. In Herodotus' *Histories* book 2, for example, the Judgement of Paris is omitted, as the abduction of Helen is one in the series of abductions of women narrated earlier in the work.[19] Dio Chrysostom in his *Trojan Discourse* rejects the story altogether as absurd, while proposing an alternative, realistic series of events in which Paris was one of Helen's suitors and agreed with Tyndareus to have her as his wife, resulting in Menelaus' anger. In poetry, the Judgement is also included or omitted depending on whether the poet desires to attract attention to divine or human responsibility, along with other factors that may be affected by the effect of the Judgement. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, for example, the Judgement of Paris is not explicitly refuted, but conveniently eschewed. This omission serves not only the focus of the play on human responsibility and the unpredictability of divine will, but also the image of Clytemnestra as an adulteress in the light of Helen's portrayal via attention to the abduction and her following Paris. On the contrary, Euripides, for example,

[18] For a diachronic view of the gods in ancient Greek literature and thought see Lloyd-Jones (1971).

[19] *Hist.* 1.2-3.

not only includes the Judgement of Paris in his plays, but in the *Trojan Women* even renders it an item for debate.[20]

Narrations of or allusions to the Judgement of Paris treat divine intervention and human responsibility in different ways. There are cases, such as the *Cypria*, where the Judgement fits into a wider plan of Zeus either to punish humans or to depopulate the Earth. In this context, Zeus, as controller and knower of everything, would have predicted and controlled all the events that unravelled after the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, rendering the element of divine intervention, or even control, exceptionally strong. Aphrodite could also be considered responsible in promising a king's wife as a bribe to another man. Yet no matter what the planning, Paris' choice among the three goddesses and their bribes is free, thus always maintaining mortal responsibility as a valid factor. Maybe Zeus chose him as a judge knowing how he would decide, but nevertheless the decision among the three goddesses was Paris', even if it was expected due to his character.

Judging a beauty contest presupposes close observation of the contestants, but direct gaze signifies shamelessness or, otherwise, a close connection[21] that Paris, a mortal shepherd, could not have possibly established with the goddesses. Paris is therefore drawn into a situation where he has to choose one goddess over the others in order to obey Zeus' command, while there is no guarantee that if he had made an alternative decision the war would have

[20] For both these examples see further chapter 3 of the thesis.

[21] See Lovatt (2013) 71.

been avoided (since either to be king of Europe and Asia or to be proven the best warrior, a war between East and West would be essential, in which case, even with a Greek defeat, lives would still have been lost). Whatever his choice, it would not have ended well for Paris, especially as he would always end up with two goddesses hostile to him. However, Paris still made the lustful choice and no amount of divine intervention, even by Zeus himself, can reverse that. Even Isocrates, who attempts to defend Paris' choice at the Judgement, does so by arguing an alternative motive to lust for his choice of Aphrodite;[22] however, the decision still belongs to Paris.

The case is similar for Helen. Despite divine intervention or Paris' trip to Sparta, there is an element of Helen following Paris to Troy and ending up in his palace that makes her an adulteress. Thus, for her the Judgement is even more crucial: what can you do if you are the prize promised by a goddess? And what could she have done if Aphrodite actually escorted Paris to Sparta for the abduction? These are all arguments that Helen herself appears to be using in the *agon* of Euripides' *Trojan Women.* Nevertheless, the Judgement appears not to have been enough to exonerate Helen fully. This notion clearly contributed to the conception of the *eidolon* tradition (probably invented by Stesichorus and exploited in Euripides' *Helen*), which definitely absolves her from any wrongdoing. According to this tradition, the real Helen never got to Troy, but

[22] 10.42-3: in this case becoming Zeus's son in law through Helen, which he finds more glorious than becoming king of Europe and Asia.

rather ended up in Egypt, in the land of Proteus, while Paris carried off a phantom of her to Troy.

The theme of responsibility is as much complicated and multidimensional as it is crucial for understanding the function of the Judgement of Paris and its true meaning. The tiniest details can shift the burden of blame: did Aphrodite mention Helen by name or did she just suggest 'the most beautiful woman in the world'? Did Paris know she was married? Was Paris aware of his princely status or was he judging with the mindset of a plain shepherd, who does not bear responsibility for the whole city? All these questions, along with the rest of the literary context, influence the effect of the myth and its interpretation.

The role of the Judgement as the beginning of evil is constantly debatable. Poets and writers return to it in a variety of ways, shedding new light each time not only on details of the Trojan saga, but also on images of the gods, their role in human affairs and the limits of human, or divine for that matter, responsibility.

Choices

Furley has argued that 'the Greeks up to the time of Epicurus managed to discuss and theorize about human behaviour without using the concept of will at all'.[23] While this might be true in strictly philosophical terms with regard to setting out a specific terminology, the semiology of the Judgement of Paris indicates that the concept of human will and choice was perceived quite early.

[23] Furley (1967) 161.

The difference between the Greeks' perception of 'will' in antiquity compared to modern terminology is that to them it was always accompanied by and dependent on any emotional or intellectual activity that led to a specific intention or decision, rather than a self-existing factor, separate from reason or emotions.[24] Thus, as in every decision, Paris' choice at the Judgement was from the beginning to the Greeks an indicator of his thought process, his urges and emotions as well as his character. These factors are interchangeable as writers and artists discuss his motives in reaching his verdict. Whether they are psychological or intellectual, one thing remains unquestionable: Paris had a choice to make that was his and only his.

Divine intervention is an established factor for the Judgement of Paris and the events that followed it. It is a divine argument, or a divine plan in the mind of Zeus, that is transferred into the mortal sphere, with Paris as a type of transferring agent. What makes the Judgement of Paris fascinating, however, is how clear the element of human decision and the choices available are, even within this, otherwise, divine-oriented story. What each goddess offers is inextricably connected with her individual sphere of influence and thus makes the contest an indicator of Paris' character, as much as it is relevant to beauty. The gods have not just set out a situation in which a mortal needs to act, without knowledge that he is being inspected by the gods. Everything is set out clearly for Paris; the only things that he does not know are the exact consequences of

[24] See Dihle (1982) 20-7, especially 27: 'The twofold psychology that explains human behavior on the basis of the interaction of rational and irrational forces and has no room for the concept of will prevails throughout the Greek tradition from the time of Homer onwards.'

each decision, despite his knowledge on the moral implications of his decision, due to the bribes.

Such a clear set of choices automatically provides for Paris a share of responsibility and the dire consequences that follow. Paris' free choice is exactly what makes that decision immoral. Although a war might seem like an unfittingly grave consequence for a misjudgement in a beauty contest, the Judgement of Paris is much more than just a pageant. The bribes add ethically problematic elements to the myth, establishing Paris' share of the blame. Otherwise, it would not be possible to choose a winner among three goddesses, as they are all equally superhumanly beautiful (or, in any case, why take such a risk of choosing just one in the first place?). The Judgement is a choice of life values, disguised as a judgement of appearance. Should a person choose political power, the ability to fight best or a beautiful wife? The right choice (in terms of morality) can vary depending on the contemporary values of each period or individual ideas;[25] however, in every version of the myth, that choice has always been free and Paris' own.

By the heroic standards of epic or tragedy Paris' choice is definitely wrong. As the bribes of Hera and Athena represent kingship and excellence in war accordingly, Aphrodite's bribe is not only lustful, but also offensive to another hero and a king. It leads to the betrayal of *philoxenia* and the abduction of a man's wife, with the sole intention of having the most beautiful wife in the

[25] See, for example, Isocrates' *Helen* (42), where he claims that Paris did not choose Aphrodite with a lustful intention, but even if he had, it would be an acceptable decision for the wise (καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι πολλῶν αἱρετώτερόν ἐστιν).

world, without even having the courage to fight for her. The destruction of his house and his city is only to be expected.

Nevertheless, the wrongness or immorality of Paris' choice is not black and white in all literary occasions. In this context, Paris' role as a shepherd at the time of the Judgement is key. In satyr play, the choice of Aphrodite's bribe is expected, since it matches with the sexual urges of the satyrs, Paris' character of the simple man and Ida's idyllic background, a serene, beautiful environment, away from the civilised world of the city, but in a natural habitat. A shepherd is not a king or a hero and, thus, could potentially be allowed to choose the simple joy of having a beautiful wife. Paris' restored role as prince of Troy, however, causes the war in combination with the abduction of Helen. His position as prince not only puts on his shoulders the responsibility for his city, which will be affected by any of his decisions, but also renders him a member of the heroic world, whose values he rejected in the Judgment.

Paris confronts a significant choice; a choice between being a king, a hero or a lover.[26] However, unlike Heracles' choice at the crossroads in Prodicus' myth,[27] which was a clear dilemma between Virtue and Vice and had a clear right answer, Paris' choice was not as easy: the triplet, in the place of a dilemma, renders the Judgement of Paris more layered and complicated than Heracles' choice. Yes, Paris 'makes a choice which brings disaster on himself, his house, and his whole city',[28] but this does not mean that the war would have been

[26] Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 170.

[27] Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21-2.

[28] Reinhardt (1997[1938]) 170.

avoided, as mentioned above. All three of the goddesses offer him temptations, that all have to do with personal gain and life goals: he could be the greatest king, he could have the glory and the posterity of a hero, or he could have the most beautiful woman in the world.

In the mortal world things might have been different if he had chosen Athena's bribe, for example, which fits honourable, heroic standards, but still, in the world of the gods, Hera and Aphrodite would have sought revenge over Paris for not choosing them. There is no chance that two Olympian goddesses would show understanding or compassion towards a mortal who dared to imply that Athena is more beautiful than they are, just because he made the 'right' choice in moral terms. He might have been more pleasant to the gods and he would certainly be less resented among the mortals, but Hera and Aphrodite would still be furious with him. If on the other hand he had chosen Hera's present, not only would he have displeased Athena and Aphrodite, but he would also have to wage war against the Greeks and the rest of the people around the world. Like Aphrodite, who just guided him to abduct Helen rather than bringing her to him, it is reasonable to think that Hera would accordingly help and guide him to conquer the world rather than automatically make him overall king.

Paris made the most disgraceful choice: he chose sensual pleasure over the pleasures of a real man that stem from war and glorious achievements. However, this absolute discrimination between right and wrong applies more securely to the ethics that condition the world of mortals. Whatever his choice, he could always end up with the two other goddesses being utterly vengeful

towards him and his city. Thus, the triplet not only makes the moral implications of the myth more sophisticated and complex, but also perhaps provides the Trojan war with an element of inevitability that is hard to ignore.

All in all, it is clear that the beauty contest alone is impossible to judge; the decision comes down to the bribes that the goddesses offer. As the bribes symbolise possible life goals, the use of the Judgement in literature demonstrates that it is not just what you choose, but also what is your identity when choosing. Aphrodite's bribe, another man's wife, is obviously unethical, but it is also Paris' identity, as prince of Troy, that renders it a cause for war. And while it might appear relatively sensible that Paris needs to be punished, along with his city (since he is a member of the royal family), the role of the gods sets an environment of unpredictability as to whether the war might have been avoided after all or not.

Antitheses

The complexity and attractiveness of the Judgement of Paris is built upon a series of antitheses that stem from the myth's narrative. First, the juxtaposition between the frivolousness of the beauty contest as a theme and the destructive force of the Trojan war did not go unnoticed by ancient writers. Literature tends to present the war as a tragic occasion, not only responsible for the death of heroes such as Hector and Achilles, but also intertwined with other tragic storylines, like the sacrifice of Iphigenia, Agamemnon's murder or Odysseus' wanderings in the sea. It is almost shocking to think that all these events are due to a war that started from a divine argument over appearances; the seriousness

of the results does not correspond to the lightness of the cause. If anything, the Judgement demonstrates this distinction between the world of the gods and the mortal sphere; it is the exact moment, in mythological time, when gods travel to meet with a mortal and through this interaction the immortal argument transforms into a mortal war.

The juxtaposition between the two worlds is prominent in the Judgement. The gods are blissfully living their immortal existence, while humans face the outcome of such events hoping not to make the wrong choice. Gods face problems such as not being invited to a feast, as in the case of Eris, or arguing who is the fairest, as in the cases of Athena, Hera and Aphrodite, but, ultimately, mortals carry the burden of the gods' decisions, arguments and actions. The gods of the Judgement are deeply anthropomorphic; they are represented as jealous, petty and aggressive, and appear in front of and bargain with a mortal on a level that is hard to find elsewhere in Greek myth. This anthropomorphism nevertheless shows a deep lack of compassion on their part. They are indifferent to human despair, even though this despair results from their own, rather petty, argument.[29] In the gods' separate universe, the war's impact is minuscule in comparison to what has happened and will happen on the

[29] This distinction between the two worlds is already prominent in the *Iliad.* See on this Macleod (1982) 13-14: 'If they (the gods) pity at all the human condition as such, it is with the feelings of a detached observer' and Rutherford (2013) 67 discussing the opposition between 'tragically serious mortals and frivolous divinities' in the *Iliad.* See also Kearns (2004) 67 on Zeus usually being the one god who shows pity not just to his favourites, but towards the human condition in general in the *Iliad.*

mortal sphere. Despite their arguments, grudges and clashes, the war has not affected the gods in any significant way, especially compared to the chain of events that it produces for the mortals involved.

In that sense, the Judgement of Paris is simultaneously an event that lacks seriousness from the perspective of the gods, but it is absolutely serious for Paris. Paris' social status at the time of the Judgement adds to the complexity of the myth and plays its own role in the ways the story is represented both in literature and in art. Despite Paris choosing while being a shepherd, we would assume that the abduction of Helen that follows takes place after his restoration as prince of Troy. Otherwise, he would not have had the resources to proceed with the abduction, either with or without the help of Aphrodite.[30] One could say that he makes the judgement of a simple man, but he is actually not one, and so his choices bear more serious consequences, like a war. On the other hand, if he had remained a shepherd, he would not have managed to abduct the wife of a king in the first place.

Meanwhile, the idyllic background of Ida and Paris' status as a shepherd offer the perfect environment for a satyr play, thus creating third level of contrast; the Judgement, due to the simplistic nature of the environment and the choice made is not appropriate for high or serious literature, like epic or tragedy. This is one of the reasons why it is never narrated or represented in detail in those genres, or that, when it is, like in Euripides, it is for the sake of philosophical wanderings over the causes of the war or the role of the gods. On the other hand,

[30] This is an issue of particular interest for Dio Chrysostom in his oration *On Retirement.*

the myth appears to be full of details of satyric, comic, parodic or even erotic nature. Sophocles' *Krisis*, Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*, Lucian's satiric dialogues and various epigrams are examples which attest to that. In some cases, the humour around the Judgement reaches even the limits of vulgarity, like Strato's epigram (*A.P.* 12.204, 2nd c. A.D.),[31] in which Diocles in the bath assimilates his erect penis to Aphrodite rising from the waves and claims that Paris would have chosen it over all three of the goddesses. All in all, the Judgement can be serious if mentioned in passing as the cause of the Trojan war, but it can also be funny if handled in the right context. The Judgement of Paris is always there, between the serious and the funny, the moral and the immoral, the mundane and the divine. Depending on what writers do with it, the myth can transform from a grotesque joke to a philosophical endeavour.

Beauty and Morality

Although the role of the bribes is undeniable in the ideological and moral symbolisms of the Judgement of Paris, the context of the beauty contest is also significant in the comprehension of the myth's role as a whole. Traditionally the myth has been used in contexts relevant to feminine beauty or erotic attraction. The Judgement is, for example, mentioned in epigrams as a point of reference for an alternative – and quite vulgar – beauty contest (Rufinus, *A.P.* 5.35 & 36 , 1st c. A.D.), or to say that a woman is so talented or beautiful that she would win over Aphrodite herself in the contest (Agathias *A.P.* 5.222, 6th c. A.D.). In

[31] All the epigrams discussed throughout the thesis can be found in Appendix 2.

Longus' novel *Daphnis and Chloe*, the protagonist refers to the Judgement of Paris when trying to convince Chloe to accept his gift of an apple,[32] while Philostratus also uses the Judgement to display a woman's beauty, by saying that she would win a beauty contest even if Paris was the judge (*Ep.* 34). Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria* (1.245-50) discusses the dangers of a man judging a woman's beauty under the light of a lamp, which might be misleading, mentioning that Paris judged the goddesses in broad daylight and declared Venus the winner.[33] The erotic context that constitutes common ground for these examples demonstrates the lasting, traditional role of the Judgement of Paris in regards to feminine beauty and sexual attraction.[34] Nevertheless, the myth has served not just as a parallel to images of beauty, but also as an ideological basis for different types of beauty.

In season 9, episode 12 of the television series *Friends*, Monica is wondering why the guys are staring at Emma's new nanny, arguing that she 'may be attractive in an obvious way' to get the following, sarcastic reply by Ross: 'Yeah, obvious beauty is the worst', implying that beauty is visually perceived,

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[32] *Daphnis and Chloe* 3.34.2-3: This is what Aphrodite got as a beauty prize, and what I now give to you as a victory prize. You have the same sort of judges: that one was a shepherd, I am a goatherd.

[33] *Ars* 1.247-8 *luce deas caeloque Paris spectavit aperto, / cum dixit Veneri 'vincis utramque, Venus.'*

[34] Mancilla (2015) 44 places all of these examples under a category of cases which he entitles: 'The Judgement of Paris is mentioned because of a linked poetic image.' In these particular cases, however, the erotic context is inextricably connected with the element of the beauty contest in particular and its connotations.

and thus needs to be obvious, otherwise it is non-existent. Would one need anything more beyond his or her sight to identify beauty?

Due to the beauty contest framework, which commands, by definition, an objective attitude towards beauty, one cannot deny that Aphrodite would be the obvious winner; beauty and the art of seduction were her sphere of influence anyway. An epigram of the third century B.C., by Alexander of Aetolia (*A.P.* 16.172), as well as two later ones, by Evenus in the first century B.C. or A.D. (16.165 & 166) attest to Aphrodite being the fair winner of the beauty contest based just on her appearance, albeit in regards to the Cnidian Aphrodite statue by Praxiteles. Taking into account that the epigrams intended to praise the statue's construction as true to Aphrodite's true image, the idea is still that, with the statue offering to the rest of the people the chance to see the goddess in all her glory, she justly was declared the contest's winner; people can now attest to that.

There appears to be, however, an additional layer to the tradition regarding the ways in which the goddesses, and especially Aphrodite, might have been prepared for the Judgement. According to the tradition, Aphrodite was the only one of the goddesses who was so elaborately beautified before coming in front of Paris, creating a clear distinction between her beauty and the more natural beauty of Hera and Athena. This antithesis, in spite of having been implied from early on, evolves to a direct comparison between Athena and Aphrodite, probably already prominent in Sophocles' *Krisis* and fully brought out in the poetry of Callimachus. The Judgement of Paris is a means to define alternate conceptions of beauty and attraction. In this context, obvious beauty

might really be the worst kind, because it most probably is the most planned out and the most deceptive. Aphrodite's sphere of influence includes not just attraction, but also the deceits (ἐξαπάτας) of attraction.[35]

As early as the *Cypria*, preparation must have been a significant part of the Judgement tradition.[36] It is not only Aphrodite's personal preparation, but also her usual escorts (Eros, Charitai, Horai, Nymphs) that apparently play a role in her victory, too. Artistic representations of the Judgement take full advantage of this tradition, once they start representing the goddesses individually and not identical to one another (that is from the fifth century onwards). Aphrodite is often depicted looking herself in a mirror or escorted by one or more Erotes; these depictions allude to Aphrodite's traditional preparation/beautification scenes.

Preparation scenes in general, especially of Aphrodite, are by no means unique to the Judgement of Paris; Hera's preparation in the *Iliad*, before the deception of Zeus in book 14 and Aphrodite's preparation for the seduction of Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (61-7) show how old the feature must have been. As attitudes towards women evolve through the centuries, Aphrodite's early-established elaborate beautification becomes part of her deceptive nature and confirms the unethical nature of her bribe.

Attitudes against feminine beautification can be found as early as Semonides of Amorgos' iambic poetry.[37] According to the poet, one of the

[35] Hes. *Theog.* 205.

[36] *Cypria* frr. 5 and 6 (West).

[37] Semonides fr. 7 (Gerber), from Stobaeus' *Anthology* (4.22.193).

various types of women that he lists is daughter of the mare (57 τὴν δ' ἵππος ἁβρὴ χαιτέεσσ' ἐγείνατο). This woman avoids work of all kinds (58-62), forces a man to become her lover (62) and bathes twice or three times a day, anoints herself with perfumed oil, while her hair is always long and combed and she is shaded with flowers (63-5); although she is pretty to look at, this type of woman is a plague (κακόν) for the man who has her (67-8). This type of woman is probably inspired by representations and conceptions of Aphrodite. It is worth noting the passage's connection to the preparation scene as described in the *Cypria* (frr. 5 and 6), in which flowers are a vital part of the adornment procedure, too. Her forcing a man to become her lover is also traceable to Aphrodite, found in the seduction of Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

Despite problems in dating the *Homeric Hymn*, Semonides or the *Cypria*, all these texts appear to follow a common Aphroditean tradition. Nevertheless, Semonides is the first attested poet to criticise women who bear those attributes and behaviours known to be Aphrodite's. Although he does not refer to the goddess explicitly, the lustful and vain nature of the mare-woman could have been inspired by Aphrodite's tradition.

A similar attitude towards beauty, or rather towards beautification, can also be found in Prodicus' account of the Heracles at the crossroads myth. Here, Vice is over-adorned in order to appear with brighter skin and taller, while she is dressed provocatively and does not miss a chance to check whether she is being looked at or to take a glimpse of her own shadow. Virtue, on the contrary,

is plain, her body adorned only with her purity, her eyes with modesty, her shape sober and her clothing white.[38]

As far as the Judgement of Paris is concerned, this attitude towards Aphrodite's crafts of adornment and seduction meets its true potential in Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena*, where Athena's natural and simple beauty is praised over Aphrodite's obsessive and fake adornment. The immorality of choosing Aphrodite is early on described as 'grievous lust' (*Il.* 24.30: μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν), which does refer to choosing the wife-bribe, but, in this context, it also suggests Aphrodite's appearance and seductive nature. For the Greeks beauty and erotic desire might have been inextricably connected,[39] but the Judgement offers an opportunity to express a suspicion towards lust or seduction, but not towards beauty overall; rather the Judgement is used in contexts where writers attempt to redefine beauty, outside the frame of (sexual) attraction. That all three goddesses are beautiful is a given, but the Judgement

[38] Xen. *Mem.* (2.1.22): τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν εὐπρεπῆ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐλευθέριον φύσει, κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρειότητι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα αἰδοῖ, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνῃ, ἐσθῆτι δὲ λευκῇ. See also Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* 7.44, where Ischomachus says that he advised his young wife that personal excellence is not about beauty, but rather about virtue throughout one's life and *Cyropaedia* 5.1.18, where Xenophon states that virtues enhance the physical attractiveness of a woman and, a bit later (6.1.32), that a loving wife will be faithful to her husband. The theme of faithfulness is also crucial in the ethics of the Judgement of Paris, both in terms of Helen as an unfaithful wife and of Aphrodite, in promising a married woman as a gift-wife. On attitudes towards women's appearance in Xenophon see further Oost (1977) 230-1.

[39] Konstan (2014) 62-3.

demonstrates a distinction between different kinds of beauty that indicate different life choices and different levels of morality.

This Thesis

Although the Judgement of Paris is such an interesting case of a myth in its multidimensionality and symbolisms, a scholarly work on the Judgement throughout antiquity has yet to be written. Reinhardt and Davies, among others, have done remarkable work on the Judgement in Homer, whereas Stinton's work on the Judgement of Paris in Euripides and Ovid was an essential addition to the line of scholarship on the myth in literature. The full lists and research on artistic representations of the story by Clairmont and Raab have been of great importance, too, while Hubert Damisch's book on the Judgement focuses mostly on issues of aesthetics, desire and psychoanalytical extensions of the story in both ancient and modern sources. Most recently, Christian Mancilla in his MPhil thesis collected almost all the artistic and literary representations of the Judgement of Paris, but while his discussion of the art is quite elaborate, his discussion of the literature is much less so. This thesis does the opposite of Mancilla's; it starts with a relatively brief overview of the Judgement in art and moves on to discuss individually and at length literary references to the Judgement, as well as texts where it might have been relevant, but it is either avoided or somehow altered. Thus, the literary impact of the myth is discussed based both on its presence and its absence in texts.

I have avoided discussing purely mythological accounts of the story, where there is no further literary context such as Apollodorus or Colluthus, as

the main interest of this thesis lies in how the Judgement interacts with different literary genres, rather than on the development of the tradition for its own sake. In that respect, such accounts are of no particular interest, although they are brought up from time to time.

The first chapter is dedicated to the Judgement of Paris in art. The chapter does not intend to be a full catalogue and discussion of all the representations, but rather focuses mostly on the earliest depictions, before stereotypical representations were established, and then discusses main motifs that formed and their possible implications as to the symbolisms and development of the myth. The chapter extends from the 7th c. B.C., when the earliest depictions appear, until the Etruscan mirrors of the 3rd c. B.C., since thereafter the number of depictions is significantly decreased and there are no overall motifs to be discussed.

The second chapter covers the literature from the first reference to the Judgement in the last book of Homer's *Iliad* to Herodotus. The discussion of the Judgement in Homer covers a major part of the chapter, especially in regards to the authenticity of the reference. After Homer, there is a discussion of the *Cypria* and the way in which the Judgement was narrated in the poem, as well as a discussion of an allusion to the myth is Sappho (fr. 16) and the differences between it and its counterpart in the epic tradition, as well as a brief discussion of the Semonides' Plataea Poem and the possibility of a reference to the Judgement in it. The final section covers a fragment by the presocratic philosopher Acusilaus and his alternative version of the causes of the Trojan war

and Herodotus, in regards to intentionally omitting the Judgement in his account of the events prior to the war.

The third chapter covers drama. Its first part, on tragedy and satyr play, discusses the role that the Judgement holds in all three major tragedians, based on full and fragmentary plays. Special attention is paid to cases of omission, as well as to why the story suits a satyric context. The discussion of the Euripidean references takes up a large part of the chapter, which also focuses on sophistic influences on Euripides, as well as on the attitudes found in Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen* and Isocrates' *Helen* towards the Judgement.

The second part of the chapter, on comedy, discusses Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* and the use of the Judgement as mythological material in comic context, as well as its possible use as political satire and criticism by Cratinus. The satyric element that the play appears to have had is also discussed.

The fourth chapter discusses Hellenistic sources, namely Lycophron's *Alexandra* and Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena*. The discussion here is mainly focused on the motif of female over-adornment being an indication of vice, represented by Aphrodite, while Athena's natural beauty regime before the Judgement is praiseworthy. Special attention is also paid to the importance of vision for Callimachus' hymn. A few epigrams that are handling the Judgement in related ways are also introduced in the discussion.

Finally, the fifth chapter is a discussion of Imperial Greek literature. Dio Chrysostom and Lucian's works and their allusions and references to the Judgement of Paris are the centre of the discussion, especially in regards to the role of *pepaideumenoi* as an audience for their texts. Again, relevant epigrams

are inserted into the discussion, especially with regard to motifs such as nudity and the potential humorous aspect of the myth. A brief overview of references occurring in Latin literature near the end of the chapter indicates both that, like in art, the myth in this period was not as popular as it was in ancient Greece, and the difference in approach between the Greek writers and their Latin counterparts.

Chapter 1

Artistic Representations

The Judgement of Paris was one of the most popular myths in ancient Greek culture.[40] The number of representations of the myth in art, as well as the variety of materials and objects on which the myth was represented, indicate that it was a well-known story and a favourite one. This chapter is by no means a complete account of the representations available;[41] it is more of a general discussion of tendencies regarding the representation of the Judgement throughout different centuries, with particular focus on the earliest representations, those of the seventh and the sixth centuries B.C., and the first more elaborate and symbolic depictions of the fourth. The aim is to demonstrate the evolution of depictions of the Judgement and to discuss the artistic impact of these different representations.

There is a special relationship between art and the Judgement of Paris due to a visual element of the myth that is rooted in the nature of the beauty contest: to judge beauty, one has to observe the contestants, since beauty, in its strict sense, can only be perceived through vision. Artistic representations take

[40] In this chapter '§X' means 'item in Kossatz-Deissmann (1994)' and '§add.X' means 'item in Kossatz-Deissmann (2009)'. All the figures mentioned can be found in Appendix I.

[41] For full lists of representations see Clairmont (1951), Raab (1972) and Mancilla (2015).

advantage of the visual implications of the Judgement (especially later, more detailed ones); where Paris is placed, or how he is looking and the ways in which the goddesses are represented affect the overall impact of each depiction. In addition, the choice of the Judgement as decoration for items such as combs, loutrophoroi or mirrors seems extremely suitable; a beauty item decorated with a scene from a beauty contest enhances the role of the viewer as the judge, while stressing the function of the object itself. Naturally, since it was a popular mythological scene, depictions of the Judgement are not restricted to beauty-oriented vessels, despite the appropriateness of the theme for such items.

Even in literature, where the Judgement of Paris appears inextricably connected with the rest of the Trojan saga and the story is rarely encountered without further allusions to its past or its outcomes, it still is possible to find it occasionally handled as an individual story (Sophocles' *Krisis* and Lucian's *The Judgement of the Goddesses* are the most prominent examples of this). In visual art it is easier, by definition, to isolate scenes or events from their overall narrative context, and this is often the case with the Judgement. The scene is usually represented on artefacts on its own, without any further allusion to the Trojan saga. There are five cases, all from the fifth century B.C. and one dated to the fourth, that do not even depict all of the figures involved in the Judgement (§§103-7). This may indicate that the story was not only considered as autonomous, but also that it was typical enough to be recognised even when incomplete, at least from the fifth century onwards.

Vases, reliefs and coins are only some of the different types of artefacts decorated with the Judgement of Paris, dating from *c.* 630 B.C. (§26) until the

sixth century A.D. (§102). Although representations tend to follow specific patterns depending on the time and construction location of each artefact, some cases are worth considering in depth so that we may acquire a better understanding of the reception and interpretation of the myth in different periods of time and geographical locations.

The Judgement of Paris as a decorative theme in art is constantly present during the aforementioned centuries, as the theme remains as popular in Imperial art as it was in the Classical period.[42] Through these centuries, however, the depictions change, not only according to the artistic trends of their time and the different interpretations of the myth, but also, occasionally, due to sociopolitical and ideological changes.

The main pattern before the fifth century B.C. is that Paris – if present – is on one side of the scene, seated, standing or fleeing, and the goddesses, with or without Hermes, are presented in a row in front of him. Scholars have used the term 'procession' to describe this presentation of the goddesses,[43] a term, however, which can be confusing, in the sense that sometimes the goddesses

[42] In this relatively steady tradition of the Judgement of Paris in art, there appears to be a significant interruption during the 2nd c. B.C, when only two representations survive: an Etruscan bronze mirror, today in Oxford, and a statuette in Athens (150-50 B.C.). As Mancilla (2015) 146 points out, the situation is similar in literature for the same century: only two short references to the Judgement occur, one in Ennius' *Alexander* (17) and the other in an epigram by Strato (*A.P.* 12.207). This probably indicates a decrease in popularity of the myth during this century.

[43] For lists of variations see: Kossatz-Deissmann (1994) 177-188 and before that Harrison (1886) 202 and Lord (1937).

have already reached Paris and seem to be standing in a row in front of him, rather than actually processing. Therefore, 'procession' does not always entail movement when used to describe such representations, but rather signifies that the goddesses are set out in a row.

Generally, there seems to be a preference for the procession in older depictions (especially in the sixth century), which is steadily eliminated. It appears that artists gradually abandon the procession feature as they try to represent the actual Judgement more clearly, namely not Hermes with the goddesses moving or arriving in front of Paris, but rather the actual moment that Paris declares his decision. The shape of the artefacts (usually vases) contributes largely to the choice of this setting, too: the horizontal space available is ideal for representing a row of figures. Nevertheless, it is misleading to consider that all the depictions of this stereotypical row of the goddesses represent a time before the actual Judgement procedure has begun. Although some of these artefacts may provide an image of the procession of the goddesses towards Paris before the actual decision, some present the goddesses awaiting Paris' decision and others can actually represent or imply Paris' choice, like the Laconian comb (§22). Eventually, although the 'procession' variation is the most common, appearing from the earliest representations of the myth (§26, c. 630 B.C. and §22, c. 620 B.C.) to c. 430 B.C. in Greece (§40) and c. 330 B.C. (§44) in Etruria, the artefacts of this category do not always represent the same moment when the goddesses, still on the move, reach Paris. In some of them, the actual moment of the Judgement becomes the focal point of the representation, without necessarily meaning that those implying Paris' choice are the more recent ones.

As depictions become more and more elaborate, new features start to appear: an idyllic background and Paris as a shepherd. The goddesses obtain attributes (i.e. are differentiated from one another), the apple comes to the fore, new figures loosely connected with the characters and the scene are inserted (such as Eros, Eris, Himeros, etc.) and the connection between Paris and Aphrodite becomes solidly established. Earlier depictions of this category of more detailed representations tend to retain aspects of the procession motif, whereas later ones present Paris in the middle and the rest of the figures around him (see for example Etruscan mirrors or §50, the Karlsruhe hydria). This transition is made in part because of the development of the established motif of representation and in part because of the changes in the shape of vessels and objects: more circular space serves well for a non-procession representation, as is the case especially for mirrors.

The earliest representation of the Judgement of Paris (§26) is on a Corinthian olpe, known as the Chigi vase, found during an excavation of an Etruscan tumulus[44] and almost always dated to 650-640 B.C. (fig. 1).[45] The depiction of the Judgement is just below the handle (fig. 2), in a spot that would have been covered by the arm of anyone using the vase. However, it is a unique case for the specific vessel, as it is the only depiction of an explicitly mythological scene and the only one incorporating female figures on an olpe whose decoration

[44] Hurwit (2002) 3.

[45] Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) dates it around 650 B.C., Kossatz-Deissmann (1994) dates it around 630 B.C. For an overview of dating see Hurwit (2002) 3, n. 12. A dating around 640 B.C. is safe enough.

is dominated by masculine features.[46] The vase's upper frieze features a representation of a phalanx formation and its lower frieze depicts a hunting scene, both clear excerpts from the sphere of masculine activity. The Judgement of Paris can be easily identified due to the names of the figures clearly displayed over each one. The presence of names could suggest that the scene would otherwise be confusing and hard to identify for an Etruscan customer,[47] showing that the vase was produced with the intention to be sold specifically to Etruria.

Archaic and Classical vases were created with a common vision and plan on behalf of the painter, thus demonstrating a certain amount of unity among the various depictions on the same vase.[48] Explaining the role of the Judgement in this attempt to argue for the unity of the Chigi vase depictions is quite the challenge. According to Hurwit, the Judgement announces 'the themes of beauty, decision and ultimately marriage'.[49] In that sense, the Judgement would represent an alternative aspect of the masculine fear that has to do with the role of women in men's lives. The scene of Paris standing, waiting for the procession of Hermes followed by the three goddesses, all drawn in the same way, without any attributes, to come to him, poses a warning for men about the dangers that

[46] Hurwit (2002) 12.

[47] Boardman (2001) 31.

[48] See Hurwit (2002) fn. 7 for bibliography; also ibid. fn. 8 on the fact that this principle is the case for every vase and for a few scholars who still do not accept the principle.

[49] Hurwit (2002) 12-13.

female nature can cause.[50] It is an aspect of masculinity, just not as straightforward as fighting or hunting, thus placed under the handle.

Taking into account the vase's Corinthian origin, one could argue that it could serve as a type of dedicatory item to Aphrodite. Excavations in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Acrocorinth indicate that Aphrodite was Corinth's patron goddess at least since the 8th c. B.C. and a type of sacred prostitution was established in the city alongside this cult of the goddess.[51] In this context, could the Judgement of Paris be related to the cult of Aphrodite, since she is the winner of the contest according to the myth? It appears, however, that the Chigi vase is the only case of archaic Corinthian vase-painting with a representation of Aphrodite,[52] despite the local cult of the goddess. Aphrodite not being the most popular figure on Corinthian vases makes it unlikely that vase painting of this period in Corinth served or was inspired by the local cult. The presence of names, as mentioned earlier, also suggests that the vase was produced to be sold, rather than as a cultic dedication.

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[50] The danger that the Judgement poses for Paris appears to become more prominent in later depictions, in which Paris is represented as fleeing the scene.

[51] Hurwit (2002) 13; Bookidis (2003) 248: 'Although we can probably expect worship of the city-goddess to have begun by the time of Corinth's *synoikismos* in the 8th century B.C., there is some evidence that may push its beginnings back into the Early Geometric or even Proto-geometric period.' See also Harrison (1886) 204 on Apolline symbols on the vases, as Apollo was along with Aphrodite Corinth's patron god.

[52] See Amyx (1988) 617 on the rarity of representations of deities on archaic Corinthian vase-painting, unlike Attic black-figure vases of the same period.

Rasmussen agrees with Hurwit that there is a common conception behind the scenes on the Chigi vase,[53] but argues that they can all be interpreted as snapshots of Paris' life (hunting on mount Ida, preparation for games when he returned to Troy, Trojan War).[54] According to him, there is an overall mythological context: a vase about Paris would be suitable for an Etruscan customer, since vases and artefacts with mythological themes were much loved in Etruria.[55] Whether it was a specific order or it was just an artist's inspiration that was sold to an Etruscan customer we will never know; however, the mythological background as source of inspiration,[56] especially for a professional artist, who primarily tries to satisfy his consumers, is a possibility.

Despite the attempts to identify and discuss the vase's unity, it still is possible for the different depictions to not be connected at all. Even if a connection is established between the three 'zones' of male activity as represented on the main body of the vase, it is hard to connect the representation of the Judgement under the handle with them beyond doubt. Hurwit's theory on the different aspects of male activity is appealing, but is only one interpretation, whereas Rasmussen's argument that the vase is about Paris overall is doubtful: there is no evidence that the other two friezes are connected

[53] Rasmussen (2013) 57. On the contrary, Boardman (1993) 31-2 suggests that the Judgement appears to have been painted on the Chigi vase as a kind of afterthought.

[54] Rasmussen (2013) 60-61.

[55] Rasmussen (2013) 61.

[56] Rasmussen (2013) 62: 'this vase is about Paris *qua hero*, not about Paris as an object lesson of bad choices.'

with Paris specifically. For all we know, the depiction of the Judgement on the Chigi vase might be part of an overall well-planned artefact, but could also easily be just an artistic impulse of the moment or a means to make the vase more appealing to Etruscan customers.

The second oldest depiction of the Judgement of Paris is again from the seventh century B.C., dated around 620 B.C. (§22): an ivory relief on a Laconian comb (fig. 3). Despite the goddesses not bearing characteristic attributes on their faces or bodies, Hera holds a large bird and Aphrodite is followed by a goose, a typical symbol of the goddess at this time, making it easier to tell them apart. Paris for the first time is presented seated on a judge's throne waiting for the procession of the three goddesses to approach.[57] The presence of the throne emphasises Paris' role as judge of the fairest among the three goddesses in the world's oldest and most famous beauty contest. As the goddesses stand in front of him, they are showing off their best features on what we would call a type of runway. With Paris seated in the role of judge, and the three goddesses standing in front of him waiting for his decision to be made, the male viewer of the artefact himself becomes the judge, whereas the female viewer and user of the comb potentially becomes the Aphrodite that someone chooses among others in real life. The decision to decorate an object of everyday beauty care with a scene of a

[57] Kossatz-Deissmann (1994) 179. For further information on Paris seated see Carpenter (1991), 198: 'On a few black-figure vases Paris sits on a throne as on the ivory relief, and on a few he sits on a rock with a lyre, but this version is more common on Attic red-figure vases from the first half of the 5th century. On these, Paris is usually a youth and is sometimes surrounded by goats.'

beauty contest could reveal the early connection of this particular myth to feminine beauty and vanity.

The comb was found in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, where a variety of other objects were offered as dedication to the goddess: terracotta plaques, stone and ivory reliefs, ivory combs and statuettes. The production of ivory combs was especially common is Sparta and many of these along with other sensual objects such as perfume bottles, kohl-eyeliners and girl figurines can be found as dedications at Helen's cult sites.[58] Many were also found at the excavations of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The material used (ivory) and the style of these combs show that their production took place, under oriental influence, in the eighth and seventh centuries.[59] Although some of these combs bear plain geometrical designs,[60] on the ones decorated with elaborate scenes the oriental influence is more than obvious. On our comb the setting of the judgement is purely oriental as far as the dresses of the figures and their posture is concerned (fully side facing, stiff arms and hands, etc.). At the same time, the other side of the comb depicts a man with two sphinxes and, although I doubt that this man is Oedipus, as scholars have suggested, the sphinx is definitely the result of oriental influence at this period.[61]

It may seem strange that a comb representing the Judgement of Paris would be dedicated to Artemis Orthia. Some scholars have suggested that the

[58] Hughes (2013) 53.

[59] Barnett (1948) 3.

[60] Dickins (1968) 77.

[61] Barnett (1948) 16.

scene is not the Judgement, but rather Zeus seated and in front of him Hera, Athena and Artemis with a water bird.[62] In this case, it would be a comb representing Artemis and thus it would make more sense to find it in her sanctuary. The setting of the scene, however, as portrayed on the comb indicates that it is actually a depiction of the Judgement: Paris seated with the three goddesses standing in a row in front of him and a gesture towards the third figure in line, who would be Aphrodite. Possible explanations for finding the artefact in the sanctuary of Artemis include either a connection of Paris as an archer with Artemis[63] or simply that these everyday objects were not necessarily made for the purpose of being dedicated, but were offered to the goddess when the owner wanted to make a request.[64]

Although the Judgement of Paris may not seem an appropriate decoration for a dedication to Artemis, as a myth it entails a feminine triad, a pattern which seems to have been popular in Laconia, in particular on stone reliefs and terracotta plaques. Female triads of identical or at least similar figures who did not bear any specific attributes are very common on such Laconian finds and are usually interpreted as mortal female worshippers.[65] However, there are

[62] Willamowitz-Moellendorff (1930) 241; Dickins (1968) 77.

[63] Hedreen (2001) 193, esp. fn. 44, on cases in which Artemis is depicted as a supporter of Paris, due to his archery skills.

[64] Cf. Kopanias (2009) 130: Even non-everyday objects, like ivory plaques, were dedicated to Orthia **due to** appropriate decoration (female figures, etc.), but they were not necessarily made for this purpose.

[65] Salapata (2009) 330 and 337.

cases when these triad depictions represent divine figures like the Charites or the Erinyes.[66] Despite the comb not being a plaque or a stone relief, it represents a female triad that bears many similarities with the others and thus follows a trend of the area that was also inspired and adapted by an Eastern pattern.[67] In particular, the similarity of the comb with a stone relief of the late sixth century representing probably Nymphs, wearing peploi and standing in profile to the right, holding different objects and not bearing any further attributes,[68] shows how the Laconian comb with the judgement of Paris on may fit a wider variety of patterns, initially inspired by near eastern tradition and adapted by Laconian art. Moreover, comparison of the figures depicted on the rest of the findings clearly shows that depiction of Artemis was by no mean a pre-requisite for the dedications found at the sanctuary, eliminating any doubts that the comb actually shows the Judgement of Paris and not some kind of Artemis-oriented scene.

Along with the goddesses' attributes in these early depictions [69] the gifts that each goddess promises Paris are omitted. The centre of attention is the procession towards Paris, with the presence of Hermes a constant reminder that all this is part of Zeus' plan to cause the Trojan War. Further allusions to the

[66] Salapata (2009) 337.

[67] Salapata (2009) 329: 'The examples of draped female figures, with which we are particularly concerned here, seem to be an adaptation of the eastern iconographic scheme to Archaic Greek taste which did not favour the naked female body'.

[68] For the relief see Salapata (2009) 330-331.

[69] See Kossatz-Deissmann (1994) 186: All three can hold sceptres, flowers, wreaths or branches.

whole Trojan saga, as already mentioned, are sparse, as in the case of a much later Etruscan amphora (§42, 550/540 B.C.) where the presence of two rhapsodoi implies the existence of epic tradition relevant to the myth.[70]

One of the most intriguing questions that the Laconian comb raises is the first appearance of the apple element in the myth. On a 1929 sketch of the comb by Dawkins (fig. 4),[71] an apple appears in Paris' stretched hand. Scholars who believe the apple is found on the comb have suggested that it is not the same as the apple of Discord, the one which caused the fight among the three goddesses, but rather a so-called 'Paris apple' not known in literary tradition.[72] On the other hand, the actual apple of Discord does not appear either in literature or in art until much later. It is possible, however, that no apple is actually present on the comb at all.[73] The apple of Discord is indeed a feature that commonly appears on Etruscan mirrors[74] and is more popular in Roman

[70] Kossatz-Deissmann (1994) 180.

[71] Dawkins (1929) 223.

[72] Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 51. See also Severyns (1977) 161-3 arguing that the apple is a symbol of victory, which started from the Pythian games, but expanded in its integration is a variety of contexts to declare a type of winner, including erotic ones.

[73] Hampe (1954) 84.

[74] Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 51.

representations of the myth,[75] but the apple, in the meantime, reappears in fifth century red-figure vases.[76]

A problem that arises with a couple of these red-figure representations (§37, 38) is that Hera is the one carrying the apple. This is not really troubling when interpreted as the apple of Eris, which Hera has carried from the wedding to Ida to hand to Paris, for him to use as a prize for the winner of the beauty contest.[77] However, Kossatz-Deissmann is right to point out that this

[75] Kossatz-Deissmann (1994) 188; Carpenter (1991) 197; West (2013) 74 argues that the apple is attested neither in literature nor in art before the Imperial period, but this does not necessarily mean that the apple was definitely not featured in the *Cypria*. On this last point see also Hampe (1954) 84. Regarding literature West (2013) 73 points out that the phrase 'apple about beauty' (μῆλον περὶ κάλλους) as found in Apollodorus' *Epitome* (3.2) makes more sense than the 'strife about beauty' (νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους), as found in Proclus' *Chrestomathy* (*Cypria* argumentum), which would mean that the apple was not to be found in Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* either, but rather even later than that. P.Oxy. 3829 (*Cypria* Argumentum(i)) of the 2nd c. A.D. provides a fuller account that does include a golden apple. Mancilla (2015) 30, fn. 8, on the other hand, points out that, technically, the first time the apple was attested in literature would be the 3rd c. B.C. by Anticleides, a historian who wrote about Alexander the Great and the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus, whose quotes on the matter can be found in the *scholia* of Euripides' *Andromache* 277 and 276 respectively.

[76] See Lemos (2009) 136. She also refers to an even earlier possible appearance of the apple (before red-figure pottery) on a black-figure amphora of 530-525 B.C. (§13), which depicts Hera giving an item (potentially the apple, to Paris). See Raab (1972) 49-60 on this and other examples. Cf. Clairmont (1951) 102-4, who found the appearance of the apple dubious and Kossatz –Deissmann (1994) 178, who does not mention an apple either.

[77] Raab (1972) 49-60.

interpretation renders it impossible to make sense out of a pyxis (*LIMC* Hera §430, c. 460 B.C.) on which both Hera and Aphrodite carry apples.[78] Although the three vessels are from the same period, that does not necessarily mean that they have to have the same context; it could be that in §37 and §38 the apple is that of Eris, whereas on the pyxis the apples are in fact pomegranates, as attributes to the goddesses.

Whether the apple exists or not on the comb (fig. 5), what is striking on this early depiction is the connection of Paris with Aphrodite: Paris stretches out his left arm, almost pushing Hera (the first in row) aside, while Aphrodite stretches her right arm towards his, pushing Athena aside. She is almost bending a little to the front, while their arms seem to be coming closer in order to touch, leaving the other two goddesses outside their agreement. What is so interesting about this element is the combination of the procession's arrival in front of Paris, which represents the preparation for the actual Judgement scene, with the actual choice; Paris sitting on a judge's throne and interacting in this way with Aphrodite can only mean that the artist of the comb wanted to establish a connection between the two. Whether the apple is there or not, the depiction makes clear not only who the winner of the contest is, but rather reveals a deeper connection between Paris and Aphrodite. It appears that, already from the seventh century, artists attempted to establish a special bond between Paris and Aphrodite, which developed even more in later stages and reached its ultimate stage on Etruscan mirrors.

[78] Kossatz-Deissmann (1994) 178.

Another early depiction of the Judgement attested by Pausanias in his *Description of Greece* is on the chest of Cypselus.[79] Cypselus was the first tyrant of Corinth in the seventh century B.C. and the chest was exhibited in the temple of Hera in Olympia, where it was dedicated by Cypselus himself or by his son Periander. Although not much can be said about the depiction *per se*, knowing the chest's origin indicates, along with the Chigi vase and the Laconian comb, that the motif probably entered the Athenian repertoire via the Peloponnese.[80]

The most recently discovered Parian polychrome crateroid-amphora (§add. 3), also dated to the seventh century, is the third surviving early depiction of the Judgement of Paris (fig. 6). It belongs to the group of Melian pithamphorae produced in the archaic period in Cyclades, dated to the seventh and early sixth centuries. They were used as grave markers or cult objects in sanctuaries. The Judgement of Paris on this amphora is painted on the main body of the vase and bears its own unique characteristics, like a winged Hermes, possibly an element of seventh-century Cycladic pottery.[81] It is common for these vases to have oriental features and this one is not an exception. The goddesses do not bear attributes and next to Hermes, by his legs, walks a lion with a snake's tail. Moreover, the element of movement is very strong as far as Hermes and the goddesses are concerned, whereas Paris is clearly standing, waiting for the procession to reach him.

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[79] Paus. 5.19.5.

[80] Lemos (2009) 135 and 143, fn. 14.

[81] Lemos (2009) 134-5.

All three surviving seventh century depictions show that during that period there was no specific motif or established stereotypical form, which all or most of the depictions followed. The iconographical scheme is different depending on the artist and his personal perception and inspiration.[82] That is why in the limited amount of material from this century a variety of motifs can be detected: procession, Paris seated on a judge's throne, potentially the apple, winged Hermes and so on, all of which prepare the ground for the more detailed representations to come. However, even from this early stage, the main features of the scene have been determined: with Paris and Hermes always on the side, the viewer's attention is always drawn to the goddesses. Although they might be sitting, standing or walking, they might be accompanied by other figures, they might carry attributes or not, the viewers see them first and instinctively get into the role of the judge themselves.[83] This setting remains the same until some red-figure vases, like the Karlsruhe hydria (§50) (4th c. B.C.) for example, change the setting completely, by placing Paris in the centre of the depiction or by adding figures, such as Zeus or Pothos and Himeros, connected to the myth in a broader sense (§§47 and 48). The change of this setting becomes typical in even

[82] Lemos (2009) 135: 'It can clearly be deduced that an established iconographical scheme did not yet exist, probably due to their early date, the scarcity of the material, and the distance between workshops; this implies that the motif was independently conceived and rendered by different creative artisans.'

[83] Osborne (1998) 123 on the friezes at the Delphi treasury writes 'On east and west the display of judgements encourages the viewer to make judgements.' This applies, not only to friezes, but on all types of artefacts.

later representations, like the Etruscan mirrors and Hellenistic depictions (for example *LIMC*, Athena §423).

After this early period, black-figure painting becomes the main style, especially in Athens on vases until c. 460 B.C. (when red-figure painting becomes the norm). The theme of the Judgement becomes popular in black-figure pottery and the way it is represented becomes standardised.[84] That is: Paris fleeing or waiting for the goddesses and in front of him Hermes with Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, or the goddesses by themselves, without any attributes. A specific representation that seems to be copied widely is found around 550 B.C. on several black-figure Attic vases of the time (e.g. §7, 8, 9, 12 - fig. 7). This depiction is quite stereotypical (with minor variations) and embraces all the characteristics of the motif, especially the presentation of the three goddesses as identical, impersonal figures. Even in the depictions of the time that are not quite as schematic as the ones mentioned above, the goddesses are still identical, as in § 13 (fig. 8).

After c. 520 B.C., this established motif gradually changes via major differentiations that are introduced: Athena usually is in full armour (or carries her helmet, as in § 14, fig. 9), animals and extra figures enter the scene and the idyllic setting becomes more prominent.[85] These differentiations depend on the individual inspiration of the artist, as well as on artistic trends. Previous scholars considered possible additions of figures relevant to matters of space, in the sense

[84] Osborne (1998) 135.

[85] Lemos (2009) 136-138.

that if the artist ended up with a bit of empty space, he would add a figure or a plant or another unrelated element to fill it. Others today recognise 'confusions or conflations with other themes'.[86] The first argument is unconvincing, since the procedure of creating a black-figure vase involves incision and thus presupposes a certain conception before one starts to draw.[87] On the other hand, when it truly is a matter of merely filling space, it is quite clear that the extra figures do not actually take part in the scene (for example: §§11, 12). The second argument is more convincing in terms of artists following certain trends of their time, as mentioned above, which could tempt them into blending different themes. In certain instances the added figures bear specific characteristics which make them identifiable; when these figures can be relevant to the central depiction theme, in this case the Judgement of Paris, it would be unjust to blame problems of space or conflations and confusions in an attempt to explain their presence.[88]

It is rare for depictions of the sixth century to include individuals other than the main five (Paris, Hermes, and the three goddesses). After the 5th century B.C. this becomes more common; depictions start to incorporate personifications of nature (§80, 81) or figures from later mythological traditions such as Oinone (§79). There are, however, three occasions in the sixth century, all black-figure vases, that incorporate extra figures who also seem to take part in the actual scene of the Judgement: a Theban tripod exaleiptron, dated c. 570-

[86] Lemos (2009) 138.

[87] Shanks (1999) 38.

[88] Hedreen (2001) 217, arguing that despite their debatable identification for ancient and modern audiences alike, these figures did in fact serve specific narrative purposes for the artist.

560 B.C. (§6), and two Attic hydriae, one dating around 510 B.C. (§33) and the other around 510/500 B.C. (§16).

On the first, there is a feminine figure standing between Paris and Hermes (fig. 10). If she is Eris, the vase's artist has depicted the link between the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the Judgement; Eris semantically connects the fleeing Paris and the procession of Hermes with the three goddesses, standing between them and bringing them together.

The second hydria shows Dionysus standing behind Aphrodite, as Paris waits standing for the procession to approach (fig. 11). Dionysus' posture resembles that of Aphrodite, especially in the way his right hand is drawn, while his *chiton* on the bottom creates similar folds to those of the goddess's dress. Dionysus' presence almost mocks the Judgement; it is as if he is another contestant along with the goddesses. Dionysiac scenes were common at that time,[89] but the presence of Dionysus is seldom found in depictions of the Judgement [90] and there is no known connection of Dionysus with the myth. Lemos refers to possible confusion between the Judgement and a Dionysiac scene common at the time, but foreign to the Judgement;[91] however, if we take into account Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*, eighty years later, a comedy in which Dionysus takes the place of Paris as the judge and is the one choosing Aphrodite, it is worth wondering whether there was a pre-existing tradition connecting Paris and Dionysus, known from lost oral or literary tradition. The artist has

[89] Giudice (1997) 51.

[90] Kossatz-Deissman (1994) 179.

[91] Raab (1972) 23-7; Lemos (2009) 138.

chosen not to insert Dionysiac scenery, like ivy and vine branches, which was very common at that time, but has drawn Dionysus himself. The god's figure is almost a mirror image of Paris waiting for the goddesses on the other end of the vase, resembling the interchangeable connection between Paris and Dionysus as displayed in the *Dionysalexandros*. A lekythos dated to 470 B.C. also depicts the Judgement of Paris in a version that appears to be a parody of the myth (§ 108). Here Hermes is replaced by a Silenus and, thus, the vase provides an alternative connection between the Judgement and the world of Dionysus. Artistic representations include at least one aspect of the myth also found in literature: the comic and parodic possibilities of the Judgement of Paris and the idyllic background of Ida and Paris' role as shepherd were particularly appropriate for the satyric context of Dionysus' world.

Paris fleeing is another established motif of black-figure Judgement representations (e.g. §§5, 13), whose origin is not known to us. Lemos argues that either it was a characteristic of Paris in the *Cypria* or Stesichorus, or that it was 'most probably an innovation of an inventive vase-painter, who conceived the core and meaning of the story with its subsequent consequences for the ill-fated Trojan prince'.[92] Paris fleeing a difficult situation is also found in the *Iliad*, especially with the help of Aphrodite, as it happens in book 3; it appears, therefore, that the motif of Paris fleeing follows, to an extent, the his pre-existing tradition, but that is not all. The image of Paris running away not only displays

[92] Lemos (2009) 136.

the impossible nature of the decision he has to make under Zeus' command,[93] but also serves to create humour. The fleeing Paris demonstrates the myth's humorous possibilities, similar to the manifestation of its satyric possibilities through the presence of Dionysus and it is quite possible that Paris fleeing the Judgement was first conceived and encountered in art, rather than in literature.

On the third vase Paris and Hermes are in their usual places on the right, the three goddesses are seated on cubical thrones, but on the left we can see an ugly figure, interpreted by Simon to be Momus,[94] the god of blame, son of Nyx according to Hesiod (*Th.* 214) and thus brother of Eris (fig. 12). In the *Cypria* he advises Zeus to foment the Trojan War, after the Theban War failed to decrease the population of the Earth.[95] Simon's interpretation not only is reasonable due to the figure's appearance, but it is also comprehensible in the sense that the scene taking place in front of him bears the full actual and symbolical implications in terms of responsibility and blame for the Trojan War: according to this version of the myth, Momus is co-responsible for the war with Zeus. With just one extra figure, the artist has provided the viewer with a glimpse of the Judgement's past, not just in terms of the events at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, but even beyond those; the depiction transfers us back to the plan of Zeus, as it was described in the *Cypria*.

[93] A decision that much later in literature, in Lucian's *Judgement of the Goddesses*, is even more prominently impossible, since Zeus himself has refused to make it.

[94] Simon (1980) 144-6.

[95] *Cypria* fr. 1 (West).

Momus is depicted striding away from the scene, but looking back to it as if he has done his job and is now waiting for the results, but without being found there when the final destructive choice will be made. No one pays attention to him: Athena and Aphrodite seem to have an argument while seated, as appears from the posture of their arms, following a long tradition of rivalry and antithesis between the two,[96] Hera leans backwards to listen to them and at the same time Hermes appears to be saying or explaining something to Paris, probably the rules of the Judgement. The three goddesses being seated rather than standing are not trying to show off their best features to Paris, at least not yet. On the contrary, they are aware of their divine status and thus sit on their thrones, arguing with one another, while Hermes tries to convince Paris to stay and make a decision. Momus leaving and the three goddesses arguing is a strong reminder of what happened at Peleus and Thetis' wedding; it is as if the same argument that started around the wedding table is still ongoing and, while the position of the goddesses in a row stresses the idea of Judgement, their arguing implies that the procedure has not started yet.

These three early depictions of the Judgement of Paris in combination with the presence of other figures, out of the basic five, demonstrate the tendency of art to combine different features that occur at different times within the story into a simple image. The Judgement of Paris is a mythic moment that was part of a bigger picture, and from an early stage some artists connected it with stories

[96] See further on the topic my introduction (27-8) and chapter on Hellenistic literature, especially in regards to Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* (205-10).

of cosmology (Zeus' plan to clear the overpopulated earth) and emotional weaknesses (Paris fleeing).

During the sixth century, however, another pattern appears: Paris as shepherd, situated on Mount Ida. Although the idyllic background of the mountain can be considered a touch of realism, it mostly aims at presenting Paris in a bucolic setting. The shepherd motif connects Paris with his past,[97] but also presents him under a completely different light from that of a Trojan prince. Paris as shepherd is a figure humble and disconnected from the royal ideals of *kleos* and courage and thus more inclined to understand and accept Aphrodite's present.[98] Aphrodite's sphere of influence and accordingly her gift to him address the most basic instincts of human existence, sexual attraction and desire, stripped from all sense of right and wrong. At the same time, the shepherd motif in ancient Greek myth seems to be connected with destructive ignorance. Like Oedipus, when Paris makes his decision he is not aware of his identity and thus the role that his decision will play in the course of events. Although the idea of a shepherd is usually that of a humble but kind man (shepherds saved and raised both Paris and Oedipus), the shepherd motif appears connected with unwilling destruction in ancient Greek myth. The presentation of Paris as shepherd as well as the addition of figures connected to the myth itself, apart from the five main participants in the judgement, offer information enhancing the narrative

[97] Hedreen (2001) 220.

[98] Hedreen (2001) 209.

interpretation of the myth and prepare for the even more elaborate and expanded depictions of red-figure vases.

The earliest red-figure depiction of the Judgement of Paris is from 510 B.C. (§§19, 20). The artist expands the previous picture by adding more details to the five main figures (for example, Hermes holds a sword and Paris holds a lyre in §19 and Iris holds the goddesses' veils in §20), but also adding extra figures, such as Iris or, a little later, Eros. Red-figure representations of the Judgement of Paris seem to be affected by social and political conditions, especially in Athens, that affected artistic trends: it appears that the world of gods and heroes is more popular than that of human beings around 525 B.C. until the Persian Wars, after which the human sphere becomes preferred.[99] Thanks to these changes, new characteristics in the depictions of the judgement of Paris in red-figure (and later white ground) vases appear.

The first of these characteristics is the representation of the three goddesses in more detail. It appears that from the fifth century Attic pots include scenes that have to do with feminine activity such as adornment, bathing, and nuptial preparation.[100] Painters realise that they now have to please and attract a new female market; the long periods of war, with women alone in the city, as well as the citizenship law of 451/0 B.C. that made it essential for the mother to be Athenian, for a child to be considered an Athenian citizen, made women's

[99] Giudice (1997) 50-1. Note especially fig. 4.1, which clearly shows the prevalence of the human sphere in depictions from c. 475 B.C. onwards.

[100] See Blundell and Rabinowitz (2008) 115 and Blundell 117-118.

identity more important than before.[101] The changes in the representation of women generally in art, however, do not only apply to women as consumers, but also to males and the way they view women under these changes.[102] As the role of the individual citizen becomes more important in political activity and as the divine becomes sidelined, men acquire a new horizon of expectations as far as the depiction of female figures is concerned.

Representations of the Judgement, following this trend, present the goddesses in a more human way. They start having different facial characteristics, apart from attributes (in §21, for example, apart from the objects each one is carrying, their hair and faces are different). In other words, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite become more woman-like, rather than standing as symbolic figures of a purely mythical scene.[103] It is as if the boundaries between myth and real life become obscure; almost all scenes, unless bearing inscriptions to identify the people taking part, can be considered moments from real life.[104] Since the world of gods and heroes is more popular in Greek art before the Persian Wars,[105] it is impressive how popular the theme of the Judgement remains when scenes of human life become more and more popular. However, artists tend to humanise the scene of the Judgement as the narrative of the

[101] Blundell (in Blundell and Rabinowitz 2008) 136.

[102] Osborne (1994) 94-5.

[103] Cf. Ferrari (2003) 38-9: 'mythical subjects are represented in contemporary costume and real life may be elevated to the superior realm of the myth.'

[104] Ferrari (2003) 40.

[105] See n. 99.

depictions becomes more realistic. For example, in §3 (fig. 13), a vase dated to 360 B.C., since the 'procession' motif has been eliminated and the goddesses are differently depicted from one another, we can recognise a scene of a man seated and three women around him, one of them looking herself in a mirror. There are features like Athena's armour that cannot be confused with everyday life elements; however, the depiction in general is realistic in human terms.

In this process of humanisation, the frequency of the appearance of Eros next to Aphrodite is the second basic characteristic of the red-figure period. Apart from stressing Aphrodite's presence and influence in the Judgement, Eros' presence follows a specific pattern of this period: he becomes a being from another world and a lesser deity in anthropomorphic form – like Iris, who also becomes more common – that tends to interact with humans and fly to earth.[106] In the archaic period, Eros does not have the same attributes as in the 5th and 4th centuries. Hesiod refers to two different Erotes: the first one of the four main primary elements that created the world (*Th.* 120-3), the other Aphrodite's follower (*Th.* 201-2). According to Pausanias (9.27.1 1) in Thespiae, where Eros was worshipped, there was 'a statue that represented a very ancient image of him, an unwrought stone'. In the 4th century this was replaced by a statue made by Praxiteles (Pausanias and Strabo 9.2.25), one that represented the god as a young boy with wings and a bow.[107]

[106]Seltman (1923/4) 90; Cohen (1997) 144.

[107] Callistratus, *Description* 3.

Thus, although Eros was connected with reproduction and fertility in Athens, he was not worshipped as a god of erotic attraction until at least the 4th c. B.C, as reflected in cult findings.[108] The complete absence of Eros from early representations of the Judgement of Paris as opposed to his appearance as a divine figure interacting with humans and escorting Aphrodite in red-figure vases appears to be agreeing with the ideological transition from Eros being an abstract concept to him being an actual divinity. This transition, however, does not imply that Eros was aniconic due to an evolutionary model of Greek art or Greek religion,[109] but rather shows that he was perceived differently in different periods of time, meaning that Eros' aniconism was a deliberate choice and not an underdevelopment of religious or ideological conscience, which led to a difficulty in conceiving Eros as a specific image in earlier stages of Greek religion. Since Eros holds both the role of a primal force and that of a minor divinity, his representations in the context of the Judgement of Paris indicate the popularity of each role in different periods of time.

As artists attempt to explain the role of Aphrodite and present Eros as her assistant (attributive function as in §36, where Aphrodite stands among flying Erotes, fig. 14),[110] they also start depicting him as a distinct personality, who has the ability to persuade and compel humans (personal function, for example in §37, fig. 15), where he is presented discussing with Aphrodite and

[108] Breitenberger (2007) 62.

[109] On why this is a faulty evolutionary model of Greek religion see Gaifman (2012) 4.

[110] See Stafford (2013) 198.

maybe offering his advice on the matter.[111] Moreover, Eros is strongly connected in the fifth century with marriage and nuptial elements in the iconography of Helen.[112] His presence is connected to the act of courtship until after 450 B.C., when painters start to introduce Eros into the wedding ceremony depictions, showing the importance of touch and glances,[113] meaning that he acquires and established connection with flirting and human interaction between the bride and the groom, drawing the viewers' attention to them.[114] Just a few decades later, Eros is represented interacting with Paris, trying to persuade him to choose Aphrodite (§§49, 50 – fig. 16).

The Karlsruhe hydria (§50 – fig. 16) is one of the most intriguing cases of the period. Dated to around 400 B.C. it incorporates in its depiction of the Judgement not only the double presence of Eros, but also other interesting features, too. The two Erotes of the hydria fulfil separate functions: the one next to Aphrodite stands as a symbol of her attributive force and the one discussing with Paris is trying to affect his judgment. Eros' significance is emphasised by his doubling; he is Aphrodite's close companion (she has her arm around him), but a second Eros leans on Paris' shoulder, with eye-contact again conveying communication.[115]

[111] Cf. Harrison (1886) 208-9.

[112] Sutton (1997/8) 27.

[113] Ibid. 30-32.

[114] Stafford (2013) 204.

[115] Stafford (2013) 200.

The shape of the vessel leaves room for a non-procession representation, which the painter takes full advantage of. Paris is placed in the centre, emphasising his personal responsibility.[116] The rest of the figures appear to have moved towards his spot in Ida, where he is seated in oriental dress. Apart from the main five protagonists of the Judgement, the Karlsruhe hydria features extra figures, like Zeus, Eutychia and Klymene,[117] but the most striking feature is that of Eris. The goddess appears on top of Paris, as if she has direction and a particular understanding of the whole scene.[118] It is an interesting choice to have Eris as the overseer of the scene, when Zeus is present, too; however, Zeus' position in the top left is still that of an overseer, but of one who has kept more of a distance from the Judgement.

The overall composition sheds further light on the interpretation of the Judgement. The lower frieze of the hydria is decorated by the assembly of a Dionysian thiasos in the front and scenes of everyday female activity on the back (combination of Dionysian and Aphroditean scenes).[119] Dionysiac features found in earlier depictions, along with the Aphroditean ones, serve here an alternative

[116] Lorenz (2016) 241. I am extremely grateful to Dr Lorenz for allowing me access to her book in its earlier stages, before publication.

[117] See also Lorenz (2016) 42-3 on the dog that can be found at Paris' feet as a representation of Helen, foreshadowing both the abduction and their marriage, as well as Helen's portrayal as a 'bitch' due to the course of events that will follow the Judgement. Helen, in fact, calls herself a bitch in the *Iliad* (6.344 and 356).

[118] Lorenz (2016) 186.

[119] Lorenz (2016) 45.

purpose: the demonstration that Paris' motives were related to pleasure rather than anything else.[120]

In the context of the connection between Eros and courting/ marriage as part of everyday life, his presence can foreshadow the 'wedding' with Helen that is to come. As Eros becomes part of everyday life representations, his position in the depictions of the Judgement is almost the same as it would be in a scene of wedding or courting between humans: he is often found next to the male (in this case Paris), trying to convince him to be attracted to a female (in this case Aphrodite), as on the Karlsruhe hydria, as well as §§51 and 54. Since the procession motif has been abandoned, these depictions resemble even more scenes of human weddings or flirting, but without the same depth and expansion of themes as on the Karlsruhe hydria.

Another characteristic of depictions of the Judgement in this period is symbolism and allegory. As representations become more detailed, it is not enough for artists just to indicate which scene they are trying to draw. On the contrary, they represent the abstract concepts of the myth. A typical example of allegoric representation is an Attic red-figure vase of 440 B.C. (§39); in this representation Aphrodite holds a small Eros in her open palm, Athena is in full armour and Hera is holding a lion (fig. 17). The way the three goddesses are drawn shows both their sphere of influence and what they are offering Paris.[121] Eros does not have an attributive or personal function, but rather becomes a symbol of what Aphrodite stands for and what she offers to Paris in exchange

[120] Lorenz (2016) 46.
[121] Borg (2002) 101.

for his choice. Another impressive representation of this type is §40, where the goddesses are approaching Paris on different chariots: Hera's chariot is dragged by two horses, Athena's by two snakes and Aphrodite's by two flying Erotes (fig. 18). Although scholars have suggested that the role of Erotes and the animals in this case is mainly attributive, it is worth arguing that it is mainly symbolic of the gifts offered by the goddesses: Hera's horses, as symbols of kingship and authority, Athena's snakes as symbols of martial prowess (esp. given the oriental orientation of the vase) and Aphrodite's Erotes as symbols of sexuality and attraction. In this context, the chariots function as carriers not only of the goddesses, but also as carrier of the gifts that each brings to Paris.

The Judgement of Paris, possibly via Corinth, became popular in Etruria; finds with the Judgement of Paris date from 560/550 B.C. (§41) until the third century B.C. (§69). The Etruscans not only borrowed themes from Greek mythology, but also adapted these themes to their own Etruscan divinities and myths (for example Aphrodite is Turan in Etruria).[122] Sometimes it becomes impossible to tell the difference between the original Greek gods and their Etruscan 'copies'. In both cases, however, religious or private workshops in Etruria used to make both major works (sculptures, buildings, etc.) and smaller objects, such as mirrors and toilet boxes,[123] using these divinities and scenes from their lives as decorative features. All these artefacts provide information on the taste of the Etruscans for mythology, both Greek and local,[124]

[122] Simon (1985) 302; Carpino (1996) 85.

[123] Briguet (1986) 101.

[124] Briguet (1986) 149.

making it possible to identify the reception of these myths in Etruscan society and the variations they may have undergone. However, the conflations of Greek and Etruscan myths, as well as the lack of information on the use of specific vessels, make this information slightly problematic in interpretation. Therefore, we can only come up with conclusions that derive from the findings, without going too deep in possible implications the representations might bear.

Mirrors have always been connected with Aphrodite and Helen, both in Greece and in Etruria.[125] It is common to have four-figure compositions on Etruscan mirror and thus it is difficult to identify the Judgement of Paris for certain.[126] The shape of the mirrors contributed significantly to the change of the 'procession' motif of the vases. However, there are are six bronze hand mirrors (§64-69, the oldest dating to the middle of the 4th century B.C.) definitely decorated with the Judgement including some or all of the main five figures and potentially some extra (for example §65). On these, the three goddesses can be presented naked (§§68, §69)[127] and the typical form of the scene has Paris in the middle and the rest standing around him (§67, figs. 19 and 20). The main feature that differentiates the mirrors from the vases is that Paris' verdict is usually implied by connecting him to Aphrodite,[128] a feature appearing for the first time on the Laconian comb (for example on §67 Paris offers the apple to Aphrodite

[125] Congdon (1985) 22.

[126] Nagy (1996) 49.

[127] Kossatz-Deissmann (1994) 188.

[128] Nagy (1996) 51-2.

who is seated on the right).[129] Moreover, Aphrodite is usually the dominant figure on Etruscan mirrors; she is either nude after the fifth century or earlier she is set apart or dressed in fancier clothes.[130] The nudity of Aphrodite in particular implies her sphere of influence and the attraction she casts over Paris. Thus, according to Lord, 'the Etruscan mirrors carry the myth one step beyond vases, by implying Paris' verdict'.[131]

As the vases of the sixth and fifth centuries attempted to establish the first motifs and visually connect the myth to its past and the Attic vases of the fifth and fourth centuries attempt to present the myth in enlightening detail about the myth's past and present, the Etruscan mirrors reveal something of the Judgement's outcome. The myth retains its popularity as an artistic theme, albeit with a gap of a couple of centuries (2nd and 1st c. B.C.) and decorates all sorts of surfaces and vessels until the 4th c. A.D., when the depictions of the Judgement become sparser again.

[129] Cf. Nagy (1996) 50-1, pointing out the unique significance and iconography of the Judgement of Paris in Magna Graecia, where the role of Hera is emphasized significantly, especially in Paestan vases (see §§55, 56,57 and 58).

[130] Ibid. 51.

[131] Lord (1937) 606.

Chapter 2

From Homer to Herodotus

The first reference to the Judgement of Paris in literature occurs in the final book of Homer's *Iliad* (24.25-30). At this point, Achilles has dragged Hector's dead body behind his chariot while Apollo has covered it with a golden aegis to protect it (24.18-21) and expresses his disapproval to the rest of the Olympians (24.33-54). Most of them agree with him and encourage Hermes to snatch the body away, but Athena, Hera and Poseidon remain hostile towards the Trojans, because of 'Alexander's folly in insulting the goddesses', as the poet says.

ἔνθ' ἄλλοις μὲν πᾶσιν ἐήνδανεν, οὐδέ ποθ' Ἥρῃ
οὐδὲ Ποσειδάων' οὐδὲ γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ,
ἀλλ' ἔχον ὥς σφιν πρῶτον ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' ἄτης,
ὅς νείκεσσε θεάς, ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο,
τὴν δ' ἤνησ' ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην αλεγεινήν.

And the thing was pleasing to all the rest, yet not to Hera or Poseidon or the flashing-eyed maiden, but they continued as when at first sacred Ilios became hateful in their eyes and Priam and his people because of the folly of Alexander, who had insulted the goddesses, when they came

to his farmstead and he praised her who furthered his grievous lustfulness.

Scholars have debated whether these lines are original and whether Homer was already aware of the myth or the reference is a later addition by someone who knew the myth of the Judgement from the *Cypria* or some other source. This question consists of two separate ones: (i) was the poet aware of the myth when composing the *Iliad*? (and if he was, did he really use it in the plot of the *Iliad*?) and (ii) is the reference to the Judgement in book 24 original? (This second question includes both why the story should have been mentioned at all[132] and whether the place and wording of the reference is appropriate taking into account the rest of the poem). The distinction between the two questions is essential in order to understand both the role of the Judgement story throughout the narrative of the *Iliad* and its place within the whole poem and within book 24.

The first person that attempted to rid the *Iliad* from what he thought were accretion was Zenodotus. After him, Aristarchus of Samothrace tried to do the same; passages that he considered were problematic or unsuitable for the poem were athetised (luckily not completely omitted in his edition of the *Iliad*).[133]

[132] This is a point that Davies (1981) 56-7 quite correctly raised in regards to Reinhardt's iconic work on the Judgement in the *Iliad*, arguing that while Reinhardt had successfully demonstrated that Homer knew the story, 'he does not try to explain why it has to be mentioned at all, and why at this particular stage in the narrative'.

[133] Davison (1962) 222-4; Janko (1990) 331-2.

According to Aristarchus, 24.25-30 are an interpolation; he extensively argued this on the basis of several reasons: i) it is absurd to have all of the gods agreeing, and then go on to exclude three of the most powerful deities, ii) the Judgement of Paris is nowhere else mentioned in the poem, whereas it should be brought up more often as the explanation for Hera and Athena's anger, iii) νείκεσσε is misused, because it does not mean 'judged' and iv) μαχλοσύνη means γυναικομανία, whereas what Aphrodite actually gave to Paris was not this, but Helen and the word is in any case Hesiodic and not Homeric.[134]

Before moving on with anything, it is worth wondering whether, if Aristarchus had not athetised these lines, we would be having doubts about their authenticity. Aristarchus athetised the lines based on his personal opinion of what was appropriate for the poem and what was not. Although he provides us with a variety of arguments as to why the lines should be considered an interpolation, he does not seem to have evoked any piece of hard evidence, like a manuscript available to him or anything similar, that would support the lines' athetization beyond doubt. This fact alone should lead scholars to be extra careful in accepting what Aristarchus argued, despite his undeniable philological expertise. A closer look at the lines will demonstrate that the reference to the Judgement of Paris fits the requirements of the poem both in terms of expression and of structure. However, since Aristarchus' objections (except for the second one on the Judgement being mentioned more often) are

[134] For an overview of these and other objections that the bT scholia add to those of Aristarchus see Erbse (1969) 522-3 and Richardson (1993) 276-7.

all based on the vocabulary and the structure of the reference itself, it is only appropriate to attempt first an answer to the first question: did Homer actually know the Judgement of Paris?

The answer should be affirmative. The *Iliad* was composed in the 8th century and was written down in a relatively established version – either by the poet himself or via dictation[135]– before the last quarter of the 7th century at the latest.[136] Although there might have been a period when oral and written transmission co-existed, the structure of the poem suggests that, although its traditional mythological background already existed,[137] the *Iliad* itself was the well-planned work of one poet.[138] Internal connections and motifs of the poem

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[135] Lord (1953) 124-34; Janko (1990) 328. On the contrary Kirk (1962) 208-17 and 301-34 argued that they were transmitted orally for a long period of time before being written down. On matters of writing and recording see also Alden (2000) 300-4; Rutherford (2013) 32-3.

[136] For overall discussions and bibliography on the dating of Homer, as well as the debate on whether the composition and transmission of the poems was oral or written see: Fowler (2004) 221-6 and Rutherford (2013) 19-34. See also Janko (1990) 331: 'There were early versions with many plus verses[...]Although some of them certainly go back to memorized performances of the text by performers capable of some improvisation and elaboration, the rhapsodes, there is fundamentally only one text of the *Iliad*.'

[137] Burgess (2001) 47-8; Fowler (2004) 228. Neoanalysis as a theory goes back to Kakridis and Kullman, who first argued that Homer, along with the poems of the Cycle, are based on a common pool of pre-existing mythological tradition.

[138] Lord (1960) 149: the poet might actually have been literate and writing down his own poem, since the result was much superior to oral dictated texts (despite having argued earlier (fn. 134) that the poet was illiterate and dictated his poem to someone else); For the potential difficulties,

are not necessarily result of later additions, but they can be literary choices of the poet of the *Iliad*. The same condition applies to *Il.* 24.25-30, the reference to the Judgement of Paris.

The Chigi vase, originally made in Corinth, along with the ivory Laconian comb and the Parian pithamphora, the earliest artistic representations of the Judgement of Paris, are all dated to the 7th century BC. Even if the dating is post-Homeric (if we date Homer to the 8th century), it is hard to believe that these representations were based on Homer, the *Cypria*, or any other solely literary source. Such early artistic representations – especially assuming that there were quite possibly even older ones that have not survived – indicate the existence of a wider tradition about the Trojan war circulating in the Hellenic world. The geographical variety of these early depictions, as mentioned in the previous chapter, shows that the Judgement of Paris was widely known, but there was not yet a shared established motif of depiction, indicating an individual awareness and perception of the same tradition. Nevertheless, the findings prove that this tradition was common and circulating widely.

The nature of the Judgement myth also fits into a genre of farces about gods, which was a tradition already in existence when the *Iliad* was composed, and found outside Greece as well.[139] Stories of gods holding grudges and ironically behaving like humans, obviously under the scope of

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that do not render it impossible for the poem to have been written down at a date in the late eighth or early seventh century see Rutherford (2013) 33.

[139] For divine farce in Old Norse mythology, for example, see Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 178-9, esp. fn. 13.

anthropomorphism, for trivial matters were not only part of the Greeks' cult, but of their entertainment as well. The Judgement of Paris is only one of the instances in mythology when the gods' long lasting grudges torment humanity and bring disaster and pain, without it being for them a matter of life or death. The essence of the story might not be particularly appropriate for the epic genre, but that does not preclude it from being part of a pre-Homeric tradition, which Homer shaped and moulded to fit his literary project.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the Judgement of Paris, along with a wider Trojan tradition, did exist before the *Iliad* and, thus, was known to Homer. However, internal evidence, facts and scenes from the *Iliad* also point to this direction. Despite the lack of references to the Judgement of Paris before book 24, the myth needs to be taken into account to explain the present of the tenth year of the Trojan War, as well as the *status quo* of the relationships among gods and mortals in the course of the narrative.[140] Without the Judgement of Paris, certain aspects of the poem simply do not make sense.

First, without the Judgement as background one cannot explain Hera's and Athena's deep and absolute hatred towards the Trojans.[141] This hatred is frequently referred to in the course of the poem, but is never explained further:

> Ὣς ἔφαθ', αἱ δ' ἐπέμυξαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη·
> πλησίαι αἵ γ' ἥσθη, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μεδέσθην. (*Il.* 4.20-1)

[140] Burgess (2001) 47.

[141] Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 176; Walcot (1977) 31.

So he spoke, and Athena and Hera muttered against him as they sat side by side and planned ills for the Trojans.

Zeus has just mocked Hera and Athena for supporting Menelaus in the duel that just occurred in book 3 between Menelaus and Paris and ended with Aphrodite snatching the young Trojan prince from the battlefield to save him. Athena manages to hold her peace and remain silent, but Hera replies to Zeus in anger:

πῶς ἐθέλεις ἄλιον θεῖναι πόνον ἠδ'ἀτέλεστον,
ἱδρῷ θ'ὃν ἵδρωσα μόγῳ, καμέτην δέ μοι ἵπποι
λαὸν ἀγειρούσῃ, Πριάμῳ κακὰ τοῖό τε παισίν. (*Il.* 4.28-30)

How can you be minded to make my labour vain and of no effect, and the sweat that I sweated in my toil!—and my two horses grew weary with my summoning the army as an evil for Priam and his sons.

Later, Athena admits to Apollo that the reason she rushed from Olympus to intervene in the battle is to help the Acheans, as she wants to see Troy in ruins (7.30-7), while in book 18 Hera admits again her resentment towards the Trojans (18. 367: οὐκ ὄφελον Τρώεσσι κοτεσσαμένη κακὰ ῥάψαι;, 'How was not I not in my resentment against the Trojans to stitch evils for them?'). Finally, in book 20 Hera urges Zeus to decide whether he will save Aeneas or not because, as she tells him:

ἦ τοι μὲν γὰρ νῶι πολέας ὠμόσσαμεν ὅρκους
πᾶσι μετ᾽ ἀθανάτοισιν, ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
μή ποτ᾽ ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀλεξήσειν κακὸν ἦμαρ,
μηδ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἂν Τροίη μαλερῷ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται
καιομένη, καίωσι δ᾽ ἀρήιοι υἱες Ἀχαιῶν. (*Il.* 20.313.17)

The two of us, Pallas Athene and I, have sworn many oaths among the immortals never to ward off the day of evil from the Trojans, not even when all Troy blazes, burning in consuming fire, and the warlike sons of the Achaeans are the burners.

All these instances clearly demonstrate that Hera and Athena bear a fatal grudge against the Trojans. Although other gods may want to help one side or the other, the anger of the two goddesses against Troy appears to be more personal and passionate, but is never explained. In fact, in book 4 (30-3) Zeus inquires of Hera as to what have the Trojans possibly done to her to have caused such rage to which she answers that he is allowed to lay to waste any of her favourite cities, if they ever become hateful to him (51-4), which is far from an adequate answer. Even when Poseidon becomes part of their pact, their motives are completely different: Athena and Hera want to see the destruction of Troy and need Poseidon by their side against Zeus and Thetis, whereas Poseidon's resentment

is probably based on the deceit of Laomedon.[142] Their explicit rivalry towards Aphrodite in the battle of the gods (21.423) can also be explained through the Judgement of Paris.[143]

It should be noted, as Richardson points out, that all of Aristarchus' objections can be resolved with the athetisation only of lines 29-30.[144] In that case, 'Alexander's folly' (Ἀλεξάνδρου ἄτη) would simply refer to the abduction of Helen and not to his choice of Aphrodite at the Judgement.[145] However, this would mean that Hera and Athena's hatred against Priam and his people would still remain unanswered throughout the poem, as we would have to assume that they are somehow insulted by the abduction of Helen alone, in which the rest of the poem leaves us no reason to believe.

The Judgement can also explain the already established connection between Paris and Aphrodite in the *Iliad*. Aphrodite in the poem is not just pro-Trojan, she is pro-Paris. She interferes to save him personally when he fights

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[142] *Il.* 21.441–60; Davies (1981) 58-9: 'Poseidon is still firmly registered in our minds within the company of the gods who cherish undying hatreds because of past offences'; Macleod (1982) 88: 'No motive for Poseidon's resentment is given: that is because one already has been in 21.441-60, namely the deceit of Laomedon'. Cf. Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 177, who argues that Poseidon probably joins them because he feels like his authority is not acknowledged. However, Davies (1981) 57 is right to argue that Reinhardt brushes it aside somehow parenthetically and unconvincingly.

[143] Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 182-3.

[144] Richardson (1993) 277.

[145] I would assume this is one of the reasons West (2011) 412 considers only lines 29-30 what he calls a 'rhapsode's interpolation'.

Menelaus and she forces Helen to go back to their bedchamber and take care of him (3.389-95). This episode does not serve any purpose than to be a narrative pattern used to characterise Paris in depth.[146] Her attitude combined with the hatred of Hera and Athena towards the Trojans, indicates that there is a history behind this web of relationships and events. The anger of Hera and Athena towards the Trojans, their rivalry towards Aphrodite, the special relationship of Aphrodite with Paris – all of them are allusive transformation of the Judgement into epic episodes, fit for the context and content of the *Iliad*. The myth is not explicitly mentioned until the very end, but its presence is constant and strong. As Reinhardt put it: 'Without the Judgement of Paris, no *Iliad*'.[147]

Even Paris' presentation in the narrative becomes complete if viewed through the lens of the Judgement and, thus, through his established connection with Aphrodite: he is the young prince, always choosing the easy way, a non-heroic figure presented as the black sheep of his family, especially in contrast to his brother, Hector. When in book 6 Hector is tempted by three different women to stay back, to turn away from war and death and back to the safety of the palace,[148] the antithesis between the two brothers can be better perceived if we take the Judgement of Paris into account. Although Hector's situation is not the same as that of Paris when choosing among three goddesses, still it is a

[146] Suter (1987) 57.

[147] Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 187.

[148] Macleod (1987) 89 on μαχλοσύνη expressing that Paris became a seducer, a harsh view which aids his image as counterpart of Hector. See also Davies (2003) 38.

choice that reveals the chooser's life philosophy and thus Paris' erotic nature.[149] Hector would never choose on the basis of Paris' criteria. The antithesis between the two Trojan princes and the way Paris is represented presuppose not only that the poet knew the story of the Judgement, but also that he deliberately set Hector's encounters before battle with three different women in such a way to fit the shape and form of the Judgement with its moral implications. Paris chose the non-heroic option, but Hector has resisted all temptation to go to battle.

Thus far, I have argued that Homer not only was aware of the pre-existing tradition around the Trojan War, but also that he used this pool of material as a plot basis for his poem. The Judgement of Paris is a pre-requisite for the narrative of the *Iliad*, which means that the idea of the story existed before Homer. We still, however, have to tackle the doubts over the originality of lines 25-30 in the last book of the *Iliad*. Even if the Judgement is part of the Iliadic narrative's past, did Homer really have to refer to it at all? And why did he do it in the last book of the poem? To reason with this reference, it is essential to understand the content and context of the lines, the role and structure of book 24, as well as the deeper structure of the whole poem.

In terms of vocabulary the reference has no reason to be considered non-Homeric, despite Aristarchus' objections. The fact that μαχλοσύνη is a *hapax legomenon* in the *Iliad*[150] by no means makes the lines an addition. There are

[149] Suter (1987) 52.

[150] Brügger (2009) 28.

many words that are used only once in the *Iliad*.[151] The adjective μάχλος is defined as lewd, lustful (e.g. LSJ dictionary); in Hesiod the word is used for women (*Op.* 586), but that does not mean that μαχλοσύνη is not appropriate for Paris here. The word is associated with Aphrodite, but it is usually the punishment that the goddess inflicts upon those who deserve her wrath.[152] The implication that Aphrodite's bribe was after all a punishment appears extremely appropriate: via one and only word the poet manages to convey that the beauty contest brought destruction to Paris' city in the most compact way possible. Moreover, the single use of the word only makes its Aphrodite-centred meaning even stronger, as it is inappropriate for the heroic context, but becomes attached irrevocably to Paris. The use of Alexandros, the name that the gods usually use for him instead of Paris,[153] promotes a transition to the world of the gods, their rules and their minds. This transition points not only to what Hera, Athena and Poseidon believe, but also towards Zeus' will that is being fulfilled through the Judgement.

The myth of the Judgement of Paris is more personal and didactic rather than heroic in its nature.[154] This means that an extensive narration of a story about a beauty contest with moral symbolisms would not be fit or appropriate for an extensive heroic epic. A reference would seemingly not be suitable for the context of the *Iliad*; it is not the only instance where a story from the narrative's

[151] See Kumpf (1984) on *hapax legomena* in Homer.

[152] Davies (1981) 58.

[153] De Jong (1987) 125.

[154] Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 171; Griffin (1977) 40.

past is mentioned incidentally or in the context of a conversation. The style of these stories is not consistent with the rest of the poem's epic style and, therefore, these stories are not part of the epic action.[155] However, these marginal references expand the seemingly limited time of the narrative significantly; there are references to Achilles' death, which will occur after the end of the poem, but there are also references, like the ship catalogue in Book 2, that go back years before the narrative's present. The reference to the Judgement in book 24, as well as a reference to Helen's abduction (24.765-6), lead the reader even before that. Eventually the *Iliad* ends up covering a period of twenty years instead of less than a year, which is the *Iliad*'s actual timeframe.[156] These references to the past (the Judgement of Paris, the abduction of Helen, etc.) and the future (the prophecies of the death of Achilles, Cassandra's portrayal as a prophet, etc.) of the narrative,[157] despite how unsuitable may sometimes seem for the poem's style due to their context, are common throughout the text and are intentionally referred to without interfering with the actual narrative, but they shed light on small facts

[155] Alden (2000) 13 makes a distinction between primary and secondary narratives within the *Iliad*. She names the latter para-narratives and identifies certain types, but as she argues 'all exert influence, directly or indirectly, on the audience's reception of the text'. See also Reinhardt (1997 [1938]) 173 on these digressions not belonging to the narrative's present, but rather functioning as allusions to its past or future and Ingalls (1982) on mythological digressions not connected to the story.

[156] Walcot (1977) 38-39 and Mackie (2013) 7.

[157] Brugger (2009) 25; Mackie (2013) 12-14.

and details of the past. The reference to the Judgement in book 24 may easily be one of them.

The brevity of the reference to the Judgement offers only a summarized account of the story and thus fits the poet's purpose of just mentioning it, rather than elaborately narrating it. In fact, it is this brevity that provides the reference with such an allusive air, that it is almost impossible to consider the reference foreign to the spirit of the *Iliad.* Aristarchus' objection to the meaning of νείκεσσε not being 'to judge' and, thus, being problematic is unreasonable; there is no reason to think that κρίνω is a necessity here, as νείκεσσε still fits the context. The verb expresses exactly the insult that was committed by Paris towards Athena and Hera,[158] whereas μαχλοσύνη, usually attributed to women and Aphrodite's punishment, in this case expresses dangerous lust[159] and is consistent with what we know for Paris so far in the poem.[160] Under this scope, it is also implied that Paris' choice was not Helen per se, but rather an immoral choice of lust, as a passion not suitable for a man.[161] Therefore, the reference to the Judgement of Paris in its brevity and evocative choice of words provides a full

[158]Macleod (1982) 89 on νείκεσσε here meaning 'found fault with', just as μέμφομαι. Richardson (1993) 279. Cf. West (2013) 79 on the poet of *Iliad* 24.29-30: 'In the version known to him, Paris not only rejected the claims of Hera and Athena, but explicitly disparaged them.' I am not convinced as to whether the actual meaning of νείκεσσε should be perceived in the light of Paris actively insulting the goddesses compared to the goddesses being automatically insulted due to the outcome of the contest alone.

[159] Taplin (1992) 262.

[160] Macleod (1982) 89 *ad loc* on Paris as a 'ladies' man'; Richardson (1993) 279.

[161] Bowra (1962) 65.

account of what led to the war as well as an explanation of the status quo of the relationship among Hera, Athena and Poseidon. The choice of words may be unconventional, but is by no means objectionable.

Still, the question remains: why the reference in book 24? Why not earlier? Whoever doubts the authenticity of 24.25-30 (especially 29-30) can argue that the reference to the Judgement seems like an awkward addition at the end by someone who thought that it should be mentioned somewhere, since it is so often implied throughout the poem. However, a structural approach to book 24 can shed some light on the timing of the reference within the *Iliad*.

In book 24 there are other allusions to the past of the war,[162] but also to the past of Troy itself, especially to the line of kings before Priam (Dardanus, Ilus and Laomedon).[163] Books 23 and 24 seem to function as complementary conclusions to the poem,[164] offering at the same time a full account of what happened before the war. Obviously, this account is not given through a separate narration that follows all the events, but rather through allusions and implications of the past. In book 24 we have an affirmation of the status quo in Olympus, in terms of how each god feels about what has been going on on Earth.

The emotional impact on the audience of such a deep hatred, such as Hera's and Athena's, that is not adequately explained or reasoned, is very strong.

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[162] 24.59-63 on the wedding of Thetis to Peleus;24.764-6 on Helen's years away from Sparta; Mackie (2013) 2-4.

[163] 24.171, 354,629,631,349,25-6; See Mackie (2013) 5-6 and 8.

[164] Macleod (1982) 16-17.

Although the audience is aware of the mythological past, the refusal of the poet to refer to it explicitly (Hera's refusal in book 4 is in reality Homer's refusal to answer yet) until the very end, creates the same anticipation that tragedy creates: the audience knows what is happening on stage and usually is aware of events that the protagonists and the chorus do not yet know (tragic irony). However, as spectators, people await this final moment of revelation, when what they know is confirmed; but the surprise lies with whether and in what way it will be confirmed. Hera and Athena are like the bad witches of a fairytale; their reason for wanting to burn a whole city down because of a beauty contest resembles Maleficent's grudge because she was not invited to the ball, or the Queen's desire in Snow White to poison her because her magic mirror told her that the girl was prettier than herself.

In all these cases, the revelation of the motive makes the deed seem even more inexplicably cruel. Book 24 raises questions about human choices and divine will overall. Although the gods sometimes show pity, in the course of the *Iliad* they are generally set in a different world and are indifferent to humans.[165] They lack a certain type of humanity that stems from the understanding of death and the acceptance of one's fate; while Achilles and Priam exhibit compassion at the end of the poem, gods, with nothing to lose and pettier motives cling stubbornly to grudges of the past. This is why the Judgement of Paris needs to be saved until the last book.[166] The reference to the Judgement points towards

[165] Macleod (1982) 13-14.

[166] Davies (1981) 60-1.

the fact that old hatreds remain in the divine sphere[167] and the faulty choice of one man eventually causes the destruction of a whole city.[168]

The motif of progressive revelation is well known to Homer. It is a pattern used very often and can include allusions to the past, prophecies and other minor or major hints. These allusions to the past or the future (meaning the past and future that does not belong to the *Iliad*'s narrative) are usually not given in a straightforward way.[169] Achilles' death is one of the most characteristic examples of this motif. Every prophecy or allusion to Achilles' death offers extra information compared to its previous one.[170] 'Although the poem consistently portrays the certainty of Achilles' fate, a certainty that the audience will share through its knowledge of traditional myth, it also provides an illusion of uncertainty and choice as a way of furthering Achilles' characterisation."[171]

This progressive revelation of events of the past or the future in the *Iliad* provides the poem with a structure that is tragic, in a broader sense of the term. Epic can present more accurately the actual decisions of the gods than tragedy does and thus brings out the theme of mankind's imperfect knowledge that can never fully grasp the gods' attitude.[172] However, this distinction between what is

[167] Edwards (1987) 305.

[168] Davies (1981) 59-60; (1995) 3.

[169] Davies (1995) 8: 'subtle postponement of material from the past is reminiscent of the *Iliad*'s own treatment of the Judgement'.

[170] Taplin (1992) 198 names this the 'Homeric technique of increasing precision'.

[171] Burgess (2009) 55.

[172] Rutherford (1982) 160; (2013) 65-6.

happening in Olympus and what is happening on Earth offers a broader perception of how divine intervention works. In the *Iliad* causality is a combination of divine and human action.[173] The choices humans make can affect the planning and the decisions that gods make and vice versa. Therefore, book 24 is not just about what gods have decided, but also what human choices have led them to these attitudes. The fact that Paris withdraws from battle, with help from Aphrodite, due to *eros*, differentiates his withdrawal from that of Achilles.[174] In the last book of the *Iliad* the audience faces a transition of the epic hero, represented by Achillles, from wrath, to grief and then to compassion.[175] Achilles finally overcomes his wrath and pities Priam, who has come to ask for Hector's body:

> αὐτίκ᾽ἀπὸ θρόνου ὦρτο, γέροντα δὲ χειρὸς ανίστη
> οἰκτίρων πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον (*Il.* 24.515-6)

> immediately then he sprang from his seat, and raised the old man
> by his hand, pitying his gray head and gray beard

[173] Lesky (2001) 174-5; Rinon (2008) 47-8.

[174] Collins (1987) 222 and 229.

[175] Collins (1987) 222; Macleod (2001) 308-9: κλέα ἀνδρῶν is now about offering pity. See also Davies (1981) 60-1.

This series of emotions represents the personal growth of the hero and his capacity for *aidos* and punishment shows his acceptance of his own fate.[176] The reference of the Judgement at the beginning of book 24 not only reminds the audience of Paris' wrong choice and his cowardly withdrawal from battle, but also displays his own lack of personal growth or understanding. From the moment he chose lust over war and power until this point nothing has changed in Paris.

In this spirit of acceptance of one's fate, the reference to the Judgement of Paris near the end also creates an antithesis with book 1 and the beginning of the poem: whereas in the first book mortal quarrels persist and create the conditions for the narrative to unravel, but divine strife is easily overcome, in the last book this balance is reversed, making mortals, like Achilles, ready to accept their fate, whereas divine grudges are established as an eternal condition. Ultimately, what always exists in the background is the will of Zeus (*boule Dios*).[177] The reminder of the story of the Judgement in the last book of the poem is also a reminder that nothing can truly be outside Zeus' plan, which was first mentioned at the beginning (*Il.* 1.5). The mythological background of the *Iliad* is the plan of Zeus, which expands before and beyond the poem's narrative. In this sense, the stories of the *Iliad* are not independent, but rather fit a larger

[176] Rinon (2008) 89: 'Achilles' full acceptance of his doom reflects the greatness of his achievement'.

[177] The phrase *Dios boule* needs to be translated as 'the plan of Zeus' and not 'the will of Zeus', since in Homer ἐθέλω is distinguished from βούλομαι, the latter presupposing thinking and decision making, thus planning, see Clay (1999) 41-2.

world of narrative that pre-existed. References to the past, like the one of the Judgement, and allusions to the future, like Achilles' death, show a continuity of events that is never actually resolved; when one problem is overcome, a new one arises.[178]

The poems of the Cycle cover events that belong to the Trojan Cycle, but which are outside of the Iliadic narrative. One of these poems is the *Cypria*, which covers the events that took place until the sailing of the Achaeans from Aulis: it starts with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, refers to Zeus' plan to depopulate the Earth, narrates the Judgement of Paris and the abduction of Helen by Paris with the aid of Aphrodite and concludes with the sailing of the Achaeans against Troy.[179] The continuity and cohesion of the larger narrative picture seems to fall into the conception of a plan of Zeus, as it is first mentioned in the proem of the *Iliad*. It is by no coincidence, that the first fragment of the *Cypria* is actually the scholion to *Il.* 1.5 (Διὸς δ'ἐτελείτο βουλή.) (West fr. 1):

> *Others have said that Homer was referring to a myth. For they say that Earth, being weighed down by the multitude of people, there being no piety among humankind, asked Zeus to be relieved of the burden. Zeus firstly and at once brought about the Theban War, by means of which he destroyed very large numbers, and afterwards the Trojan one, with Cavil (Momus) as his adviser, this being what Homer calls the plan of*

[178] Clark (2001) 7-8.

[179] Marks (2002) 1: 'the *Kypria* overlaps the *Iliad* from after the death of Palamedes to the catalogue of Trojan allies.'

Zeus, seeing that he was capable of destroying everyone with thunderbolts or floods. Cavil prevented this, and proposed two ideas to him, the marriage of Thetis to a mortal and the birth of a beautiful daughter. From these two events war came about between Greeks and barbarians, resulting in the lightening of the earth as many were killed. The story is found in Stasinus, the author of the Cypria, who says:

There was a time when the countless races <of men> roaming <constantly> over the land were weighing down the <deep->breasted earth's expanse. Zeus took pity when he saw it, and in his complex mind he resolved to relieve the all-nurturing earth of mankind's weight by fanning the great conflict of the Trojan War, to void the burden through death. So the warriors at Troy kept being killed, and Zeus' plan was fulfilled. (trans. West)

The *Cypria* began with the *boule Dios*, like the *Iliad*, and went on to narrate the first stages of this plan.[180] Zeus's plan, however, as found in the *Cypria* is not universally attested throughout the fragments. According to Proclus' *Chrestomathy* (*argumentum* 1, West) Zeus is conferring with Themis about the Trojan war (Ζεὺς βουλεύεται μετὰ τῆς Θέμιδος περὶ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου), while in P.Oxy. 3829 ii 9, Zeus, finding the race of heroes guilty of impiety, conferred with Themis about destroying them completely (ὁ Ζεὺς ἀσέβειαν καταγνοὺς τοῦ ἡρωικοῦ γένους βουλεύεται μετὰ Θέμιδος ἄρδην αὐτοὺς

[180] Marks (2002) 5 and 12-3.

ἀπολέσαι). In the first fragment, however, the scholion to *Il.* 1.5, the scholiast refers to 'the Earth, being weighed down by the multitude of people, there being no piety among humankind' asking Zeus to relieve her of this burden. Zeus brought about first the Theban and then the Trojan war, under Momus' advice. Here, the Judgement of Paris is just implied rather than actually narrated as it is in the summary of the *Cypria* found in Proclus' *Chrestomathy* (*argumentum* 1). In fr. 1 Momus, in order to prevent Zeus from destroying everyone with thunderbolts, proposed two ideas: the marriage of Thetis to a mortal (Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν) and the birth of a beautiful daughter (καὶ θυγατρὸς καλῆς γένναν). It is obvious that the event connecting the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the birth of Helen as causes for the Trojan war is no other than the Judgement of Paris, despite not being explicitly mentioned.

The scholiast goes on to quote Stasinus (considering him the author of the *Cypria*); however, in this quotation there is no reference to the impiety of the people or to Momus. Zeus is conceiving his plan alone, to depopulate the Earth and his plan was being fulfilled, while the warrriors at Troy kept being killed (οἳ δ' ἐνὶ Τροίηι ἥρωες κτείνοντο, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείτο βουλή.) The problem arising from these inconsistencies is that we cannot be sure what exactly the plan of Zeus was in the *Cypria*. Nevertheless, despite having clashing information, it is clear that in the *Cypria* the Trojan war was part of a wider, concrete plan of Zeus, whatever the reason or the source for that was. Part of this plan, which consisted of specific events, was both the dispute among the goddesses at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the Judgement of Paris.

The theme of the beauty constest appears to be unique to Greek mythology, but the overpopulation motif appears to be older than the *Cypria* and rooted in Babylonian epic and also found later in Indian epic.[181] This is an indication in itself that we have to do with a wide, pre-existing tradition surrounding the Trojan war, that used various motifs also found elsewhere in myth and legend.

The 'plan of Zeus' of the *Iliad* cannot be the same as that of the *Cypria*,[182] since there is no internal evidence in the *Iliad* relevant to the depopulation of the Earth, etc. It could be referring either to Zeus' promise to Thetis to honour Achilles or to the fulfilment of the omen on the fall of Troy in the tenth year of the war, as this was revealed in Aulis (2.324-9).[183] Or it could refer to all of these plus more;[184] as Allan argues: "The generality and vagueness of the *Dios boule* are useful, for they emphasize Zeus's ultimate (but not entirely knowable) power over both gods and mortals."[185] The term can include anything from within or beyond the Iliadic narrative, but not as a synonym of fate. Zeus' thinking,

[181] West (1997) 482.

[182] Cf. Kullman (1955) 187 arguing that the plan can only be that of the *Cypria*.

[183] Redfield (1979) 107; Lesky (2001) 174.

[184] For an overview and bibliography of the three possibilities see Clay (1999) 40-1. Quite rightly, she dismisses the fourth possibility of the phrase expressing the idea of a non-concrete plan, but rather 'a vague expression of the divine will or Fate, due to the distinction between ἐθέλω and βούλομαι. As she argues (Clay (1999) 42): ' The plan of Zeus is not vague, but that does not mean that it is not complex. Cf. Wilson (2007) 158, who argues that Zeus's attitude is so detached from the events of the war, that the *Dios boule* is actually the will of the poet.

[185] Allan (2008) 207.

planning and deciding are pivotal components of his *boule*. The *Cypria* takes this wide Homeric concept and makes it specific. The *boule Dios* in the *Cypria* is very specific, consists of a certain series of events that one leads to the next with perfect accuracy and aims at depopulating the Earth. The Judgement of Paris has been planned out by Zeus to its last detail.

Although the *Cypria* narrates the *Iliad*'s narrative past, it was not composed prior to the *Iliad*. The poet of the *Cypria* was familiar with the *Iliad* and his work was tailored to fit the events prior to those that Homer narrates; he talks about all these events of the past referred back to or presupposed in the *Iliad*,[186] among which is the Judgement of Paris. The version of the *Cypria* we have today through quotations of different writers is dated to the sixth century.[187] This, however, does not mean that the version reconstructed through the fragments found in other authors is the same as the original one.[188] It is obvious that the poem uses material pre-existent to the *Iliad*.[189] Burgess argues that the

[186]Burgess (2005) 349-50; West (2013) 57; cf. Lesky (2001) 174.

[187] West (2003) 13 on the *Cypria* having been composed after the *Iliad* had become well established and on the language of the fragments (esp. fr. 1) showing signs of lateness. Thus, 'the poem can hardly be earlier than the second half of the sixth century'. See also Burgess (2005) 349 and West (2013) 64-5.

[188] See further on this Currie (2015) 283.

[189] Cf. Marks (2002) 4: 'The *Kypria* and the *Iliad* each offer a "specular" reading of the other, and their mutual referentiality emerged in the course of simultaneous development in the context of a larger and shared oral tradition.' I do not think that there is a difference between a shared oral tradition and what Marks calls simultaneous development, at least until the point when both poems are actually composed in a definite form.

poem in its original form might have been independent from the *Iliad* and that what we have today is a summary of that original that was designed to precede and follow the *Iliad*.[190] The fragments can only partially restore the actual poem. However, they are all we have and what we have is shaped to fill in the the events that took place before the events of the *Iliad*.

The Cycle in general releases 'the fantastic, the miraculous and the romantic' from the *Iliad*'s austere boundaries,[191] handling extensively stories not suitable for heroic epic, in the sense that they are not connected with a particular hero nor relevant to the development of a hero, like Hector or Achilles, in the narrative. The reconstruction of the poem, based on Proclus' *Chrestomathy*, goes as follows: after the fight among the goddesses in Peleus and Thetis' wedding about who is the fairest, they prepare for the beauty contest. Special attention must have been paid to Aphrodite's preparation; it must have been described in detail,[192] as is Aphrodite's preparation in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.[193] The presence of the Graces and the Horai (fr. 5) and the Nymphs and the Graces (fr. 6) in particular indicates probably a traditional type of preparation scene for Aphrodite, which entails feminine divine groups as escorts and helpers, adding a stronger element of femininity and including that in Aphrodite's sphere on influence.[194] If the Nymphs, the Charites or the Horae

[190] Burgess (1996) 78 and 96; Davies (1989) 34-5: clashing fragments on what Zeus's plan was.

[191] Griffin (1977) 40.

[192] Frr. 5-7 (West).

[193] *H.H.Aph.* 60-7; West (2013) 75-76.

[194] *H.H.Aph.* 61 mentions the Graces, too.

help Aphrodite prepare, what chances do Hera and Athena have in a beauty contest? Paris is waiting on Mount Ida (like Anchises in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* again) and after c. 570 B.C. he is presented on vases fleeing, a motif which might have been featured originally in the *Cypria*, but could as easily have been a purely artistic innovation that did or did not transfer into literature.[195] The three goddesses make a small speech each offering Paris different bribes: Hera offers him kingship over all, Athena victory in war and Aphrodite the world's loveliest woman. Paris chose Aphrodite and her gift.

The involvement of gods in the causation of the war, however, is not just found in the *Iliad* or the *Cypria*. Stesichorus, both in his *Helen* and in his *Palinode*, implies divine intervention one way or the other: in the *Palinode*, Proteus is the one who keeps her in Egypt and the one to create her phantom to trick Paris (fr. 91h Finglass, if rightly placed there), whereas in the *Helen*, the abduction is the result of Aphrodite's anger due to Tyndareus' forgetfulness in a sacrifice (fr. 85 Finglass). In both instances, a divine figure takes up the planning. Especially in the *Helen*, as the target of Aphrodite's wrath is the father and not the daughters, by making Helen and her sisters promiscuous, the goddess renders them her instruments.[196] In this context, one could not exclude a possible reference (now lost) or implication of the Judgement of Paris in Stesichorus' *Helen*, as part of Aphrodite's power over Helen, similar to that found in book 3 of the *Iliad*. But even without the Judgement of Paris, divine sentiment and

[195] On the fleeing Paris motif see chapter 1.

[196] Davies and Finglass (2014) 324.

planning is still crucial in Stesichorus' narrative, it appears, especially in the *Palinode.*

Sappho, on the other hand, does something completely different with the story of the Judgement: in fragment 16, discussing the most beautiful thing in the world (3: κάλλιστον) she claims that it is whatever each person loves. The reference to the most beautiful thing in the superlative form of the adjective, followed by Helen's story in following Paris to Troy recalls the Judgement of Paris.[197] In the sapphic context, the Judgement of Paris becomes a story about human choices, rather than divine intervention, taking up a more personal character. Paris and Helen have not made the same choice, although both have chosen an item of erotic desire. Sappho's use of the Judgement means that the myth definitely existed in some form before the *Cypria*, if the 6th century dating is accurate. It also means that quite early on the poets displayed an impressive awareness of their genre's extent and guided them to mould the tradition. Sappho's melic poetry allows her to handle the Judgement on a more mundane, sentimental and personal level, while the allusive way in which she brings the story up shows a poet and an audience deeply familiar with the tradition of the Judgement.

Unlike Sappho, Simonides, in his *Plataea poem*, in a very Homeric way, does not appear to be referring to the Judgement of Paris per se. The closest he gets to it is by referring to Paris as evil-minded (κακόφρονος) in line 11 (fr. 11 West), and even this could easily be referring just to the abduction of Helen.

[197] Dodson-Robinson (2010) 5-6.

Moreover, the use of the word 'demigods' (ἡμίθεοι) by the poet, is employed as a reference to the men who fought and died at Troy.[198] Still, in this elegy the Homeric material, whatever Simonides chose that to be, serves as a mythological example of what the poet is going to discuss further in the poem (the battle of Plataea), creating a hymnic structure.[199] Rutherford argues that the most reasonable interpretation of the *Plataea poem* is that the narrative was about the battle of Plataea,[200] and especially about the Spartans.[201]

However, Kowerski calls for a more cautious approach and moves on to argue that potentially the Trojan narrative portion of the fragment (11.5-10) might be addressed to Achilles as a hymn.[202] Under this interpretation, the Homeric epithet ὠκύμορον (11.18) would be referring to Achilles, while the reference to Paris might be about Achilles' killing; in that case, the epithet is also suggestive of the hero's early death at Troy.[203] Thus, the references to Apollo, to the children of Priam and to Alexander (11.6-11) tie in the depiction of the epic tradition

[198] See further Hedreen (2001) 202.

[199] Rutherford (2001) 44 and Obbink (2001) 69.

[200] Rutherford (2001) 38. Plutarch (*de Herod. Malign.* 872D) (=frr. 15-16 West) mentions that Simonides composed verses for the Corinthian contigent at the battle of the Plataea; Kowerski (2005) 39-40.

[201] Fr. 11.34 certainly mentions Pausanias, the Spartan leader at Plataea; 11.30 refers to the Tyndarids and 31 to Menelaus; 11.25 plausibly mentions Spartans; Kowerski (2005) 41.

[202] Kowerski (2005) 65. He is extremely cautious with this interpretation, too, however, arguing that it is not free of problems either.

[203] Kowerski (2005) 64-5.

regarding the Trojan war.[204] The Judgement of Paris would not appear relevant in the heroic context of the elegy then, especially if the Trojan references were about the Corinthians, the Spartans and the death of Achilles. In such a specific context the Judgement of Paris would not probably have much to offer.

One of the most interesting and relatively overlooked passages of these early centuries that is relevant to the Judgement of Paris is a fragment by the presocratic Acusilaus of Argos, who, according to the *Suda*, wrote mainly genealogies (later half of the 6th c. B.C.):

> Ἀφροδίτη χρησμοῦ ἐκπεσόντος, ὅτι τῆς τῶν Πριαμιδῶν ἀρχῆς καταλυθείσης οἱ ἀπ᾽ Ἀγχίσου Τρώων βασιλεύσουσιν, Ἀγχισηι ἤδη παρηκμακότι συνῆλθεν, τεκοῦσα δ᾽Αἰνείαν καὶ βουλομένη πρόφασιν κατασκευάσαι τῆς τῶν Πριαμιδῶν καταλύσεως Ἀλεξάνδρωι πόθον Ἑλένης ἐνέβαλε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῶι μὲν δοκεῖν συνεμάχει τοῖς Τρωσί, ταῖς δὲ ἀληθείαις παρηγόρει τὴν ἥτταν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ παντελῶς ἀπελπίσαντες ἀποδῶσι τὴν Ἑλένην. Ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀκουσιλάωι. (Diels-Kranz 31 = Fowler 39)

> When there was an oracle that the rule of the Priamids would fall and the descendants of Anchises would rule the Trojans, Aphrodite, united with Anchises in old age and bore Aeneas and, wanting to create a cause for the fall of Priam, she raised desire for Helen in Paris and after her abduction she gave the impression to

[204] Kowerski (2005) 97.

> be helping the Trojans, but in truth she was supporting their loss, in order for them not to fall into despair and return Helen. This story is in Acusilaus.

According to Acusilaus, Aphrodite was the one to cause the Trojan war, aiming at making her son, Aeneias, king of Troy since she heard an oracle that predicted Aeneias to be Priam's successor. To do that she made Paris fall in love with Helen and after the abduction she only pretended to be helping the Trojans, so that they would not despair and give Helen back for the war to stop, while she was actually happy with their loss. What is interesting here is the redeployment of the war's planning from Zeus to Aphrodite. Here, the goddess has planned everything out in order to make her son king faster, while pretending to be pro-Trojan as she appears to be in the *Iliad*.

The status quo of the *Iliad* in terms of the goddess is preserved, but overthrown at the same time through a claim of Aphrodite's fake pretentions. Aphrodite is portrayed as not only as a powerful (in Hesiodic terms nobody can resist her influence), but also a cunning and power hungry deity. As Fowler argues, this portrayal of Aphrodite is true to the image of the gods in the *Iliad*; while Zeus tries to enforce his justice, the rest of the immortals are furthering their own interests.[205] Acusilaus' passage also appears to be the first instance of

[205] Fowler (2013) 562.

reasoning around the myth: if the Trojan knew that they had no divine support, they would return Helen in order to avoid the war.[206]

In this context, Aphrodite's action excludes Zeus, but also significantly decreases the element of choice and human responsibility that attends the Judgement of Paris. If we assume that in Acusilaus' version the Judgement was still present, then Aphrodite's influence over Paris would result in him choosing her bribe, not freely, but under her spell. And this influence certainly is not due to seduction or sexual attraction towards her, but rather an actual controlling force. Acusilaus' version of the Trojan war causes offers just a tiny glimpse of the variations of the Judgement of Paris and the rest of the Trojan cycle that were circulated and invented, which have now been lost to us. The possibilities were truly endless.

Herodotus, on the other hand, aspiring to use specific methodology in regards to his sources, is careful in handling mythological material. He is probably the first person to systematically investigate and analyse the Persian Wars. In his research he naturally refers to the Trojan war as part of the initial rupture between the Greeks and the East, a conflict that began with abductions of women on both sides. In the beginning of the first book of his *Histories* (1.3-5), after referring to these abductions, he eventually reaches the rape of Helen. His theory, or rather the Persians' theory, is that Paris thought that he could get away with abducting Helen without any consequences, as others before him had

[206] Herodotus is wondering why would the Trojan not return Helen if they really had her, as an argument for the *eidolon* variation (discussion to follow in the last section of the chapter).

done. The Greeks demanded Helen back, but the Persians refused, since this was an abduction in a series of others that had already taken place. According to the Persians, none of these women would have been successfully carried off without her will and, thus, it was unreasonable for the Greeks to attack Asia and destroy Priam's power for the sake of one woman. After this attack the Persians started seriously to consider the Greeks their enemies. Herodotus goes on to declare that this is what the Persians and the Phoenicians claim, but that he will name the man who has done unprovoked wrong to the Greeks, Croesus of Lydia. Later on, in book 2, Herodotus expresses his opinion that Helen actually ended up in Egypt and not in Ilium and that is why the Trojans did not return her (2.120). In fact, he claims that Homer also knew of the story, as his poems prove (2.116-117), but did not consider it appropriate for the *Iliad*.

In all his investigation and information collected around the abduction of Helen, the Judgement of Paris is never mentioned, not even as part of the various traditions and myths either of the Greeks or of the Persians. Although Herodotus seems to distance himself from this line of women's abductions as the very initial reason for the Persian Wars, pointing to Croesus as the first person to ignite the conflict between the Greeks and the Persians, it is surprising not to find even a single reference to the Judgement in his meticulous listing of traditions and possibilities. Naturally, since he is referring to the version of the Persians, it would be strange to find Greek gods and goddesses in this version of the story. However, it is quite clear that the divine intervention aspect of the story is also not compatible with Herodotus' aspirations for his work. The Judgement of Paris in its core crosses the line between what could be a myth

based on some real events and a folk or religious tale.[207] The abduction of various women is a valid scenario that could have ruptured relations between Greeks and Persians, although, still, Herodotus handles it with relative disbelief in mentioning Croesus as the known wrongdoer.

The Judgement, however, clearly does not belong to a historic account such as that of Herodotus, since it implies that the Trojan war – and accordingly the Persian wars – was a result of divine planning and intervention.[208] It also presupposes a group of other mythological references (like the wedding of Peleus and Thetis) that cannot possibly be explained in the light of reason or realism. The Stesichorean version of the *eidolon* cannot stand either in the context of Herodotus' text; if the Trojans had even a phantom of Helen, then they would have returned that. In book 2, although he refers to both Homer and the *Cypria*, this distinction between fiction and historic truth is still traceable. Again, he refers to the abduction of Helen and argues for the idea that she was in Egypt, but this is only after Paris already had abducted her. Throughout these two passages, in books 1 and 2, the only possible motive for Paris' action is that he thought he could get away with stealing Helen, signifying that, one way or the other, only the human factor has brought the war about.

The variety of literary reference to the Judgement of Paris during these early centuries demonstrates that the myth was widespread and familiar

[207] See de Jong (2012) 127-8 on 'historicizing myth'.

[208] Saïd (2012) 91: 'Together with the Persian *logioi* and the Egyptian priests who regard as 'silly' the Greek versions of the Trojan War (1.1; 2.118.1), Herodotus deletes the gods and the supernatural from the stories of the Trojan Cycle.'

throughout Greece from a very early stage. The role of the gods, but also the folkloric character of the story, render it material more or less appropriate for the various genres and individual pieces of work. The moral implications of Paris' choice in the Judgement are handled mainly in the light of epic tradition and stereotypes, but the role of the gods seems more crucial at this stage. The familiarity that the writers show towards the mythological past of the Trojan War and their easiness in mentioning, alluding to, adjusting or completely omitting the Judgement of Paris indicates a familiarity with a tradition that expands further and beyond Homer. Moreover, the variety of references to the Judgement demonstrates the complexity of the myth itself; it is not just about gods, mortals, emotions and choices. It is about all of these things simultaneously and that is the beauty of it.

Chapter 3

Drama

a) Tragedy and Satyr Play

Divine versus human responsibility is a key theme in the interpretation of the Judgement of Paris. The story is the perfect combination of divine intervention with human decisions, posing an ideal theme for Greek tragedy. According to the pre-existing mythological tradition, the Judgement of Paris is a vital occurrence in the series of events that took place and led to the Trojan War. Taking into account that series of events, would one say that it is ultimately Zeus, Eris, the goddesses, Paris or Helen to blame?

Of the three tragedians, Euripides appears to be the only one who uses the Judgement of Paris in his Trojan tragedies as a topic for conversation, but also as a clear established part of the war's past. Aeschylus and Sophocles refer to Paris and Helen in their tragedies, but actively avoid the Judgement. This cannot be a coincidence; it is a conscious artistic decision which needs to be taken into account in the interpretation of specific plays or scenes, possibly revealing the literary goals of each poet. At the same time, the interpretation of this avoidance can also aid in understanding the messages of the Judgement and the semantic implications its presence might have had.

Aeschylus

No references to the Judgement of Paris survive in Aeschylus, not even in the *Oresteia*, which goes into some detail about the causes of the Trojan War. It is always possible that it was referred to in a play now lost, such as his *Iphigenia*, but there is no positive evidence to that effect.[209]

In the *Agamemnon*, the only play of the *Oresteia* where the causes of the war are discussed, the Judgement of Paris is completely omitted. The chorus do refer to Paris' abduction of Helen (399-402); the old men bring him up as the example of a man who has ignored Justice and been tempted by wealth (385-403). In a choral song like this one that speaks about morality and fake promises that tempt Paris, the Judgement would seem like a good fit, but it is not found there or anywhere else. The Judgement of Paris seems to have no place in the past of the war as portrayed in the *Agamemnon*.

According to Agamemnon, the destruction of Troy has happened 'for the sake of a woman' (*Ag.* 823-4: γυναικὸς οὕνεκα /πόλιν διημάθυνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος) and Agamemnon himself (to whom the chorus refers to as their guardian) has endured so much because of a woman and ended up losing his life by a woman's hand, too (1451-4: δαμέντος / φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου / πολέα τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί; / πρὸς γυνακὸς δ'ἀπέφθισεν βίον). The phrasing focuses on Paris' trip to Greece to abduct Helen and her following him, rather

[209] See also *TrGF* 350; the fragment appears to be part of a speech by Thetis, referring to her wedding and Apollo's blessings, followed by Achilles' death because of him and the play it is from could incorporate the Judgement of Paris as an event between the wedding and the war in some form.

than to the Judgement, while the chorus also brings up the topic of Agamemnon enduring hardship due to one woman, Helen, and lost his life due to another one, Clytemnestra. They then go on to return to Helen (1455-60):

> 'Io, io demented Helen, / who alone brought death to so many, / so very many souls at Troy, / now you have adorned yourself with a final adornment, / never to be forgotten / through the shedding of the blood that nothing can wash away' (αἶμ' ἄνιπτον).

To that Clytemnestra replies that the chorus should not turn against Helen, saying that she alone caused death to so many souls and blaming her to have caused 'pain too strong to stand' (ἀξύστατον ἄλγος) (1462-7). The chorus then (1468-71) moves on to blame the spirit of the house (1468: δαῖμον) that controls the family through the agency of the two sisters that share the same soul (1470: κράτος ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν), which is based on their adulterous lust.[210] In this context, Helen and Clytemnestra are counterparts in the causation of suffering for the house, but, despite bearing responsibility, they are actually agents of what the spirit of the house wants. Thus, in 1485-7, the chorus evokes Zeus and his divine will and power as the moving force behind all that has happened:

> ἰὼ ἰή, διαὶ Διὸς
> παναιτίου πανεργέτα·
> τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;

[210] Sommerstein (2008) ad loc.

io, ie! — by the will of Zeus,
the Cause of all things, the Effector of all effects;
for what comes to pass for mortals, except by Zeus's
doing?

The plan and the influence of Zeus is not mentioned here for the first time. Early on in the play (60-2) the chorus brings up the father of the gods:

οὕτω δ' Ἀτρέως παῖδας ὁ κρείσσων
ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος
Ζεὺς πολυάνορος ἀμφὶ γυναικὸς

So the sons of Atreus were sent against Alexander by the mightier power, Zeus god of hospitality, for the sake of a woman of many men

and later again in 176-8:

τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώ-
σαντα, τὸν "πάθει μάθος"
θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.

Zeus who set mortals on the road
to understanding, who made
"learning by suffering" into an effective law.

These are just few of the instances where the role of Zeus is defined as crucial to whatever has or will happen. This is not a world where divine intervention is slim or coincidental. Yet the play shows simultaneously interest in human decision and responsibility: even if a particular act is the fulfilment of a duty, agency or divine plan it can simultaneously be a dreadful crime presupposing a personal decision to act.[211] Why is the Judgement of Paris not mentioned in the play, then? Is it not the ideal case of a divine plan, especially one set out by Zeus, as the tradition of the *Cypria* has already established, that leads to utter destruction due to poor Judgement?

Two factors might explain the omission: the first one has to do with the appropriateness of the story for tragedy. The myth of the Judgement reveals lowly images of mortals (choosing lust over mainstream heroic ideals), but also of gods (portraying them as petty and vain).[212] Such a representation of either gods or mortals, does not fit with the serious image that the *Agamemnon* sets overall. The second has to do with Zeus's portrayal in the play in particular. He is almost an abstract figure, maybe close to what we would call 'fate' nowadays, who controls and directs things, but does not reveal his motives or his overall planning. The Judgement of Paris, on the other hand, entails three individual female goddesses, who act upon their vanity and jealousy. In that sense, it fits better to leave Zeus as the dominant figure of everything in the play and, for whomsoever thinks about it in terms of the tradition as found in the *Cypria*,

[211] Lesky (1983) 22; Lloyd-Jones (1970) 97.

[212] This is a point to which I will return, arguing that for these reasons, among others, the Judgement of Paris is a more appropriate story for a satyr play.

imply that the Judgement of Paris might be part of a wider plan of Zeus, too, which, however, does not have to be mentioned in the *Agamemnon*.[213]

A further explanation for the omission of the Judgement could be its likely impact on the portrayal of Helen: through the prism of this myth, Helen is not necessarily the evil abandoner of her household, but rather an object or a prize, whose personal initiative is minimalised. In the *Agamemnon* there must not be any hint that women, and especially the two daughters of Tyndareus, are innocent. The Judgement of Paris can reflect an alternative image of Helen that does not prove her to be an unfaithful wife, but a woman obliged by the plan of Zeus and the works of Aphrodite to follow another man to his homeland. Since Helen and Clytemnestra appear to be two versions of the same type of woman, as argued earlier, the omission of the Judgement highlights the unfaithfulness not only of Helen, but also that of Clytemnestra; in this way she is not killed by Orestes in the second play of the trilogy, the *Libation Bearers*, simply for the killing of her husband, but also for her collaboration and affair with Aegisthus. Although the sacrifice of Iphigeneia may pose as a good excuse for her atrocious deed, her infidelity diminishes the justification of her actions.

In a similar fashion, Helen, as a common-souled sister to Clytemnestra, has also committed adultery by following Paris; he decision to do so has not been affected by anything else other than her character. Were the Judgement of Paris

[213] See also Wilson (1979) 8 on the Judgement of Paris being approached in tragedy outside Euripides with 'Iliadic discretion'. As happens in the *Iliad*, the Judgement might be implied as an established part of the Trojan war's past, but the story's nature is not appropriate in a heroic and high-literature context, like those either of epic or of tragedy.

to be brought up, a sympathetic light could have been shed over Helen, while at the same time raising questions about human against divine responsibility yet again, but under a different light. The Judgement of Paris presupposes too straightforward a type of divine intervention, which could shake the foundation of human responsibility in the way the *Agamemnon* has set them. For the characters of the play, the gods exist and influence their lives, but there is no concrete stage evidence (i.e. gods appearing on stage or any sort of supernatural miracles happening) for their interference.

Although there is extensive discussion in terms of gods and blame, it is all set on a basis of realistic events; there are no supernatural occurrences of any kind. Everything that happens or is mentioned to have happened is within the mortal sphere, albeit with questions about the role of the gods being raised. The Judgement of Paris presupposes a supernatural type of divine action which does not fit this frame. It also presupposes an anthropomorphic view of the gods, that does not fit the enigmatic notion of Zeus as portrayed in the play.[214] In the same context, the Judgement of Paris sets out a role for Aphrodite that goes beyond divine planning: she is Paris' accomplice in the abduction (perhaps follows him as aid in Sparta even), in which case, Helen's chances of resisting Paris and the abduction are eliminated. Thus, such a level of divine intervention would interfere with the portrayal of Helen as a free-willed adulteress.

[214] Lloyd-Jones (1971) on Zeus not being anthropomorphic in Aeschylus and Dihle (1982) 44 on a constant gap between the knowledge of man and the planning of gods. The Judgement of Paris indicates a detailed knowledge of divine planning and action.

Sophocles

Sophocles represented the Judgement in his satyr play *Krisis* (*Judgement*). The play's plot was structured solely around the Judgement of Paris and most definitely included an actual representation of the myth on stage. The play has not survived, but it is possible to reach a certain level of reconstruction thanks to two references to the drama by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistae.* Let me return to *Krisis* and satyr play after discussing the Judgement of Paris in Sophoclean tragedy.

Sophocles' surviving plays do not reveal any particular association with the Judgement of Paris. Fragments and titles of non-preserved works show that Sophocles was generally keen on the Trojan cycle as a source of inspiration;[215] in fact 47% of Sophoclean plays, tragedies and satyr plays included, are built around the Trojan War.[216] *Ajax*, *Philoctetes* and *Electra*, but also titles of lost plays (*Krisis*, *Alexandros*, *Priam*, *The Demand of Helen*, *The Wedding of Helen*) display his preference for drawing themes, not from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* necessarily, but rather from the wider Trojan saga (the Judgement of Paris in itself is more Cyclic than Iliadic).

As far as Sophoclean tragedies are concerned, we do not have references to the myth of the Judgement in any of the surviving plays that are about or

[215] See also Radt (1999) *TGFr.* (vol. IV) T 115a (ἔλεγεν οὖν (sc. ὁ Πολέμων) τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον ἐπικὸν εἶναι Σοφοκλέα, τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα Ὅμηρον τραγικόν·) and 115b (which repeats 115a) on Sophocles being a tragic Homer, indicating his preference towards the Trojan cycle.

[216] Sommerstein (2012) 195.

around the Trojan War. In the *Electra*, for example, as in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*, there is not much on the past of the war in general, with the exclusion of Iphigenia's sacrifice, which still is only brought up by Clytemnestra. After Agamemnon's murder, the storyline is based more on the internal family affairs among Clytemnestra, Electra, Chrysothemis and Orestes, rather than the Trojan War. Even when Clytemnestra goes back to Helen (and Menelaus), her reference still is more relevant to the sacrifice of Iphigenia rather than anything else (*El.* 539-41):

> πότερον ἐκείνῳ οἱ παῖδες οὐκ ἦσαν διπλοῖ,
> οὓς τῆσδε μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἦν θνῄσκειν, πατρὸς
> καὶ μητρὸς ὄντας, ἧς ὁ πλοῦς ὅδ' ἦν χάριν;
>
> Did not Menelaus have two children of his own, who should in all fairness have died rather than mine, since they were born of the father and (of the) mother for whom[217] that voyage was taking place?
>
> (trans. March)

Since Clytemnestra is trying to put the blame on Agamemnon for sacrificing their daughter for his brother's sake, her argument is not concerned with what led to the abduction of Helen. The Judgement of Paris belongs to the past of

[217] Note that in the Greek the genitive (ἧς) is feminine singular and thus refers only to Helen. On past emendations based on the uneasiness of the singular genitive after the πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ὄντας and on the passage being contrary to Sophocles' usual practice see Finglass (2007) ad loc.

Menelaus and Helen's situation and had nothing to do with their family; this is exactly why Clytemnestra blames Agamemnon after all. She does not even seem to acknowledge her own familial affiliation with Helen. Electra, on the other hand, invokes the unpredictable and non-negotiable nature of divine will, but also focuses on why Artemis was negatively predisposed towards Agamemnon himself (558-74), rather than why the Trojan war was caused and the ships had to sail in the first place[218]. This is a further indication of the play's personal and family-based structure; ultimately, the Judgement of Paris has nothing to do with what is happening in Sophocles' *Electra*, because it happened long before the sacrifice of Iphigenia, which was the breaking point for the family of Agamemnon.

In Sophocles' other two surviving Trojan tragedies, the *Philoctetes* and the *Ajax*, things can appear more complicated in regards to the omission of the Judgement of Paris because both of these plays are more connected with the Trojan war than the *Electra* is. In the *Ajax*, Teucer explains to Menelaus that Ajax's motive for sailing with them to Troy was his oath to them and not Helen's sake (1111-14), while, later, when speaking to Agamemnon (1310-12) he claims that he himself would prefer to die for his brother's sake than for the sake of Agamemnon's or Menelaus' wife. In both instances, Helen is implied or mentioned, but nothing further is said on the causes of the war. The Judgement of Paris is of little relevance in a play predominantly about the internal affairs of

[218] In Euripides' *Electra*, on the contrary, Electra goes back to Helen and the abduction again and again (see further in the chapter).

the Greek army. As the *Ajax* explores the epic tradition and plays around epic ideas on nobility and heroic code,[219] the Judgement of Paris is not just thematically out of place, but also not appropriate for the overall literary context of the play. If nothing else, who would imagine the Judgement of Paris being mentioned in a play in which Athena appears on stage?

In *Philoctetes*, on the other hand, the focus, especially from Philoctetes' point of view, is on the injustices committed by and not against the Atreids; therefore, neither Helen nor the Judgement are mentioned by the hero, since they both signify an injustice towards Menelaus (and Agamemnon). Only at the very end does Heracles in the role of *deus ex machina* mention Paris as the cause of these evils (1426) and prophecies the fact that Philoctetes is going to kill him with his bow. It is not until then that Philoctetes' status among the Greeks is restored and the injustice done to the Atreids can be mentioned; it is then that it is also announced that Philoctetes is the one to resolve the injustice made by Paris.

The element of piety that Heracles at the end and gods in general seem to be standing for in the *Philoctetes*[220] is also a potential factor in the Judgement's omission. The myth is far from an exemplum of pious behaviour either on the part of the gods or the mortals involved and probably would not be appropriate for such a play. It appears, in general, that the dramatic circumstances need to be absolutely connected with the Trojan war's causes and past in order for the

[219] For the exploitation and reversal of epic material in the *Ajax* see further Segal (1995) esp. 23 and 25.

[220] Segal (1995) 98-9.

Judgement to fit into a tragedy. The *Philoctetes* does not really set out this environment.

References or allusions to the Judgement are possible in some of Sophocles' lost plays, for example in *The Marriage of Helen* (Ἑλένης Γάμος) – probably a satyr play –[221] *The Abduction of Helen* (Ἑλένης Ἁρπαγή) – if it really was a play –[222] or *The Demanding of Helen* (Ἑλένης Ἀπαίτησις).[223] The same applies to *Priam*: our information of the play is limited down to only five fragments of one or two words each[224] and so as far as we know it could be about any number of episodes before or after the Trojan War.[225]

Only one Sophoclean tragedy could include the Judgement in its storyline, as opposed to a passing reference: the *Alexandros*, which covered the story of Paris from his exposition as a baby and his upbringing by the shepherds in Mount Ida to his restoration to his family.[226] Since the Judgement took place

[221] Redondo (2003) 431; Seidensticker (2012) 212.

[222] See *TGFr.* 180-1: Welcker considers the *Helen* plays as three different ones, but the fragmentary evidence is insufficient for us to be sure whether there was actually an *Abduction of Helen*, in which Helen was snatched by Aphrodite and recovered by Achilles.

[223] In Euripides' *IA* 179-84 there is at least one explicit reference to the Judgement. Depending on which part of Iphigenia's story the play covers, it is possible that such a reference was also found in Aeschylus' and Sophocles' *Iphigenia*.

[224] *TGFr.* 528a-32.

[225] Sommerstein (2012) 198.

[226] *TGFr.* 93 has the word 'shepherd' (βοτῆρα), which is what Paris used to be called in Ida, before he was restored to his family. See also: Sommerstein (2012) 199. Euripides' *Alexandros*,

on Ida and Paris is frequently represented in art as a shepherd, the Judgement could have taken place before Paris' restoration to his family, thus being part of *Alexandros*' storyline. However, it is far more probable that the Judgement was mentioned in the play, but not represented on stage. This assumption arises from Sophocles' decision to represent the Judgement individually in satyric context in *Krisis*. Sophocles wrote a whole play solely on this myth, using, however, a literary genre much more appropriate for taking advantage of the story's potential humorous nature and for revealing the myth's deeper character and symbolisms.

Assuming that the *Alexandros* represented the events in Paris' life before (or even shortly after the Judgement), it is worth wondering whether it was part of the same tetralogy as *Krisis*. If the two plays belonged to the same tetralogy we must assume that the Judgement was definitely not represented in the *Alexandros*, as Sophocles would hardly present the same story in two different plays, risking ending up boring or repetitive.[227] That being said, we have no reason to consider these two plays (or any of the Helen plays for that matter) part of the same tetralogy, since Sophocles did not generally write connected

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which will be discussed later in the chapter, and Hyginus' *Fabulae* 91 are based on the myth on Paris' exposure and his restoration to his family as well.

[227] Cf. Seaford (1984) 28: 'The gods and heroes whom we have seen in the tragedies must not reappear in the satyr-play' citing Horace's words: *obscurae tabernae* (*De Arte Poetica* 227-9) meaning in places and situations that are not as appropriate.

tetralogies,[228] but it is a possibility that needs to be taken into account, since there is not an established pattern for Sophocles in that respect.

Krisis

Krisis is found in the fragments with the epithet σατυρική in its title,[229] while we can also infer from the play's plot that it was most definitely a satyr play. Also, tragedians did not use abstract terms as titles of tragedies[230] and the folk-tale element of the myth of the Judgement is fit for the spirit of satyr drama.[231] Moreover, 20% of Sophocles' satyr plays take their subjects from the *Cypria*,[232] indicating a potential connection on behalf of the poet between the events of the poem and this particular genre; and the erotic nature of the beauty contest[233] and

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[228] Sommerstein (2010) 252; Finglass (2011) 35 reconsidered in Finglass (2015) 214 based on an inscription referring to a Sophoclean trilogy under the title *Telepheia.* See also Wright (2016) 205-6 on how there is no real basis for the common idea that the tragedians' interest for connected trilogies or tetralogies waned after Aeschylus; the evidence is not enough to suggest a definite pattern.

[229] *TGFr.* 360.

[230] Seidensticker (2012) 211: *Momus* and *Hybris* were also satyr dramas. See also Redondo (2003), 431; Seidensticker (2012) 211, n.5: fr. 199, the only fragment longer than a couple of words suggests that *Eris* was also a satyr play, due to the reference of the fragment to food and hunger: ἐγὼ δὲ πεινῶσ' αὖ πρὸς ἵτρια βλέπω.

[231] See O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 4-5 and 28.

[232] Seidensticker (2012) 221.

[233] Griffith (2006) 64: 'Sophocles' satyr dramas appear to have been full of erotic language and love scenes.'

the bucolic and fantastic elements of the story would be better exploited under the literary conventions of satyr play.

Apart from *Krisis*, at least another two Sophoclean satyr plays are closely connected with the Judgement: *Momus* and *Eris*. They probably mentioned the Judgement, as *Momus* was a play about Zeus' plan to depopulate Earth and Momus' help and advice in doing so (possibly following the tradition of the *Cypria*) and *Eris* was probably a play about the apple of discord and the argument among the goddesses at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. *Krisis*, however, is a play specifically about the Judgement itself. Fr. 361 I and II, references to the play in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai*, are the most elaborate pieces of evidence we hold. These describe the play as a representation of Aphrodite and Athena preparing to impress Paris:

> I Σοφοκλῆς δ' ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν Κρίσει τῷ δράματι τὴν μὲν Ἀφροδίτην Ἡδονήν τινα οὖσαν δαίμονα μύρῳ τε ἀλειφομένην παράγει καὶ κατοπτριζομένην, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν Φρόνησιν οὖσαν καὶ Νοῦν, ἔτι δ' Ἀρετήν, ἐλαίῳ χριομένην καὶ γυμναζομένην.
>
> The poet Sophocles, on the other hand, in his play *The Judgement* brings Aprodite onstage in the guise of a deity named Pleasure, putting perfume on herself and looking at herself in a mirror, but brings on Athena, who represents Insight and Intelligence, as well as Virtue, rubbing olive oil on her skin and exercising (trans. Olson).

> ΙΙ ἐγὼ δέ φημι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πάριδος κρίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιοτέρων πεποιῆσθαι ἡδονῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὖσαν σύγκρισιν. προκριθείσης γοῦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἡδονή, πάντα συνεταράχθη. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν Ξενοφῶν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὴν Ἀρετὴν μῦθον ἐντεῦθεν πεπλακέναι.
>
> I myself maintain that the judgement of Paris was represented by the poets from the more distant past as a decision between pleasure and virtue; when he chose Aphrodite, who represents pleasure, therefore, utter disaster ensued. I also believe that our noble Xenophon invented his story about Heracles and Virtue to make the same point. (trans. Olson)

The first of these is from book 15 of the *Deipnosophistae*, the second from book 12. Although the second fragment refers generally to the older poets and not explicitly to Sophocles, the identification of Aphrodite with pleasure, against an alternative choice of virtue, certainly echoes *Krisis*, even if other poets, too, handled the Judgement in a similar way. In fact, Radt also cites here the reference to the Judgement of Paris in Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* (fr. 361 III), in which Athena's preparation consists of exercising and rubbing her body with olive oil, while Aphrodite puts perfume on and looks herself in the mirror.[234]

According to Athenaeus' account of *Krisis*, Aphrodite was a representation of ἡδονή (pleasure) and Athena of φρόνησις (insight), νοῦς

[234] The Callimachean text is discussed extensively in chapter 4.

(intelligence) and ἀρετή (virtue), while in the second fragment, he draws parallels between the moral meaning of the Judgement story and of the myth of Heracles at the crossroads, which can be found in Xenophon's *Memorablilia*. This is how Virtue and Vice are described there, when appearing in front of the hero:

> αἰ φανῆναι αὐτῷ δύο γυναῖκας προσιέναι μεγάλας, τὴν μέν ἑτέραν εὐπρεπῆ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐλευθέριον φύσει, κεκοσμημένην τὸ σῶμα καθαρειότητι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα αἰδοῖ, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνῃ, ἐσθῆτι δὲ λευκῇ, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν τεθραμμένην μὲν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἁπαλότητα, κεκαλλωπισμένην δὲ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα, ὥστε λευκοτέραν τε καὶ ἐρυθροτέραν τοῦ ὄντος δοκεῖν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὀρθοτέραν τῆς φύσεως εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἔχειν ἀναπεπταμένα, ἐσθῆτα δε, ἐξ ἧς ἂν μάλιστα ὥρα διαλάμποι, κατασκοπεῖσθαι δὲ θαμὰ ἑαυτήν, ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτὴν θεᾶται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σκιὰν ἀποβλέπειν. (*Mem.* 2.22)

And there appeared two women of great stature coming toward him. The one was fair to see and of noble stock; her body was adorned with purity, her eyes with modesty; sober was her figure, and her robe was white. The other had grown stout and soft with high feeding. Her skin was made up to heighten its natural white and pink, her figure to exaggerate her height. She had wide-open eyes and clothing that showcased her young beauty. She kept eyeing herself and looking to

see whether anyone noticed her; and often stole a glance at her own shadow. (trans. by Marchant-Todd, rev. by Henderson)

Virtue's figure here resembles that of Athena, as imagined in the first fragment: Virtue is actually unadorned of items ('adorned with purity'), her figure is sober, as it should be (σωφροσύνη), and her robe is simple (white). On the contrary, Vice's appearance indicates fake adornment and ostentation that aims at attracting attention and stimulating desire. The moral implications of each preparation are clear: Aphrodite's overly done adornement is identified with lust, whereas Athena's plain natural beauty is identified with virtue.

This allegorical and moralistic interpretation of *Krisis* could have been influenced by the Cynic philosophical doctrine of Athenaeus' time, as a Cynic would indeed prefer the simple and natural over the fake and complicated. In that case, the account provided in the *Deipnosophistae* could detract from the humorous aspect of the genre,[235] making it appear more of an ethical decision than it really was represented to be. Referring to the phrase πάντα συνεταράχθη, Griffith suggested that Aphrodite's adornments and her effect on those who saw her are described here, in language that contains no hint of parody or incongruity.[236] However, I agree with Olson's translation, in which πάντα συνεταράχθη refers to the destruction of Troy that the Judgement of Paris resulted in and, thus, the appearance of the word in the passage does not

[235]Hahnemann (2012) 172.

[236] Griffith (2006) 62-3.

exclude the possibility of humour or parody in the play. The way the two goddesses prepare differently could be implying that Sophocles was playing with the stereotypical preparation scenes, as these were established for Aphrodite in the *Cypria* and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. And nothing here proves that this was not done with a humorous attitude.

Even after the Cynic ideology clarification, however, the absence of Hera, as described in Athenaeus' summary at least, is striking. A possible explanation for this is that Hera was indeed mentioned or presented in the play (perhaps as a silent character), but due to the three actors rule it was not possible for her to be a *dramatis persona*.[237] However, Athenaeus' parallelism with Prodicus' myth of Heracles on the crossroads reveals possibly an intended presentation of the choice as a dilemma between right and wrong.

If the decision is a dilemmna, or at least represented as one in *Krisis*, that means that Aphrodite is definitely the wrong choice, in the place of vice, but both Hera and Athena are representations for a good choice. Although Hera might have been a silent character, she must have appeared on stage and posed as a valid candidate. In that respect, both Hera and Athena, who represented heroic ideals, were definitely better choices than Aphrodite's lust. Paris' choice is even more shameful taking into account the statistics of the situation: two out of three options can be correct, but Paris still goes for the one that is not.

Having Athena and Hera as one group and Aphrodite on her own as something separate, follows not only the spirit of the myth, but also the

[237] Seidensticker (2012) 219 n. 50.

presentation of the myth in the *Iliad*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, already in the Iliadic allusion to the Judgement Hera and Athena are both characterised by their grudge towards the Trojans, whereas Aphrodite on the other hand is not named, but rather is represented by Paris' choice, the phrase μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν (grievous lust). In that respect, already in Homer there is an implied distinction between Hera and Athena as a common group and Aphrodite separately. The evidence indicates that Sophocles probably did not find the Judgement of Paris appropriate for a tragedy, but used a Homeric attitude towards the myth to develop it in a different, more appropriate genre.[238] His Homeric attitude does not just regard his hesitation to elaborate on a story with the characteristics of the Judgement in the context of high literature, but also to another effect: although Sophocles did not generally write plays in connected tetralogies, with so many plays inspired by the Trojan cycle it is far from impossible that *Krisis* was performed after at least one Trojan tragedy.[239]

[238] Cf. Bain (2007) 45 on whether certain topics were *per se* are alien to certain genres. Although this is not a case of vulgar language, which is Bain's main concern in this paper, the moral symbolisms and the background of the myth is a factor that actually made it non-high literature material. The choice of μαχλοσύνη fits with the presence and the characteristics of the satyrs better than in the seriousness of the tragic environment.

[239] I am grateful to Dr Lyndsay Coo and her insights on the matter. She argued in her paper at the CA conference 2016 that the amount of Sophocles' satyr drama titles relevant to the Trojan war indicates that, statistically, a significant percentage of these must have been performed after various Trojan tragedies (albeit not necessarily in otherwise connected tetralogies), taking the audience back to the mythological background of the war.

In this case, Sophocles would be employing one more Homeric pattern: that of revealing at the end the origins of the whole war.

The revelation of the Judgement of Paris as the source for the war must have given an impression of closure to the audience. While heroes are represented throughout the three tragedies of the tetralogy (whichever these were) struggling under the influence of the gods in ethically challenging situations, the Judgement is represented on stage at the end to remind everyone that the impossible situations have been set out long ago due to events that took place in the divine sphere. The satyric context, due to its humorous aspects, is ideal to portray the futility and the pettiness of the events that took place; they are so lowly that they are not even appropriate for high literature that has been presented before, but yet they set everything in motion.

The way the two goddesses are preparing for the Judgement in fr. 360 is also quite Homeric, especially regarding Aphrodite's preparation. It resembles both Hera's preparation for the *Dios apate* in the *Iliad* (14.170-86), which is followed by her visit to Aphrodite to acquire her girdle, and, obviously Aphrodite's own preparation in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (60-5).[240] If Athenaeus' account of *Krisis* is accurate, then the clear representation of Athena and Aphrodite as two opposing stereotypes could have been a Sophoclean conception, that was used again by Callimachus at a later stage. However, it is possible that Athenaeus' account of *Krisis* was actually influenced by the spirit

[240] For the shared features and connection between the two, as well as the *Odyssey* and the *Cypria* see further Currie (2016) 147-56.

of Callimachus' hymn. Whichever the case, this description, as it stands, seems reasonable enough on the basis of mythological tradition on the two goddesses and on the Judgement of Paris and is probably not too far from what the play contained, even if it fails to do justice to the play's potential humour. Sophocles might have actually given a completely different twist to the events of the Judgement, especially within the satyric context of the play.

This essence of the Iliadic μαχλοσύνη could not have been better displayed than through the satyrs. As their main three habits are laziness, sex and drinking and their phalluses indicate their lack of self-control,[241] satyr drama, as a genre, offers via the presence of the satyrs the perfect opportunity to fully exploit the symbolic connotations of the Judgement of Paris. The presence of the satyrs as symbols of the 'anti-type' of the ideal citizen is an appropriate means to represent the story. Paris is the man whose example is to be avoided due to his moral system and life choices, while the formation of this value system is represented on stage. The satyrs share characteristics with Paris of the *Iliad*: they are lazy cowards concerned with the simple joys of life (having a beautiful wife being one of them).

The presence of the satyrs makes satyr drama a dominantly masculine genre; heroes (in the sense that they belong to the heroic past) and satyrs symbolise the two kinds of male fantasy, one high and one low respectively.[242] As satyrs represent the anti-type of Athenian citizenry, meaning the bad self of the

[241] Seaford (1984) 6-7; O'Sullivan and Collard (2013) 9 and 11.

[242] Griffith (2005) 174.

good citizen, satyr play aims at representing an alternative, more surreal image of reality, rather than seeking to settle controversies or show the consequences of one's decisions;[243] nobody would expect Paris to be facing the consequences of his choice in the satyrical, funny and light context of *Krisis*, for example. Satyr play also represents the side of the masculine collective consciousness that has to do with libido and sex drive.[244] Since satyrs are all presented as potential rapists, due to their sexual appetite,[245] the story of a beauty contest that leads to the abduction of a woman seems even more appropriate for this particular genre.

In this context, it is also worth thinking about Paris' role as a shepherd. Although common in art, in literature it does not seem to be exploited as much. Satyr drama and the presence of satyrs offer the appropriate dramatic circumstances to represent Paris as a shepherd set in an idyllic background, choosing a beautiful wife instead of kingship or ability in war. A shepherd Paris, tutored or urged by the satyrs, can only be expected to choose Aphrodite's gift over the rest.

The wrong decision is at the core of the play and satyr drama provides all the means to ridicule and mock it. Hera and Athena's gifts both belong to the archaic and classical ideals of a noble man (καλὸς κἀγαθός). The abilities to rule and to fight are inextricably connected with each other, but also with the idea of the hero. Therefore, it appears that the Judgement of Paris was perceived as

[243] Lissarague (1990) 235-6.

[244] Hall (2006) 143.

[245] Hall (2006) 145 and 166.

more of a dilemma between exactly the two types of masculinity: heroism and libido.

Undoubtedly, apart from the artistic capabilities that satyr play has to offer with a story like the Judgement of Paris, there is also the aforementioned element of it being inappropriate for the tragic stage. Of course the myth can be mentioned as part of the Trojan war's past, but it cannot possibly be re-enacted in tragedy; even Euripides, who admittedly uses and discusses the Judgement more than the other two major tragedians, does not represent it on stage. Sophocles appears to have shared this same notion about the inappropriateness of this myth for high literature, but also appears to have been the only one to fully exploit its potential in the best literary environment possible. We can only imagine that the Judgement of Paris truly flourished in its satyric context.

Euripides

The Judgement of Paris features in most of Euripides' plays inspired by the Trojan Cycle. This recurrence depends on Euripides' preference for debating Helen and her role as 'the beginning of evils', that being the Trojan War, but also on his tendency to debate the role of gods and their interference in mortals' lives in terms assimilated to oratory and the sophistic wave of his time.[246] Again, as in the case of Sophocles, the Judgement itself is not dramatised on stage; rather,

[246] Lefkowitz (2016) 32-48 on connections that Euripides' biographers have drawn between his works and various philosophical fragments. See also Lloyd-Jones (1971) 146: 'the actions attributed to the gods by the familiar myths are often criticised'. The Judgement of Paris definitely entails a series of those actions.

references to it serve various dramatic, literary and ideological purposes. These references fall into two wider categories: the first, the most common ones, are those made by the choruses, whereas the second are those spoken by characters. This distinction is important as in Euripidean tragedy the chorus's role is usually significantly smaller than in Aeschylus and Sophocles and the impact of the chorus's attitude is less important for the development of the story; it is not, however, unimportant for the expression of ideas.

Alexandros

The only Euripidean play that could potentially have the Judgement of Paris represented on stage as part of its plot is the fragmentary *Alexandros*. It has always been difficult to establish a possible connection between the Judgement of Paris and this tragedy[247] but, especially after the latest papyrus,[248] it is safe to say that the Judgement of Paris was not a part of its dramatic action. Very useful for the reconstruction of the play is the preserved hypothesis (Collard & Cropp test. iii):

> *Alexander, which begins, '... and famous Ilium'; the plot is as follows: (because) Hecuba (had seen) visions in her sleep, (Priam) gave her infant son to be exposed. (The herdsman who took him) reared him as his son, calling Alexander Paris. But Hecuba, grieving because of that day but also thinking it should be honoured, lamented the exposed child and persuaded Priam to establish lavish games for him. When twenty years had passed, the boy seemed*

[247]Coles (1974) 15.

[248]Henry (2014) 1-5.

to have a nature (superior) to that of a herdsman (who had reared him), and the other shepherds, because of his arrogant behaviour towards them, bound him and brought him before Priam. When he (was arraigned?) before the ruler, he (readily defended himself?) and caught out each of those slandering him, and was allowed to take part in the games which were being celebrated in his honour. By (winning the crown?) in running and the pentathlon, and also (in boxing?), he enraged Deiphobus and his companions who, realising that they had been worsted by a slave, called on Hecuba to kill him. When Alexander arrived, Cassandra became possessed and recognised him, and prophesied about what was going to happen; and Hecuba tried to kill him and was prevented. The man who had raised him arrived, and because of the danger (to Paris) was compelled to tell the truth. Thus Hecuba rediscovered her son . . .

Hecuba's failure to kill Paris is also mentioned in other Trojan plays by Euripides, for example in Helen's speech in his *Trojan Women* (920-2). It is possible that when Cassandra appears on stage and, possessed, recognizes Paris and prophesies what is going to happen (hypothesis, 28: καὶ π[ερὶ τῶ]ν μελλόντων ἐθέσπισεν) she also refers to the Judgement of Paris in her prophecy, along with all the events that followed it leading to the destruction of Troy.

Taking into account that the play belonged to the same trilogy with the *Trojan Women* (and the *Palamedes*),[249] *Alexandros* represents the beginning of

[249] Aelian, *Historical Miscellanies* 2.8.

the war, reaching a time before the Judgement, when Paris, Priam and Hecuba were key elements in the fulfilment of Troy's fate,[250] while possibly making a leap into the future, as it will be portrayed at the end of the trilogy with the *Trojan Women*.

By starting the trilogy with a play about the life of Paris, Euripides implies that the beginning of evils is connected to the life of the young prince. The trilogy shows that the chain of events that caused the Trojan War starts not with the Judgement of Paris, but with the sparing of the infant Paris;[251] this is the key element in the series of events in Paris' life and in the causes of the war. Although the Judgement of Paris is mentioned by Helen in the *Trojan Women* as a given fact, it does not mean that the story was necessarily found in the *Alexandros*, too. Euripides' Trojan trilogy might be following a relative chronological order, but is not coherent in the same way the *Oresteia* is, in the sense that the events of one play do not by default lead to the next play.[252] Thus, it is not necessary for the Judgement to have been mentioned in the *Alexandros*, especially if it really took place after his restoration to Troy, which is the most viable possibility.

A dramatised version of the Judgement would cause the dramatic time to drag, as the Judgement, the games and the revelation of Paris' identity could not all have fitted in the dramatic action of just one play, considering that the dramatic action of a tragedy is usually the span of one day, while the play's unity

[250] Collard & Cropp (2008) 38.

[251] See Allan (2000), 15-16: 'The sparing of Paris lies at the war's remotest origin.'

[252] De Hanson (1964) 175.

of space would also be breached; the scenery would need to be Ida instead of the city of Troy for the Judgement to take place. Furthermore, a representation of the Judgement would disturb the image of Paris in the *Alexandros*, where he is a wronged and sympathetic character, who actually speaks of how wealth and luxury pose as a poor education for manliness (frr. 54 and 55). Although the audience knows that the Judgement has already happened (or is going to happen shortly after, but definitely before his restoration), still a representation of the scene on stage would have changed the impression of Paris in the play.[253]

If we assume that the Judgement took place while Paris was on Ida, before his true identity was revealed, then an allusion or reference to the Judgement is not completely impossible, either within a choral song or in some part of dialogue. However, it is hard to think where an allusion to a story like the beauty contest of the Judgement would fit in a tragedy about the revelation of Paris' true identity.[254] Aphrodite being the speaking character of the play's prologue, providing an account of Paris' early life and the context of the impending games,[255] is the only case in which the Judgement of Paris would make sense to be mentioned; it this case, Aphrodite's role and her connection with Paris should be explained more thoroughly and, thus, a reference to the

[253] See also Poole (1990) 121 on Paris' appearance and how it foreshadows anyway the Judgement and the destruction it will bring.

[254] The same problem applies also to Sophocles' *Alexandros.*

[255] test. iii. 4-14, F 41a-42d); Collard and Cropp (2008) 35.

Judgement would be highly appropriate.[256] However, the reconstruction of the plot both from the hypothesis[257] and from the fragments does not hint at Aphrodite's presence. The events of the *Alexandros* take place before the Trojan War and, thus, the relationships between mortals and gods (like that of Paris with Aphrodite) as we know them from the *Iliad* have not yet necessarily been established.

The *Trojan Women* and Euripides the sophist

The *Trojan Women* at the end of the trilogy leads us to the very end of the war. It is a play about the destructive results of war and specifically its effect on women. Although, as mentioned earlier, the *Trojan Women* does not exactly follow chronologically the *Alexandros* and the *Palamedes*, it does have special echoes and parallelisms that create a type of dramatic dialogue with the other two plays.[258] The *Trojan Women* appears to reconsider and comment on aspects of the Iliadic narrative, as, at this point in time, the war has already taken place and the collaborations between gods and mortals have been established. The

[256]Coles (1974) 33-4 fn. 10; Scodel (1980) 24. Cf. Kovacs (2015) 113-14 on Athena being a far more appropriate divine προλογίζων in a play that essentially represents the beginning of the Troy destruction unravelling: 'Since the Judgement of Paris has, more likely than not, already taken place, she would have a reason for a grudge against the city that produced Paris, and if she forecast its destruction as part of the plan of Zeus, she could voice approval rather than resentment.'

[257]Collard, Cropp & Gilbert (2004) 70.

[258]Scodel (1980) 65.

prologue by Poseidon (*Tro.* 1-47) and his following dialogue with Athena (48-97) immediately bring to mind the attitude of these two gods towards the Trojans in the *Iliad*. Despite Poseidon being pro-Greek in Homer – whereas Hera and Athena were hostile to Troy – in the *Trojan Women*, Poseidon displays a fairly protective attitude towards the Trojans; he declares that Hera and Athena are responsible for Troy's ruin (*Tro.* 23-5 and 46-7).

In the second passage Poseidon only refers to Athena, since she will be entering the stage immediately after these words. The sea god claims that he has been defeated by Hera and Athena, who both wanted to destroy Troy. The reasons why they wanted that are not explained at this point, like in the *Iliad*, but the only reasonable explanation is the Judgement of Paris.[259] By separating Poseidon from Hera and Athena, despite them all being anti-Trojan in the *Iliad* (24.25-30), the two goddesses' personal grudge becomes more prominent. Therefore, although not explicitly mentioned, the Judgement of Paris is inserted in the reality of the play from the very beginning in a divine setting that clearly displays the role of the gods in the war overall; when Poseidon says that he was defeated by Hera and Athena (*Tro.* 23-4), he makes clear that this was a war among gods, too.

A divine prologue such as this raises very early in the play questions about the character and role of the gods in the life of mortals, establishing it as one of the concurrent themes of the play. Lefkowitz is absolutely right in arguing that 'our modern tendency is to downplay, ignore, or even dismiss the roles played by

[259] Lloyd (2009) 183-4.

gods in Greek tragedy',[260] whereas the appearance of gods, especially in a context such as this of the *Trojan Women*, is essential to the understanding of the play's problematic.

After this implication of the Judgement in the prologue, no references to the myth occur in the *Trojan Women* until Helen brings it up in her speech at the *agon* with Hecuba (914-65). Up to this point, there are references to Paris and his part of the blame for going to Sparta and abducting Helen, but no reference to the Judgement whatsoever.[261] The initial dialogue between the gods proves that Helen's version of the events, which entails so much of gods' interference, but also their indifference towards mankind,[262] as she lays them out in the *agon*, is accurate, despite Hecuba's disbelief in terms of its religious aspects.

The divine prologue and the initial dialogue between Athena and Poseidon create an Iliadic setting, to which Euripides stays faithful in terms of structure, too; it is not until the *agon* near the end of the play, when the truth about the gods' motives is revealed through the words of Helen on the

[260] Lefkowitz (2016) 8.

[261] *Tro.* 122-37: Hecuba mourning and cursing Paris' trip/ships to abduct Helen. See also 596-8, when Andromache is speaking of Paris as the man who ruined Troy for the sake of his marriage. Cf. *Hec.* 629-37: the chorus curses the cutting of trees on Ida for Paris' ship.

[262] On the gods being cruel and not caring particularly for mankind see Lefkowitz (2016) 11, where she points out that Poseidon's reaction to the destruction of Troy is a perfect example of this indifference: he says he has lost to Hera and Athena, but does not do anything to help the Trojans.

Judgement. An explicit and clear reference to the Judgement of Paris from the very beginning, however, would ruin the dramatic effect of pondering on the role of the specific gods in the play, and would weaken the unresolved nature of the debate between Hecuba and Helen. If Poseidon and Athena had referred to the Judgement, they would have affirmed Helen's arguments before even the *agon* started, whereas their presence on stage renders the debate the two women have on the role and character of the gods impossible to resolve with certainty.

It would not be strange to have a choral song about Paris or the Judgement, since the *Trojan Women* discusses the causes of the war. However, by not referring to the Judgement in a choral song throughout the play, the role of the gods remains questionable, especially regarding the enigmatic appearance of Poseidon and Athena at the beginning, until the *agon* which will be the ultimate debate on the causes of the war. Also, by placing the focus on Paris, the play recalls the events of the *Alexandros*, when Priam's and Hecuba's failure to kill Paris led to all that followed, including the Judgement of Paris. This attitude is obvious even in Helen's own speech, before she mentions the judgement (*Tro.* 919-22):

> πρῶτον μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔτεκεν ἥδε τῶν κακῶν,
> Πάριν τεκοῦσα: δεύτερον δ' ἀπώλεσε
> Τροίαν τε κἄμ' ὁ πρέσβυς οὐ κτανὼν βρέφος,
> δαλοῦ πικρὸν μίμημ', Ἀλέξανδρόν ποτε.

First it was this woman who gave birth to the first cause of our troubles when she bore Paris. Second, it was the old man who destroyed both

Troy and me since he did not at the start kill the babe Alexandros, who so fatally resembled a torch. (trans. Kovacs)

In Helen's speech motifs of human and divine responsibility are combined.[263] First she refers to what the audience already has seen in the *Alexandros*,[264] his sparing, and then goes on immediately with the Judgement of Paris, which has already been implied in the introductory dialogue between Poseidon and Athena (*Tro.* 924-31):[265]

ἔκρινε τρισσὸν ζεῦγος ὅδε τριῶν θεῶν.
καὶ Παλλάδος μὲν ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δόσις
Φρυξὶ στρατηγοῦνθ' Ἑλλάδ' ἐξανιστάναι,
Ἥρα δ' ὑπέσχετ' Ἀσιάδ' Εὐρώπης θ' ὅρους
τυραννίδ' ἕξειν, εἴ σφε κρίνειεν Πάρις:
Κύπρις δὲ τοὐμὸν εἶδος ἐκπαγλουμένη
δώσειν ὑπέσχετ', εἰ θεὰς ὑπερδράμοι
κάλλει.

[263]Croally (1994) 135-6.

[264]Barlow (1986) 28: 'Such muddles on the part of the Trojans in this play surely make more intelligible the criticisms of Helen in the debate of the third play.' See also Goff (2009) 66: 'To this opening Hekabe, as commentators note, offers no answer, as indeed she cannot, because it is an irrefutable argument, and the truth of it was demonstrated in the first play.'

[265]See also: Conacher (1967) 139: 'the play's progression might be regarded as the gradual recognition, on the part of Hecuba and her women, of the truth about the gods which the prologue has already expressed, by satiric implication, to the audience.'

> This man judged the trio of goddesses. Pallas Athena's bribe to Alexandros was that he would lead the Phrygians in war and lay waste to Greece. Hera promised him that he would hold sway over both Asia and the bounds of Europe if he awarded her the victory. Cypris, admiring my beauty, promised she would give me to him if she defeated the other goddesses in the beauty contest. (trans. Kovacs)

Helen's way of referring to the Judgement, focusing significantly on their number (*τρισσὸν* ζεῦγος […] *τριῶν* θεῶν), gets the audience in turn back to the second play of the trilogy, the *Palamedes*, who was known for the invention of numbers and counting.[266] Although she has already put the primary blame on Priam and Hecuba and has declared Paris 'a bitter semblance of a torch', going back to the events of the *Alexandros*, she then offers an extensive account of the 'decisive factor',[267] the Judgement, but in a way that also goes back to the *Palamedes* through the number element. Thus Helen proves her point on both a rational and a widely mythological level that includes the trilogy in itself, too.

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[266] Eur. *Pal.* fr. 578 cited among others by Davies and Finglass (2014): 'His power of invention embraced numbers, weights and measures, games, military organisation, meal times, voting, and astronony'; Wright (2016) 197 and 202. Note also 195 on Wright's argument on the artistic unity of the trilogy 'not in the sense of a sequential narrative (such as the *Oresteia*), but in the sense of an intricate nexus of images, themes, and ideas.'

[267] Biehl (1989) 348: 'entscheidende Factum'.

Judging (κρίνω) predicated of Paris (924, 928) and promising (ὑπόσχομαι) predicated of the goddesses (927, 930) allege that Helen had no say in this procedure; it was an agreement between Paris and the goddesses. To stress that she could not decide herself, she mentions later that: 'Cypris herself took ship at Paris' side' (*Tro.* 940-1), demonstrating that Aphrodite herself was with Paris in Sparta for the abduction. If that was the case, what could Helen possibly do?

Hecuba's reaction to Helen's apology is ironic and aggressive. She does not reply to Helen's first argument, on her responsibility and Priam's for sparing Paris, but goes on to doubt the Judgement of Paris. Without answering Helen's rational argumentation on the reasons of the war, Hecuba rationalises Helen's mythological explanation by accusing her of falling in love with Paris when he came to Greece (969-90). Hecuba refuses to acknowledge that people can rid themselves of their responsibility by evoking a god as an external factor.[268] She does not reject Helen's inability to react if Aphrodite was involved, but rejects the goddesses' participation as a whole to make her point (987-91):[269]

> ἦν οὑμὸς υἱὸς κάλλος ἐκπρεπέστατος,
> ὁ σὸς δ' ἰδὼν νιν νοῦς ἐποιήθη Κύπρις·
> τὰ μῶρα γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη βροτοῖς,
> καὶ τοὔνομ' ὀρθῶς ἀφροσύνης ἄρχει θεᾶς.

[268]Stinton (1965) 37 = (1990) 46; Croally (1994) 147-8. See also: Segal (1993) 218 on Hecuba's view of the gods.

[269]Lloyd (1992) 105.

> My son was very handsome, and when you saw him your mind was turned into Cypris. For mortals call all acts of foolishness Aphrodite, and it is proper that the goddess' name begins with the word of folly. (trans. Kovacs)

Hecuba claims that all irrational acts of people can be called 'Aphrodite', as her name shows. Therefore, by excluding Aphrodite from the group of wise gods, she indirectly rejects the possibility of the Judgement having taken place in the form that Helen described.[270]

In the previous lines, Hecuba defends the goddesses,[271] arguing that Hera and Athena would not bother with such a beauty contest as there was nothing for them in such a vain prize. Aphrodite, we assume, could have taken part in such a contest (Hecuba does not object to that), but could have avoided the trouble of following Paris to Sparta and rather could have transferred Helen to Ilium miraculously without moving from Olympus (976-86). That is why it was Helen's own attraction to Paris that was her 'Aphrodite', as all foolish things mortals do can be called that (and here she uses the false etymology of Aphrodite's name in regards to ἀφροσύνη, which means madness). Hecuba uses the anthropomorphic character of the goddesses, as portrayed in Helen's version of the Judgement (which is actually the version known from the pre-existing tradition), to argue that the story does not make sense in those terms.

[270] Croally (1994) 149.

[271] Dio Chrysostom uses the same technique in his *Trojan Discourse* (see chapter 5).

On the contrary, if one would want to call Helen's attraction to Paris 'Aphrodite', then that would be valid.

Earlier Hecuba has evoked Zeus as follows (884-8):

ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν,
ὅστις ποτ' εἶ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι, 885
Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν,
προσηυξάμην σε: πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀψόφου
βαίνων κελεύθου κατὰ δίκην τὰ θνήτ' ἄγεις.

You that support the earth and have your seat upon it, whoever you may be, so hard for human conjecture to find out, Zeus, whether you are the necessity of nature or the mind of mortal men, I address you in prayer! For proceeding on a silent path you direct all mortal affairs toward justice! (trans. Kovacs)

This appeal to Zeus seems problematic in comparison to what the queen says about the goddesses and Aphrodite in the *agon*. It shows an element of desperation that reveals a difficulty in grasping the gods' role.[272] Near the end of the play this frustration climaxes: in line 1280 (ἰὼ θεοί. καὶ τί τοὺς θεοὺς καλῶ;) Hecuba's appeal to the gods is followed by a rhetorical question on why she is appealing to the gods, revealing her doubt as to whether the gods are really wise and whether they are actually willing or capable to do anything. Hecuba appears

[272] Croally (1994) 148; Lefkowitz (2016) 35.

to hold a troubling view of the gods; she considers them to be abstract powers that cannot be fully understood by mortals.

This image of the divine seems to be the source of her disbelief for Helen's arguments, which are based on anthropomorphic and, essentially, Homeric gods. Hecuba's view of the world is reasonable and morally consistent, which doubts not the existence of the divine, but the gods' interference in human action. If it were not for the prologue of the play demonstrating that the way Helen presents the story and the world is accurate, then Hecuba's view is the one based on both practicality and morality.[273]

That being said, the notion of Aphrodite as *aphrosyne*, as a force that causes erotic madness, reveals an alternative layer of the human responsibility theme: to what extent is this force (since we are not talking about an actual divine presence in the anthropomorphic sense) resistible? The dangers of Aphrodite's power, when out of proportion, are described elsewhere in Euripides. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis* (543-89) the chorus sings about the potential frenzy of Aphrodite and prays for moderation in marriage (including attraction), just before they narrate the Judgement of Paris,[274] while in the *Andromache* (1186-7) Peleus talks about marriage as a destruction, while earlier (631) he blames

[273] See Davidson (2000) 126 on one aspect of the *agon* being Helen's at least partly Homeric view of the situation versus Hecuba's "modern" rationalisation.

[274] See also *IA* 1264, where Agamemnon speaks about 'a kind of Aphrodite' that is maddening the army. Wilson (1979) 18 argued that the army's perverted *eros* for war is implied. On irrationality in the *IA* being 'interwoven with madness, passion and desire' see Michelakis (2006) 56.

Menelaus for forgiving Helen and accepting her back, because he was by nature (πεφυκώς) unable to resist Aphrodite.

In the case of Helen, this usually translates into whether she willingly (ἑκοῦσα) followed Paris or not. In the *Trojan Women*, Cassandra sets the tone early on, when she claims (373) that Helen followed Paris willingly and not by force (κοὐ βίᾳ); in the *Andromache* Menelaus defends Helen by claiming that she was not willing to get into trouble, but it was due to the gods (680: Ἑλένη δ' ἐμόχθησ' οὐχ ἑκοῦσ', ἀλλ' ἐκ θεῶν); and in the *Electra* (1065) the protagonist also claims that Helen was abducted wilfully.[275] In fact, in Electra's case, the claim is followed by an accusation towards Clytemnestra on caring about her appearance (1071) while she should be mourning for Iphigenia while Agamemnon was gone, proving her sisterhood to Helen, according to Electra. However, it also indicates the sisters' affiliation to Aphrodite, since self adornment (especially in the way described for Clytemnestra, fixing her hair in front of the mirror)[276] is also under the sphere of influence of the goddess.

There is a constant problem, therefore, concerning what Aphrodite's bribe to Paris entailed in terms of getting Helen to Troy. The degree of Helen's willingness to follow Paris to Troy is a key point. In the instances mentioned above, Helen is said to have followed Paris to Troy willingly and without force, but was it due to her own decision, to her attraction to Paris, or to Aphrodite's

[275] See also *IA* 75, where Agamemnon mentions mutual desire between Helen and Paris (ἐρῶν ἐρῶσαν).

[276] Note the use of the mirror in Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* (next chapter) in the description of Aphrodite's preparation.

influence over her? And if it was the last of these, what did that influence consist of? Forcing her to follow Paris by fear, almost like in the *Iliad* (3.383-420), or by cultivating her desire for him? Essentially, both sides can be right: Helen was forced to act under Aphrodite's influence, but potentially she acted thus due to her own vanity and lust, too.[277]

This discussion inevitably leads to reading Euripides as a sophist. Putting the *agon* of the *Trojan Women* into sophistic perspective sheds a different light on the meaning of the Judgement of Paris for both Helen and Hecuba. Euripides shapes some speeches in his plays, including this *agon*, as verbal performances,[278] which, however, do not ruin the spirit of the myth for the Athenian audience that is so accustomed to the formalities of a debate.[279] Thus, mythology is being handled not as tradition, but as a source of inspiration in questioning and debating timeless internal searches on the deepest elements of life, like the character and role of the divine.

Gorgias' *Encomium to Helen* refers to the Judgement of Paris; the whole speech is more of an *encomium* of the power of persuasion and speech rather than of Helen.[280] Yet in this context Gorgias, in the usual manner of the sophists, makes an attempt to support the less popular side and defend Helen. It is hard to make a straight comparison of the two texts, since we cannot date

[277] Lloyd-Jones (1971)150: 'it is through human passions that the goddess works.'

[278] Conacher (1998) 51; Scodel (2000) 142-3.

[279] Collard (1975) 63 = (2003) 70.

[280] Segal (1962) 102; Valiavitcharska (2006) 147-8.

the *Enomium to Helen* with accuracy;[281] yet the two works show parallel sophistic ideas. According to Gorgias it was either the will of Fate and the wishes of the gods and the votes of Necessity that lead Helen to follow Paris to Troy and abandon her lawful husband or it was by force or by seductive words or by love. Helen, therefore, is portrayed as the victim of the situation, whatever the case is.[282] Her defence by Gorgias is quite similar to what she says in Euripides' *agon*, albeit without the anthropomorphic element so prominent, as it is in the *Trojan Women.* Gorgias goes on to explain how she was not able to hinder the course of events in each case. In the case of divine planning, Gorgias clearly states that a human's premeditation (προμηθεῖαι) cannot cancel a god's predetermination (προθυμία), because it is only natural for the weaker to be ruled by the stronger.

Although the Judgement of Paris is not explicitly mentioned under the predetermination of the gods, it is possible that, when referring to Fate, the gods and Necessity, Gorgias probably had the Judgement of Paris in mind, along with the wider plan of Zeus. Accordingly, it would be hard for any member of the *Encomium*'s audience relatively acquainted with the tradition, to not think about the Judgement of Paris when hearing about Helen and the gods' intervention in what she did. 'Necessity's fate' (μοῖρα . . . ἀνάγκης) is the reply that the Dioscuri give to the chorus in Euripides' *Electra* 1301, to the question

[281] The dating is some time during the 5th century B.C. See Conacher (1998) 53-57 on the difficulties and on the scholarly debate on the topic, especially in regards to whether it is earlier or later than the *Trojan Women.*

[282] Suzuki (1989) 15.

about how they (the Dioscuri) allowed as gods and Clytemnestra's brothers for her murder to take place. A similar concept can be found in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* as well.[283] Under this scope, necessity and fate appear even stronger than the gods, in that they call for specific events to take place.

Either in the case of Fate and Necessity or in the case of the Gods, the profile of Helen as an adulteress is false for Gorgias. Similar to book 3 of the *Iliad*, when Helen is forced by Aphrodite to follow Paris in their bedroom, Gorgias portrays Helen as not having an alternative choice than to obey. Moreover, Gorgias has already spoken of her beauty that has been the reason for many men to die, along with her divine descent, and her name that has been the omen of bad events for many people. This presentation seems like an attempt to distinguish Helen's character from her external features or her actions.[284] Philosophically, Gorgias plays with the idea of human responsibility in terms of divine intervention, comparing it ultimately with the effect of force/violence, speech and love on humans.[285] All of these are proven to be untameable sources that mould humans' actions in a way that cannot be controlled.

Euripides overturns in Hecuba's speech this idea of Gorgias about Aphrodite; the erotic attraction that Helen felt for Paris as a result of visual perception, which in Gorgias is one of the untameable forces that transform the

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[283] *IA* 443 and 511, where Agamemnon speaks of being trapped to necessity. See further Michelakis (2006) 57-8 on the interwoven themes of freedom and necessity in the play.

[284] Biesecker (1992) 104-5.

[285] See Schaffer (1998) on the importance especially of *opsis* and *logos* in Gorgias' attempt to exonerate Helen, as forces of persuasion.

mind, in Hecuba's ideology is a conscious and willing choice. Helen has chosen her object of attraction and attempts to blame her desire on the influence of a divine power.[286] Too bad for Hecuba that the prologue of that same play proves Helen's view of the gods and the world.

Euripides' inspiration from the sophists is not only prominent in his *agones*; his debates are accompanied by comments on the power of speech and the capabilities of persuasion with whatever that entails, a motif that is crucial for the sophists. The essence of sophistry is to accept that every possible topic has two sides, each of which can equally be supported.

In the *Trojan Women*, after Helen's speech the chorus says the following (*Tro.* 966-8):

> βασίλει', ἄμυνον σοῖς τέκνοισι καὶ πάτρᾳ
> πειθὼ διαφθείρουσα τῆσδ', ἐπεὶ λέγει
> καλῶς κακοῦργος οὖσα· δεινὸν οὖν τόδε.

> My queen, come to the rescue of your children and country by destroying the persuasive force of her words: she speaks eloquently, although she is guilty, and that is a terrible thing (trans. Kovacs)

[286] On using the common grounds of vision to argue the complete opposite see further Conacher (1998) 57; Mirto (2016) 60-1.

If someone had any doubts on whether Helen's speech would lead to a debate, the chorus's stance sets out the context of the *agon* clearly. The Trojan women are encouraging Hecuba, their queen, to prove Helen's guilt, which to them is a fact, by attacking her *peitho*. The admission that Helen speaks eloquently could possibly indicate that they themselves are tempted to believe her story, although their main concern is for Menelaus not to be dissuaded to punish his wife.

The chorus, like Hecuba, believe Helen is guilty beyond doubt, and so for them her charming speech is a terrible thing (δεινόν) because what she says might sound convincing, but it is false; they are almost making a Socratic attack against sophistry itself. The irony of the situation is that despite the *agon* and the dangers of persuasion that the chorus fears, essentially nothing changes after the debate between Helen and Hecuba. Helen will still go back to Greece with Menelaus and will not be punished, as the Trojan women want. To disprove Helen's point, Hecuba, in her turn, will attempt a rationalisation of the divine purely based on speech. There is no proof about what she is claiming other than her own comprehension, but nobody seems to care for the dangers of her *peitho.* In any case, nevertheless, despite bearing resemblance to a court hearing, the *agon* will ultimately have no effect on the events that will follow. Punishment will not come, gods will not change.

Naturally, the topic of Helen's responsibility does not end with Euripides and the sophists. On the contrary, once they have established it as a valid discourse topic, it inspired others that came after them. Isocrates criticises Gorgias (10.14) for his attempt to defend Helen's actions, claiming that a defence is not an *encomium* and attempts his own discourse on the Trojan war and its

roots. In Isocrates' account, Helen appears to be the main point of interest, in terms of her descent from Zeus himself, her beauty, but also her status as daughter of Zeus.[287] Isocrates provides a reference to the Judgement that is extremely detailed, aiming at defending Paris' Judgement and proving Helen to be the most valuable gift (10.41-3). Since Paris was so overwhelmed by the goddesses' looks (ἡττηθεὶς τῆς τῶν θεῶν ὄψεως), Isocrates says, his judgement lay solely on the gifts each one offered. And it was not because of pleasure (οὐ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς) that Paris chose Aphrodite's gift, but to become Zeus' son in law, thinking that acquiring such a wanted and precious woman is something no ordinary man could ever achieve, contrary to sovereignty over Asia or bravery. By taking Helen as his wife Paris thought he was making the best choice for his children: making sure that they would be descendants from Zeus both from their father's and from their mother's side (παρασκευάσας αὐτοῖς ὅπως μὴ μόνον πρὸς πατρὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ Διὸς ἔσονται γεγονότες). Isocrates goes on to explain that while nobility of birth is forever and that his wedlock with Helen would benefit Paris' whole race, the other two gifts would only benefit him for the course of his own life (10.44). His choice was certainly the right one, in spite of what people might think, because it was the decision the gods and especially Zeus himself had in mind when choosing Paris as the judge (10.46).

It is obvious that Isocrates is not trying to defend Helen here. He rather reveals her true value as a wife and a woman based on her appearance, her

[287] Biesecker (1992) 106.

descent and her past. Helen is both superior due to her divine descent and her looks, but also inferior because she is a woman and, thus, a victim.[288] In terms of the Judgement, Isocrates, after establishing that every man, even the perfect king, Theseus, (10.38-9), would want Helen as his wife, defends Paris' choice at the Judgement according to different reasoning. Paris did not choose Aphrodite based on his tendency towards pleasure and sexual attraction, but on the basis of establishing an excellent descent line for his children. Helen thus proves to be much more than a beautiful woman for whom so many men died. Her appearance makes her desirable to every man and it is this response to her beauty that makes her looks important.[289] Helen in Isocrates is the perfect wife, one whom it is worth fighting and possibly going to war for; therefore, the Greeks were not crazy in staying together and trying to get her back. The potential panhellenic character of the text[290] is prominent through the Judgment of Paris, indicating that the real value of Helen is not that of a simple wife; if it was any other woman, then truly the Trojan war would have been unreasonable.

Through Isocrates' text a second social element also arises: the value that women acquired in the social status of their children. Under the law established by Pericles, children in Athens had to be born to both an Athenian father and an

[288] Crockett (1994) 78.

[289] Poulakos (1986) 9. See also 10-11 on φιλοκαλία and φιλοσοφία.

[290] See Kennedy (1958) 77-83 on a political reading of *Helen*. Cf. Kim (2010) 89 n. 12, where, in discussing Dio's *Trojan Oration* and doubting its potential political message, he also appears to be doubting Isocrates' political agenda on similar grounds (on the reference to the Panhellenic benefits of the war being very short compared to the rest of the text.

Athenian mother to be considered Athenian citizens.[291] Isocrates reveals the true value of a mother's social status to the future of a man's children and, thus, the value of a good wife. Near the end (67-9) it appears also that Helen becomes a mythical symbol of Isocrates' political aspirations in unifying the Greeks against the barbarians.[292] However, the encomiastic way in which Isocrates speaks about Paris and his reasoning of the situation could hardly be fit for a political purpose leading the Greeks against the barbarians.[293] In any case, the only certain thing is that among Isocrates' goals, he aims to prove through his *Helen* that mythological themes can be sources for serious discourses;[294] discourses, however, that do not have to apply just to mythological reality and its problematic in its own right, but in a way that could potentially shift into a political message of importance.

Hecuba

As in the *Trojan Women*, Hecuba also rejects the idea of the Judgement in the *Hecuba*: none of the characters mentions the Judgement and it appears that the queen of Troy does not consider it a possibility. Her vicious hostility towards Helen does not allow her to rid her of what she thinks her share of responsibility is. Lines 441-3 of *Hecuba*:

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[291] Aristotle, *Ath. Con.* 26.4; Plutarch, *Pericles* 37.2-5; Biesecker (1992) 101-2.

[292] Kennedy (1958) 77-83.

[293] Heilbrunn (1977) 148-9. See also 150-1 on the portrayal of Theseus and its implications on a political reading.

[294] Papillon (1996) 386.

ὡς τὴν Λάκαιναν σύγγονον Διοσκόροιν
Ἑλένην ἴδοιμι: διὰ καλῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων
αἴσχιστα Τροίαν εἶλε τὴν εὐδαίμονα.

May I see the Spartan, Helen, sister of the Dioscuri, destroyed as I am! For with her fair eyes she foully ruined the happiness of Troy. (trans. Kovacs)

have been considered an interpolation by various scholars;[295] the main argument for this is that it does not seem natural that after her ἀπολώμην ('my life is over' in line 440) and before her fainting Hecuba would bring up Helen to curse her.[296] However, if the lines are not an interpolation,[297] they are consistent with what is already obvious for Hecuba's opinion: the Judgement never happened and Helen is to blame, as she intentionally seduced Paris using 'her beautiful eyes' (διὰ καλῶν ὀμμάτων).

What Hecuba says in the play, but also what she does not mention, both indicate her emotional state and her ideology;[298] her not mentioning the Judgement of Paris anywhere can serve as an indication that she does not believe

[295] Hartung (1837) 15 was the first to delete the lines. For other scholars and editors who have ejected and others who have retained the lines see Finglass (2006) 258.

[296]See further: Collard (1991) 152; Finglass (2006) 259 on a curse to Helen breaking the mood of grief that has been climactically reached in Hecuba's previous words and on Hecuba collapsing on stage after her ἀπολώμην, in which case it would be unreasonable for her to keep talking.

[297] See Gregory (1999) 96.

[298] Mossman (1995) 98-9.

in it. For Hecuba apparently the beginning of the war is to be found elsewhere than in the interference of the gods.[299] In a play where there is no evident role of the gods or of *tyche*,[300] as we only see the results of a war among mortals, without any obvious divine intervention taking place at this point, it is appropriate for the lead character to reject the interference of the gods in her past or present.

Although in the *Hecuba* there are no references to the Judgement by any of the characters, the chorus does give a brief account of it (639-46):

πόνοι γὰρ καὶ πόνων
ἀνάγκαι κρείσσονες κυκλοῦνται
κοινὸν δ᾽ ἐξ ἰδίας ἀνοίας
κακὸν τᾷ Σιμουντίδι γᾷ
ὀλέθριον ἔμολε συμφορά τ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἄλλων.
ἐκρίθη δ᾽ ἔρις, ἃν ἐν Ἴ-
δᾳ κρίνει τρισσὰς μακάρων
παῖδας ἀνὴρ βούτας [...]

Circling in their round came troubles and a fate more harsh than these. Upon the land of Simois came a shared disaster from one man's folly, bringing ruin and involving other in calamity. The quarrel that the shepherd upon Ida judged for the three daughters of the blessed gods was decided. (trans. Kovacs)

[299] See ibid. 83 generally on the role of ἀνάγκη: 'Abstract necessity seems to be a substitute for more anthropomorphic deities in this play'.

[300] Whitman (1974) 126.

As mentioned above, choruses commonly refer to the mythological past of the dramatic present of a play. The placing of this reference, however, in the middle of *Hecuba* and the internal structure of the choral song are crucial. The lines referring to the Judgement of Paris are the antistrophe of the second *stasimon*. The chorus recap the themes of the whole play in their three odes: captive slavery, loss of husband, children and home are all attributable to the Judgement of Paris.[301] Placing the Judgement in the centre of these songs, and essentially of the play, stresses its role for the situation in which these women are right now. Euripides here discusses the causes of the war, moving from the cutting of the trees on Mt. Ida to build the ship that carried Paris to Greece further back to the Judgement of Paris, proving it to be the primary cause of the Trojan War.

The structure of the ode itself is interesting, too. The strophe (629-38) refers to Paris' shipmaking[302] and journey to abduct Helen, whereas the antistrophe goes before that, to the Judgement.[303] This layout gives the impression of a puzzle revealed piece by piece, as the reasons of the war and the chorus's misery are elaborated upon. The role of Ida is also crucial, as the name

[301] Stinton (1965) 25 = (1990) 36 and Collard (1991) 23.

[302] Note the similarity of the reference with the first 6 lines of Euripides' *Medea*, where the nurse blames the ship making of the Argo for Medea's misery. The making of the ships may seem like the ultimate starting point (we could say that it is for Medea), but in the case of Helen's abduction there is a twist: the Judgement of Paris that happened long before the ships were made.

[303] Collard (1991) 164.

of the mountain is like a cue line for Paris. His characterisation as a shepherd (βούτας) creates a powerful contrast with the three daughters of the blessed gods (τρισσὰς μακάρων παῖδας), both in terms of gender and of status.[304] The goddesses are carefree and powerful while waiting to be judged by a shepherd. The adjective Ἰδαῖος, that is often attributed to Paris in Euripides, does not suggest that the Judgement took place before Paris' identification, but brings to mind the location that actually saved and raised Paris, before the Judgement took place.[305] If we consider Paris' survival as the reason for everything that followed, then Mount Ida is a place of specific significance: it is the place where Paris has been safe, but also where he has been most vulnerable. Even in the next choral song (905-51), where the Judgement is not mentioned or narrated, the chorus curses Helen along with Paris (943), who is called Ἰδαῖος, evoking the Judgement[306] and how this was the event that led to their marriage.

Andromache

Although Hecuba curses Paris' ships for traveling towards the abduction of Helen (*Tro.* 122-37) as the chorus in *Hecuba* curses the cutting of trees in Ida for Paris' ships (629-37), she never blames Paris personally for what has happened. On the contrary, Andromache in *Trojan Women* (596-8) makes a straight attack against Paris, blaming him for sacrificing Troy for his 'bitter marriage'. Her

[304]Mossman (1995) 85. See also Gregory (1999) 125 on the contrast between the triad of the goddesses and the solitary mortal.

[305]Cf. Stinton (1965) 32-3 = (1990) 42.

[306]Collard (1991) 180.

attitude is the same in the *Andromache*: once more she blames Paris for bringing Helen in his bedchamber (103-4). Therefore, it only comes naturally for a play whose main character is Andromache to have a more extensive reference to the Judgement than *Hecuba*, as the myth displays Paris' share of the blame for the Trojan War. This does not mean that Andromache blames Paris more than Helen. Her 'advice' towards Hermione not to mimic her mother's erotic ways (229-31) shows that she also thinks like Hecuba that Helen seduced Paris once he came to Sparta. However, the *Andromache* discusses equally human and divine intervention and demonstrates how the combination of these two has brought disaster to Troy and the heroine herself.

In the *Andromache* the chorus gives a full account of the Judgement of Paris in the first *stasimon* (274-91):

ἦ μεγάλων ἀχέων ἄρ' ὑπῆρξεν, ὅτ' Ἰδαίαν
ἐς νάπαν ἦλθ' ὁ Μαί-
ας τε καὶ Διὸς τόκος,
τρίπωλον ἅρμα δαιμόνων
ἄγων τὸ καλλιζυγές,
ἔριδι στυγερᾷ κεκορυθμένον εὐμορφίας
σταθμοὺς ἔπι βούτας,
βοτῆρά τ' ἀμφὶ μονότροπον νεανίαν
ἔρημόν θ' ἑστιοῦχον αὐλάν.
ταὶ δ' ἐπεὶ ὑλόκομον νάπος ἦλυθον οὐρειᾶν
πιδάκων νίψαν αἰ-
γλᾶντα σώματα ῥοαῖς,
ἔβαν δὲ Πριαμίδαν ὑπερ-

βολαῖς λόγων δυσφρόνων
παραβαλλόμεναι, δολίοις δ' ἔλε Κύπρις λόγοις,
τερπνοῖς μὲν ἀκοῦσαι,
πικρὰν δὲ σύγχυσιν βίου Φρυγῶν πόλει 290
ταλαίνᾳ περγάμοις τε Τροίας.

Great were the woes that the son of Maia and of Zeus began when he came to Ida's glen with the goddesses three, a lovely team beneath a lovely yoke, helmeted for the contest of beauty, to the shepherd lodge, the solitary young shepherd, and his lonely hearth and home. When they came to the shady vale, they bathed their radiant bodies in the water of mountain springs. Then they went to the son of Priam vying with each other in excesses of spiteful speech. Aphrodite with deceptive words won the day, words delightful to hear but entailing bitter destruction for the luckless city and citadel of Troy. (trans. Kovacs)

The structure of the ode is similar to the one in *Hecuba*, starting, however, from the Judgement and going further into the past: the first strophic pair (274-92) discusses the Judgement of Paris in great detail, whereas the second set takes us further back in the past, when Hecuba spared the life of Paris (293-308):[307]

εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ κεφαλὰν ἔβαλεν κακὸν

[307]Allan (2000) 205-6.

ἁ τεκοῦσά νιν μόρον
πρὶν Ἰδαῖον κατοικίσαι λέπας,
ὅτε νιν παρὰ θεσπεσίῳ δάφνᾳ
βόασε Κασάνδρα κτανεῖν,
μεγάλαν Πριάμου πόλεως λώβαν.
τίν᾽ οὐκ ἐπῆλθε, ποῖον οὐκ ἐλίσσετο
δαμογερόντων βρέφος φονεύειν;
οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἐπ᾽ Ἰλιάσι ζυγὸν ἦλυθε
δούλιον, σύ τ᾽ ἂν γύναι,
τυράννων ἔσχες ἂν δόμων ἕδρας:
παρέλυσε δ᾽ ἂν Ἑλλάδος ἀλγεινοὺς
οὓς ἀμφὶ Τρωίαν πόνους
δεκέτεις ἀλάληντο νέοι λόγχαις.
λέχη τ᾽ ἔρημ᾽ ἂν οὔποτ᾽ ἐξελείπετο,
καὶ τεκέων ὀρφανοὶ γέροντες.

Would that the mother who bore him as destruction had cast this curse over her head before he came to dwell on the rock of Ida when beside the prophetic laurel Cassandra shouted her order to kill him, the city of Priam's great ruin! Whom of the city's elders did she not approach, not beg to murder the child? Slavery's yoke would not have come upon the women of Troy and you, woman, would have come to possess the throne of royalty. She could have loosed Hellas from the grievous toils of ten years' exile the young men with their spears suffered about Troy. And marriage-beds would not now be left desolate and old men bereft of their children. (trans. Kovacs)

This second section is built upon the idea that nothing would have happened if the young prince had been killed upon birth.[308] It also clarifies the true meaning of Ἰδαῖος (295 πρὶν Ἰδαῖον κατοικίσαι λέπας). Evidently here, Paris was considered Ἰδαῖος when he came to reside in Ida and not after the Judgement of Paris took place. Again, the significance of the place as his shelter is clear.

The narration of the Judgement by the chorus in the first part of the ode is detailed. The chorus narrates how Hermes escorted the goddesses to Ida, their preparation before the Judgement via the very common image of bathing, their arguing and spiteful speech and finally Aphrodite's prevalence over the others through the use of deceptive words (δολίοις λόγοις). Aphrodite, therefore, tricked Paris into thinking that his choice would be uncomplicated, whereas in the end it really was not. The feminine rivalry expressed in the reference to the Judgement points towards the conflict between Hermione and Andromache,[309] especially taking into consideration the use of 'spiteful speech'. The Judgement is also about a feminine dispute resolved by a male authority (in the case of Hermione and Andromache it will be Menelaus).[310] Therefore, this extended reference to the Judgement of Paris in *Andromache* fits the overall dramatic planning of the play and refers to different aspects of the tragedy's plot. Placed

[308]Stinton (1965) 21 = (1990) 33.

[309]Allan (2000) 205. See also Wilson (1979) 9: 'Casually both the Judgement and the war itself are part of a sequence of *eris* leading to the domestic strife between Hermione and Andromache.'

[310]McClure (1999) 163.

just before the entrance of Menelaus, the *stasimon* not only brings forth the role of Paris and Helen in the Trojan War, but also draws parallels between the strife among the goddesses and the one between Hermione and Andromache.

The narration of the Judgement by the Phthian women in the *Andromache* is different from that of the Trojan women in the *Hecuba*. For the women of Troy, the Judgement is presented as the ultimate starting point of the war, while in the *Andromache* the Greek chorus structures the past of the war with Paris as a focal figure (by going further back to his exposition and Hecuba's failure to kill him). True, as Kyriakou argues, the chorus of the *Andromache* does not expand on further details, nor explicitly recognise any 'causal connections with the present and the future'.[311] However, there is a connection, albeit not causal, between the events of the Judgement and the situation of the play that is explained about two hundred lines after the chorus' narration of the Judgement (465-70):

> οὐδέποτε δίδυμα λέκτρ' ἐπαινέσω βροτῶν
> οὐδ' ἀμφιμάτορας κόρους,
> ἔριν μελάθρων δυσμενεῖς τε λύπας.
> μίαν μοι στεργέτω πόσις γάμοις
> ἀκοινώνητον ἀμὸς εὐνάν.

[311] Kyriakou (2016) 140-1. She argues this in regards to the chorus's understanding of the gods, making a point about the 'reluctance of the women to say anything that might offend a divinity'.

> Never shall I praise doubleness of marriage among mortals and sons with two mothers. It is strife and hateful pain for a house. May my husband be content in marriage with a single mate and a bed unshared! (trans. Kovacs)

'Doubleness of marriage' is what caused the biggest strife (ἔριν) possible, the Trojan war, as well, while Aphrodite's 'cunning words' are her arguments for claiming another man's wife. The Judgement of Paris supports the chorus's view that it is impossible to avoid conflict when a man holds two women. They have already pointed out, however, that, even worse, a woman between two men can cause actual war.

In the *Andromache*, the chorus reveals that Paris is probably the main reason that caused the Trojan war to unravel, despite all this being under divine planning (the prophecy in the beginning of his life, the Judgement of Paris, etc.).[312] Thus, their account of the Judgement is more elaborate than the one in the *Hecuba*. The Trojan women of the *Hecuba*, however, are more concise, but more tragic in their narration. Words of pain, destruction and disaster (πόνοι, πόνων, κακόν ὀλέθριον, συμφορά) recur throughout the reference, while the final ἐκρίθη ἔρις (644) bears a sense of fatality that translates the self-experienced destruction to its maximum. Besides, the chorus has begun with a lament about their future and where they will end up in their first choral song (*Hec.* 444-83),

[312] See also *And.* 706-7 where Peleus points to Paris of Ida as the ultimate enemy (μείζω ἐχθρόν), despite having also spoken about all Spartan women, including Helen, being whores (590).

because this is their ultimate worry; the account of the past is just a reminder of how their misery started.

The *Andromache* reference on the other hand closes with: 'entailing bitter destruction for the luckless city and citadel of Troy' (πικρὰν δὲ σύγχυσιν βίου Φρυγῶν πόλει / ταλαίνᾳ περγάμοις τε Τροίας), showing that the Greek chorus are sympathising with Andromache and the people of Troy, while simultaneously distancing themselves even more from Paris and the destruction that he brought upon his own city.[313] The Trojan war is represented almost as a fully Trojan affair; placing the initial blame on Paris, makes it even more so.

Helen

Up to this point, all references to the Judgement of Paris in Euripides' Trojan plays come from the chorus, with the exception of Helen using it as an argument in the *agon* of the *Trojan Women*. Helen, however, refers to the Judgement in her prologue to the *Helen* too. Her account stresses her role as an innocent victim of divine rivalry and a tool in Aphrodite's hands (27-9):[314]

> τοὐμὸν δὲ κάλλος, εἰ καλὸν τὸ δυστυχές,
> Κύπρις προτείνασ' ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος γαμεῖ,
> νικᾷ.

[313] See also the fourth *stasimon* of the *Andromache*, where the Greek women lament over Troy's abandonment by the gods (1009-27).

[314] Allan (2008) 149.

> Cypris offered marriage to my beautiful self – if what is unfortunate can be called beautiful – to Alexandros and won the contest. (trans. Kovacs)

The way Helen tells the story, 'in a curt outline', follows 'the normal fashion of Euripides' prologues',[315] but also presents the story in a more factual way; it is almost as if the abruptness and formality project the reality of the story. Helen's concise account of the events reveals an essence of self-experienced truth on her behalf, that perhaps the choral references lack. In other words, her first-hand experience or knowledge, her role in the story and her affiliation with Aphrodite, do not allow for a more lyric or poetic telling, but serve a confident and clear listing of the events. On the contrary, both choruses know the events almost as a rumour or a story.[316] The dominant role of Aphrodite is also prominent further on, when Helen talks about Paris sailing to Greece with Aphrodite (233-9), about her wedding with Paris under the guidance of the goddess (1118-21), as well as when she talks about her beauty as a gift from Cypris (362-6).[317] In this

[315]Stinton (1965) 35 = (1990) 44.

[316] Note also Agamemnon's reference to the Judgement as μῦθος Ἀργείων (*IA* 72) and the way the chorus of young girls tell the story in *Iphigenia at Aulis* (see further in the chapter, pp. 172-3). For them, too, the Judgement is a story they have heard of, but they do not have personal experience of it.

[317]See also Blondell (2013) 209: 'Helen's beauty therefore becomes the primary target of the self-hatred she inherits from her character in Homer.'

way Helen overturns the notion that she seduced Paris and shows her beauty to be a curse rather than a gift.[318]

It appears that the Judgement of Paris was not enough of an exonarating excuse for the Helen of Homer or tragedy on its own,[319] although Euripides debated upon the idea in various Trojan plays. This is why in the *Helen*, she appears to be a different heroine with a different background story, that goes beyond the Judgement of Paris to demonstrate her innocence.[320] The version of the story that uses Helen's *eidolon* being transferred to Troy, while Helen is in Egypt, was found in Stesichorus' *Palinode* as we are informed by Plato's *Phaedrus* (243a-b) (= Finglass fr. 91a):[321]

> ἔστι δὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι περὶ μυθολογίαν καθαρμὸς ἀρχαῖος, ὃν Ὅμηρος μὲν οὐκ ἠΐσθετο, Στησίχορος δέ. τῶν γὰρ ὀμμάτων στερηθεὶς διὰ τὴν Ἑλένης κακηγορίαν οὐκ ἠγνόησεν ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος, ἀλλ' ἅτε μουσικὸς ὢν ἔγνω τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ποιεῖ εὐθύς.
>
> οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος,
>
> οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν ἐϋσσέλμοις,
>
> οὐδ' ἵκεο Πέργαμα Τροίας.
>
> καὶ ποιήσας δὴ τὴν καλουμένην Παλινωιδίαν παραχρῆμα ἀνέβλεψεν.

[318]See also *Hel.* 304-5.

[319]Dale (1967) viii: only Gorgias undertook the task 'just to show that it could be done if you were clever enough with words.'

[320]Ibid; Lange (1995) 142.

[321]Finglass (2014) 124.

> And for those who have sinned in matters of mythology there is an ancient purification, unknown to Homer, but known to Stesichorus. For when he was stricken with blindness for speaking ill of Helen, he was not, like Homer, ignorant of the reason, but since he was educated, he knew it and straightway he writes the poem:
>
> "That saying is not true; thou didsnt not go within the well-oared ships, nor didst thou come to the walls of Troy";
>
> and when he had written all the poem, which is called the recantation (palinode), he saw again at once. (trans. Fowler)

Stesichorus first wrote a song blaming Helen and was punished with blindness by the gods. Thus, he wrote a second song (a palinode) defending Helen and her reputation and was cured from his blindness.[322] Why, though, did Stesichorus, and after him Euripides decide to use the *eidolon* version to defend Helen? If the Judgement of Paris was a given (which it was in Euripides, and it is possible that it was mentioned in Stesichorus as well), it should be a very good excuse: Helen was obliged to obey a goddess.

Despite the Judgement proving Aphrodite's role and influence, if Helen did end up in Troy it is expected that she would have had sexual intercourse with Paris at some point. In *Iliad* 3, she refuses to go with Paris to their chambers, but Aphrodite makes her go. Also, she is not taken away as a slave or as a spoil of war; Paris takes her to Troy to make her his lawful wife. Therefore, although Helen is

[322]See also Kannicht (1969) 27; Lindsay (1974) 120; Austin (1994) 94; Allan (2008) 19 and 21; Finglass and Davies (2014), 335-7.

rid of the blame through the Judgement of Paris, if she did end up in Troy, her honour as a wife is spoilt. This Stesichorean version of Helen's myth takes the Homeric version, which is slightly more positive (as it demonstrates Helen's unwillingness towards Paris and Aphrodite) a step further.[323] Helen in Egypt is not just a chaste wife, she is a virtuous woman, attached to her husband in a "Penelopean" way.

In the *Helen* her constant struggle to escape Theoklymenos and preserve her honour with the help of Theonoe[324] enhances her goodness and virtue. Euripides does not just treat a 'bad' woman sympathetically as in other dramas (e.g. *Medea*), but in the case of Helen overturns completely the idea of women as 'beautiful evils' by presenting the most beautiful woman as an exemplum of virtue and honour.[325] In Euripides' play, Helen does not defend herself in terms of whether she is to blame for the Trojan War, but is determined to retain her chastity. Thus the Judgement of Paris, despite being taken for granted in the play, would be a controversial source of defence if used on its own.

On the contrary, the *eidolon* story fully exonerates Helen so that 'after the honeymoon she will arrive in Sparta as fresh as the day she left.'[326] In fact, the final appearance of the Dioscuri is the divine intervention needed to establish Helen not only as a chaste wife, but also as a heroine to be honoured in Spartan

[323]Allan (2008) 21-2.

[324]Austin (1994) 148.

[325]Blondell (2013) 203 and 208.

[326]Austin (1994) 149.

cult.[327] The play in its structure is almost an attempt to explain how a woman – the symbol of Greek destruction – ended up being honoured as a divine figure in the very place that she abandoned as an adulteress of a wife.

Two worlds co-exist in *Helen*: a real one and an ideal/symbolic one.[328] They offer the opportunity to develop wider themes that have to do with the opposition between reality and illusion; and this is only natural for a play whose main topic is mistaken identity.[329] In this context of wider themes, there has been a debate on the purpose of the play's second *stasimon* and of the myth of Persephone in a play like *Helen*.[330] The role of Aphrodite in making Demeter forget her distress and smile (1346-52) displays the power of the goddess over mortals and immortals equally. Helen's version of the story, with the massively important role of Aphrodite, is affirmed.

The wider discussion that the Euripidean Trojan plays cause about Paris and Helen and whether they are to blame for the Trojan War raises questions about responsibility, when mortal reality is affected by divine planning or action. An idea of divine planning and its effect on humans in Euripides is echoed in the final lines of the *Andromache* (1284-7), which are the same as in *Helen* (1688-92):

[327] Foley (1992) 145.

[328] See Segal (1971) 558.

[329] Swift (2009) 421

[330] For an overview of this debate see: Allan (2008) 295.

πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί·
καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ᾽ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη, 1690
τῶν δ᾽ ἀδοκήτων πόρον ηὗρε θεός.
τοιόνδ᾽ ἀπέβη τόδε πρᾶγμα.

What heaven sends has many shapes, and many things the gods accomplish against our expectation. What men look for is not brought to pass, but a god finds a way to achieve the unexpected. Such was the outcome of this story. (trans. Kovacs)

The gnomic character of these lines and their exact repetition in both tragedies could be showing the unexpectedness of life and divine will, as these are portrayed in the tragedies of Euripides. The lines were a way to finish a play, albeit without an actual end, by revealing the controversial nature of the themes that unravelled on stage. Although many of these standardised closing lines have been considered interpolations as they are found in various other tragedies by Euripides, it is possible that they were there for a reason: these lines can show the limits of closure and thus draw boundaries between the world of the play and the world of the myth.[331]

Both in the *Andromache* and in *Helen* this type of closure is a pointer to the unexpected nature of divine influence, which, nevertheless, mortals have to

[331] Roberts (1987) 59-60. See also 61-2 for possible reasons on why these lines are usually performed by the chorus.

overcome as well as they can, by staying loyal to their moral values and ideas. Dunn argues that 'In *Helen* and *Andromache*, the exit lines have no such relevance to the preceding action; in neither play can the surprising turn of the plot be directly attributed to a god, and the closing moral is no more than a vague and universal observation that god moves in mysterious ways.'[332] Although this is a fair point as far as the plots *per se* are concerned, both plays, especially the *Helen*, are based on a past deeply rooted in divine intervention, including the Judgement of Paris. Since both allude to such a god-based event of the past (and acknowledge it, among other events, as part of the series of events that lead to the *status quo* in which we find the protagonists in the plays), then an allusion to the unpredictability of divine movement is far from irrelevant.

Iphigenia in Aulis

In Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis* the Judgement of Paris seems to be an established fact when speaking of the beginning of the war. In this context, four references to the Judgement occur thoughout the play. The first is at the very beginning, by Agamemnon (71-2):

> ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκ Φρυγῶν ὁ τὰς θεὰς
> κρίνων ὅδ', ὡς ὁ μῦθος Ἀργείων ἔχει,
>
> The man who judged the goddesses (so runs the story
> of the Argives) came from Phrygia

[332] Dunn (1996) 136. See also 17-18 and 24-5.

The next two are by the chorus (178-84):

[…] ἀπ᾽
Εὐρώτα δονακοτρόφου
Πάρις ὁ βουκόλος ἂν ἔλαβε
δῶρον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας,
ὅτ᾽ ἐπὶ κρηναίαισι δρόσοις
Ἥρᾳ Παλλάδι τ᾽ ἔριν ἔριν
μορφᾶς ἁ Κύπρις ἔσχεν.

Whom Paris the cowherd
took from the banks
of the reedy Eurotas,
a gift from Aphrodite received
when near the dewy spring
Cypris joined in strife, in strife
over beauty with Hera and Pallas. (trans. Kovacs)

and (573-81):

ἔμολες, ὦ Πάρις, ἅτε σύ γε
βουκόλος ἀργενναῖς ἐτράφης
Ἰδαίαις παρὰ μόσχοις,
βάρβαρα συρίζων, Φρυγίων
αὐλῶν Ὀλύμπου καλάμοις
μιμήματ᾽ ἀναπύων,
εὔθηλοι δὲ τρέφοντο βόες·
ὅθι κρίσις σ᾽ ἔμενεν θεᾶν,

ἅ σ᾽ ἐς Ἑλλάδα πέμπει·

I have been told, Paris,
how you were raised as cowherd among the white
Idean calves,
playing Asian melodies upon the syrinx,
imitating upon your reed pipe
the Phrygian aulos of Olympus
while cows with full udders were grazing.
There the judgement of the goddesses awaited you,
a judgement that sent you to Hellas. (trans. Kovacs)

The final one comes in Iphigenia's lament (1284-1309):

νιφόβολον Φρυγῶν νάπος Ἴδας τ᾽ ὄρεα,
Πρίαμος ὅθι ποτὲ βρέφος ἁπαλὸν ἔβαλε
ματέρος ἀποπρὸ νοσφίσας ἐπὶ μόρῳ
θανατόεντι Πάριν, ὃς Ἰδαῖος Ἰ-
δαῖος ἐλέγετ᾽ ἐλέγετ᾽ ἐν Φρυγῶν πόλει,
μή ποτ᾽ ὤφελες τὸν ἀμφὶ
βουσὶ βουκόλον τραφέντ᾽
Ἀλέξανδρον οἰκίσαι
ἀμφὶ τὸ λευκὸν ὕδωρ, ὅθι κρῆναι
Νυμφᾶν κεῖνται
λειμών τ᾽ ἔρνεσι θάλλων
χλωροῖς καὶ ῥοδόεντ᾽
ἄνθε᾽ ὑακίνθινά τε θεαῖς δρέπειν: ἔνθα ποτὲ

Παλλὰς ἔμολε καὶ δολιόφρων Κύπρις

Ἥρα θ᾽ Ἑρμᾶς θ᾽, ὁ Διὸς ἄγγελος,

ἃ μὲν ἐπὶ πόθῳ τρυφῶσα

Κύπρις, ἃ δὲ δορὶ Παλλάς, 1300

Ἥρα τε Διὸς ἄνακτος

εὐναῖσι βασιλίσιν,

κρίσιν ἐπὶ στυγνὰν ἔριν τε

καλλονᾶς, ἐμοὶ δὲ θάνατον —

Snow-covered Phrygian glade and peaks of Ida,

where Priam once cast the tender babe,

taking it from his mother to be given to fate

and death, Paris, who was called, was called Idean,

Idean in the city of the Phrygians,

how I wish you had never

settled Alexandros,

raised as a cowherd among the cows,

near the bright water, where lie

the springs of the nymphs

and the meadow luxuriant with shoots

of green and roses

and hyacinths for goddesses to pick. To that place

there once came Pallas and Cypris with guile in her

heart

and Hera, and <with them> Hermes, Zeus's messenger,

the one, Cypris, pluming herself in love,

Pallas on the spear of war,

and Hera on sharing the royal bed

of King Zeus.

They came for a quarrelsome contest

about beauty, but to me it spelled death. (trans. Kovacs)

The way these references evolve and differentiate from one another could potentially indicate a shift within the play of the protagonists' comprehension of the divine and of their attitudes towards myth itself. [333]

Agamemnon refers first to the Judgement using the phrase: 'so runs the story of the Argives' (72: ὡς ὁ μῦθος Ἀργείων ἔχει), implying potentially that he is not utterly convinced on the validity of the story. Next the chorus of the girls that have come with Clytemnestra and Iphigenia for the latter's supposed marriage, also narrate the Judgement in a way that appears superficial. The references to the banks of Eurotas and the lovely springs, in their lyricism, show the chorus's ignorance of the severity of the reality; it seems like they are reproducing a story heard before. Their second reference to Paris, on the other hand, comes in the context of a song about marriage, where virtue is sang to be the one trace of behaviour in men that adds to one's city (570-2); Paris is the

[333] Despite the textual difficulties of the play, the passages that refer to the Judgement of Paris seem to be authentic, except for a few details that do not really affect the discussion that follows. For an extended apparatus criticus see Diggle (1994).

example of the opposite.[334] In all this, not once do the women seem to acknowledge that this is more than a myth. They do not know yet about Iphigenia's sacrifice, so they do not need to ponder on the nature of the divine and the role it plays in human affairs just yet.

In the *IA* there appears to be an abstract view of the divine by the protagonists.[335] Iphigenia's retelling of the Judgement of Paris in her lament is probably the first sign of concrete realisation on the role of the divine and its irrationality in human suffering. Just a few lines earlier (1201), Clytemnestra has reasonably argued that, if a child needs to be slaughtered, then it needs to be Hermione, as Helen's and Menelaus' daughter. Iphigenia in turn (1236-7) asks Agamemnon what she has to do with the wedding of Helen to Paris. Both are valid arguments, except for a major detail: this is what Artemis wants and it does not have to make sense to any of them. This is the situation and, as mortals, each one of them needs to make their own decisions.

Iphigenia's narration of the Judgement is different from that of the chorus; otherwise, it did not really need to be there in the first place. Iphigenia wishes (μή ποτ') that none of this had happened, being the first person in the

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[334] See also Michelakis (2006) 28: 'The play's attitude towards myth shows a debt also to other types of epic and lyric literature, more celebratory and glamorous in tone [...]' and 41 on the chorus: 'They also offer emotional, moral and mythological filters through which to view what happens on stage.'

[335] Michelakis (2006) 65: 'Such generalized and abstract references to the divine do not just divert attention away from Artemis as a controlling power behind the plot. They also cast doubts over the power of traditional gods at large to shape human life.

play to realise the continuity of the events from the Judgement to her sacrifice. Under this light, the way the Judgement of Paris is treated in the *IA* is potentially an indicator of attitudes towards the divine, as these are developed within the play. The final saving of Iphigenia by Artemis is the ultimate confirmation that the gods have played and will play a bigger role in the Trojan war than the protagonists have allowed themselves to believe.

The Judgement of Paris is by no means used as an argument to exonerate Helen in the *IA*. Between Agamemnon speaking of mutual desire between Helen and Paris in the beginning of the play (75-6), hinting that she wanted to follow Paris to Troy and the chorus blaming Helen and her weddings near the end (1253-4), there is no room to think that Helen has been absolved of her share of responsibility. Even when Iphigenia, in her lament, retells the Judgement and ca. 70 lines later appears to have acquired a deeper acceptance and understanding of the divine as she accepts her fate, the Judgement reference is her last cry of despair on the fact that such a petty contest among goddesses has ultimately led to her own death.[336]

Orestes

Only in *Orestes*, performed in 408 B.C., and thus one of the latest surviving play relevant to the Trojan War, did Euripides' characters explicitly transfer a

[336] In fact, Iphigenia contrasts Paris' fate to her own, see Michelakis (2006) 18.

substantial part of the blame to the gods.[337] Although the Judgement is not used by Helen as her defense in that play – she rather speaks of a vague 'heaven-sent frenzy' (79: θεομανεῖ πότμωι) – Apollo saves her under Zeus' command (1625-45) and she becomes immortal, as the gods finally take on the responsibility for the Trojan War (1639-42):

> ἐπεὶ θεοὶ τῷ τῆσδε καλλιστεύματι
> Ἕλληνας εἰς ἓν καὶ Φρύγας συνήγαγον,
> θανάτους τ' ἔθηκαν, ὡς ἀπαντλοῖεν χθονὸς
> ὕβρισμα θνητῶν ἀφθόνου πληρώματος.

For it was by her beauty that the gods brought Greeks and Phrygians to one place and caused deaths, in order to relieve the earth of the rank growth of mortals' boundless population. (trans. Kovacs)

The aetiology of the Trojan War, as displayed in Apollo's final speech, in *Orestes* takes us back to the first fragment of the *Cypria*, which refers to a plan of Zeus to depopulate the Earth. The final prophecies of Apollo and of the Dioscuri in

[337] In *Helen* there is blame on the goddesses for the Judgement in terms of starting off all this row of events, but the ulterior aim is to prove Helen chaste in her own will, outside divine intervention; her chastity will be, nevertheless, acknowledged by the gods by the end of the play.

both *Orestes* and *Helen*[338] establish Euripides' variations of the mythological tradition by reaching further into the aftermath of the plays, reasserting the future as the audience knows it, while he might have departed from mainstream tradition.[339] The appearance of a *deus ex machina* in the end of each of these plays affirms Helen's exoneration, albeit for different reasons. In the *Orestes*, the whole play seems to be about Helen –indeed, Paris is only mentioned twice (1364-5 by the chorus: Ἰδαῖον Πάριν, and this Ἰδαῖον is as close to the Judgement as we ever get, and 1409-10 when the Phrygian servant calls Helen Paris' wife: Πάρις γυναικός) – and there seems to be a constant discussion on what she had done wrong.[340]

Conclusion

In Euripides' plays, even those who accept the Judgement of Paris as a fact do not claim that Helen is innocent on these grounds. Although in the *Trojan Women* the initial dialogue between Athena and Poseidon establishes the distinction and distance between the world of the gods and the world of

[338] See also Eur. *El.* 1282-3: 'Rather in order to cause strife and the slaying of mortals, Zeus sent an image of Helen to Troy.' (Ζεὺς δ', ὡς ἔρις γένοιτο καὶ φόνος βροτῶν / εἴδωλον Ἑλένη ἐξέπεμψ' ἐς Ἴλιον). The Dioscuri here, too, refer to the plan of Zeus to depopulate the Earth, but also attribute the *eidolon* story to Zeus, rather than to Hera.

[339] Roberts (1997) 256.

[340] See for example 247-50 (Orestes and Electra on Helen being a great evil), 741 (Pylades calling Helen κακίστην), 1131-52 (Pylades arguing on why it is fair to kill Helen), etc.

mortals[341] and Poseidon questions Athena's cruelty towards Troy and now the Greeks, it is evident that depending on the circumstances, it is almost natural for the gods to change their moods and desires. Eventually, up to a point, divine intervention is not an excuse for certain actions, but it is identified as an influence that complicates any decision process. Although the Judgement is a known story, Helen is repeatedly criticised for her own 'choice' to follow Paris to Troy. This criticism is based on Greek notions about responsibility and divine action. According to these, it is possible for a god to interfere and even lend a helping hand, but the main body of action and effort must come from a human.[342] Taking this view into account, it is easier to understand why the Judgement alone can put a great amount of blame on Paris, but also on Helen. Divine planning does not exclude human responsibility; rather it creates the circumstances under which the mortals have to make decisions and take action. Yet for Euripides, the share of responsibility between gods and mortals is always debatable.

[341]Lloyd (2009) 192. Cf. Burian (2007) 18-19 on the first stasimon of *Helen*: 'The evocation of past sorrows leads to a general theological conclusion: if even a child of Zeus can be unjustly slandered through Greece, divine power is incomprehensible and unpredictable (1137-50).'

[342]See Fraenkel (1950) 371-3 on the distinction between αἴτιος and μεταίτιος and also Lawrence (2013) 32-3 on the distinction between consciousness and the unconscious of divine interference.

b) Comedy: Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros*

The discussion of the Judgement of Paris in comedy must, inevitably, concentrate on Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* (*c.* 430 B.C.) Although thematically there are comedies that might have included the Judgement in their plot, like Alexis' Ἑλένης ἁρπαγή and Cratinus' Ἰδαῖοι, we have clear evidence relevant to the Judgement only in the fragments of the *Dionysalexandros*. Due to the fragmentary state of comedies now lost, there is the impression that Old Comedy does not often use conventional mythological cycles as tragedy and satyr play do; thus, *Dionysalexandros* appears to be one of those cases that transfers a clearly mythological theme, the beginning of the Trojan War, into the genre of comedy.[343] In doing so, despite its comic character, the play shows clear satyrical characteristics that have raised a long-lasting debate concerning the genre it belongs to and the nature of its chorus. The connections between the myth of the Judgement and satyr play have already been discussed in the first part of this chapter. It is now worth looking into the role of the myth within comedy, especially in terms of whether the theme in itself guided the play in a more satyrical direction. The most important piece of evidence for the *Dionysalexandros* is a papyrus (P.Oxy. 663) that contains the play's hypothesis

[343] In the first two decades of the second half of the 5th c. B.C. (where Cratinus belongs) about 26% of titles indicate plays with plots taken by mythology, whereas for the next two decades this percentage rises to 47% (Bowie (2000) 321-2).

col. i

]. .

. . . . . .] ζητ( )

. . . . . .] παν

. . . . . .] αυτον μη

. . . . . κ]ρίσιν ὁ Ἑρμ(ῆς)

ἀπέρχ]εται κ(αὶ) οὗτοι

μ(ὲν) πρ(ὸς) τοὺς θεατάς

τινα π(ερὶ) ὑῶν ποιή(σεως)

διαλέγονται κ(αὶ)

παραφανέντα τὸν

Διόνυσον ἐπισκώ(πτουσι) (καὶ)

χλευάζου(σιν)· ὁ δ(ὲ) πα-

ραγενομένων <

> αὐτῶι

παρὰ μ(ὲν) Ἥρα[ς] τυραννίδο(ς)

ἀκινήτου, πα[ρ]ὰ δ' Ἀθηνᾶς

εὐψυχί(ας) κ(α)τ(ὰ) πόλεμο(ν), τῆς

δ' Ἀφροδί(της) κάλλιστό(ν) τε κ(αὶ)

ἐπέραστον αὐτὸν ὑπάρ-

χειν, κρίνει ταύτην νικᾶν.

μ(ε)τ(ὰ) δ(ὲ) ταῦ(τα) πλεύσας εἰς

Λακεδαίμο(να) (καὶ) τὴν Ἑλένην

ἐξαγαγὼν ἐπανέρχετ(αι)

εἰς τὴν Ἴδην. ἀκού(ει) δ(ὲ) με-

τ' ὀλίγον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πυρ-

πολ(εῖν) τὴν χώ(ραν) (καὶ) [ζητεῖν

col. ii

ΔΙΟΝΥΣ[ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Η [

ΚΡΑΤ[ΕΙΝΟΥ

τὸν Ἀλέξαν[δ(ρον). τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἑλένη(ν)

εἰς τάλαρον ὡς τά(χιστα

κρύψας, ἑαυτὸν δ' εἰς κριὸ[ν

μ(ε)τ(α)σκευάσας ὑπομένει

τὸ μέλλον. παραγενό-

μενος δ' Ἀλέξανδ(ρος) κ(αὶ) φωρά-

σας ἑκάτερο(ν) ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὰς

ναῦς πρ(ος)τάττει ὡς παραδώσων

τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖ(ς). ὀκνούσης δ(ὲ) τῆς

Ἑλένη(ς) ταύτην μ(ὲν) οἰκτείρας

ὡς γυναῖχ' ἕξων ἐπικατέχ(ει),

τὸν δ(ὲ) Διόνυς(ον) ὡς παραδοθη-

όμενο(ν) ἀποστέλλει, συν-

ακολουθ(οῦσι) δ' οἱ σάτυ(ροι) παρακαλοῦν-

τές τε κ(αὶ) οὐκ ἂν προδώσειν

αὐτὸν φάσκοντες. κωμῳ-

δεῖται δ' ἐν τῷ δράματι Πε-

ρικλῆς μάλα πιθανῶς δι'

ἐμφάσεως ὡς ἐπαγηοχὼς

τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν πόλεμον

...judgement, Hermes (5) leaves the stage and these talk to the audience about the generation of sons, and when Dionysus appears (10), they mock and jeer at him. When <the goddesses> arrive, Dionysus <being offered> by Hera unshaken sovereignty, by Athena (15) courage in war and by Aphrodite the prospect of becoming the most beautiful and the most beloved of all, adjudges the victory to Aphrodite. Afterwards, he sails (20) to Lacedaemon, carries away Helen and returns to Mt. Ida. Hearing soon after that the Achaeans are ravaging the countryside and [seeking] (25) Alexandros, he quickly (30) hides Helen in a basket, disguises himself as a ram and awaits consequences. Alexandros appears and detects them both, and orders them to be taken to the (35) ships intending to hand them over to the Achaeans; but when Helen objects, he takes pity on her and keeps her to be his wife, and sends off Dionysus (40) to be handed over. The satyrs accompany Dionysus encouraging him and maintaining that they would not betray him. In the play, (45) Pericles is satirised very skilfully by innuendo as having brought the war upon the Athenians. (trans. Bakola)

Unfortunately, apart from the hypothesis, the fragments of the *Dionysalexandros* barely reach sixteen lines in total and are sparse. The advantage of a hypothesis is that, potentially, it can offer an overview of the whole play instead of individual words, lines or scenes. However, in nature, it entails the subjectivity of its author, compared to the fragments, which are the rawest type of material that can come down to us. Moreover, it is impossible to date the hypothesis or be sure about its purpose. Different

hypotheses have been proposed for different readership and functions.[344] In that respect, it is difficult to know what level or prior knowledge of the play the author of P.Oxy. 663 presupposed and, so, we cannot be sure how detailed it actually is. Also, there is always the chance that it was intended for personal use of the owner, as a set of notes to give an overview of the main points of the play or even those points that were of particular interest to the author and owner.

Despite the difficulties and uncertainties that arise, thanks to P.Oxy. 663, we can be sure that in the *Dionysalexandros* the Judgement of Paris was represented on stage in some form and that the judge of the beauty contest was Dionysus. According to the papyrus, the chorus jeers and mocks the god when he appears on stage, then the goddesses arrive and the Judgement takes place. Although it is not explicitly stated in the hypothesis that Dionysus is disguised as Paris, the chorus mocking him suggests this assumption. From fr. 40 we can deduce that Dionysus is wearing his usual κροκωτὸς χιτών, which he also wears in the *Frogs* (46). The source of the chorus's laughter was probably Dionysus' disguise as Paris. Just as Heracles cannot restrain his laughter when seeing Dionysus' attempt to pose as the hero (*Frogs* 46-7 and 49-50) with his saffron chiton and the lion-head on top, the chorus could be mocking Dionysus for a similarly ridiculous attempt at disguise as shepherd Paris in the

[344] See for example Mossman (2010) on Euripidean hypotheseis and their possible teaching/practicing of rhetoric function and von Möllendorf (2010) on metrical hypotheseis of Aristophanic comedy and their appeal to the *pepaideumenoi* or their owner's intention to display his ability to deal with a canonical text.

Dionysalexandros. Alternatively, they could have been mocking him for disguising himself as a mortal. The irony of the whole situation is striking; what is it that a god cannot do in his original form, but can do as a mortal?

The motif of disguise and transformation is of pivotal importance in the play. It appears from the hypothesis that Dionysus disguises himself as Paris in order to judge the three goddesses. However, he probably does not know yet the bribes that are going to be offered to him as Paris. If that is true, then Helen is not even in his head by the time the Judgement starts. Thus, it appears that his initial purpose of disguise is to take up the role of the judge with whatever advantages this may bring (observing the goddesses, having them beg for the win, see them naked, etc.) And this is the answer to the question of what he cannot do as a god, but he can do as a specific mortal.[345]

Once the goddesses come on stage and promise different rewards to win the beauty contest, Aphrodite is judged the winner (12-19). Aphrodite's bribe is slightly different from the usual: instead of offering Helen or the most beautiful woman in the world to Paris as his wife, in this adaptation of the myth she offers to make him irresistibly beautiful and attractive (κάλλιστό(ν) τε κ(αὶ) ἐπέραστον αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν). Such an alteration could easily be an initiative of the author of the hypothesis; however, since the Judgement of Paris is such a

[345] It has been suggested (see in the Art chapter, pp. 55-6), due to the archaeological findings of Judgement of Paris depictions that incorporated Dionysiac scenery or Dionysus himself, that there might have been a common tradition of Paris and Dionysus that inspired Cratinus when coming up with the interchangeability of the two figures as they are portrayed in the *Dionysalexandros*.

well-known myth, this plot twist is certainly not accidental; promising Helen is such a mainstream version of the story, that if it was in the play, the author of the hypothesis would naturally reproduce it in his text. The significant alteration of the norm indicates that this alternative bribe was actually to be found in the *Dionysalexandros.* That fact alone, however, does not preclude Helen from being mentioned at all. Due to the brevity that a hypothesis calls for, its author could easily have left out an allusion to Helen somewhere within Aphrodite's speech: the goddess, for example, might have said that she can make Paris/Dionysus so irresistible that even Helen would be attracted to him.

Aphrodite's bribe in the form found in the hypothesis also fits into this motif of Dionysus and disguise/transformation. Through Aphrodite Dionysus goes through a second layer of disguise: he gets the chance to become the most beautiful man. Again, the irony is there: as a god he certainly already is more beautiful than any mortal. However, in his actual form he cannot appear in front of a mortal woman or else she would perish (this is why Zeus transformed himself every time he approached a girl). It is strange that the god of transformations would need Aphrodite to turn himself into anything. It seems that Aphrodite with her bribe offers an invaluable opportunity to Dionysus for limitless access to mortal women. This unlimited access and the two layers of transformation are the factors that probably lead him to dare to go after Helen out of all women in Greece.

Near the end of the play we find a third layer of transformation: the point where Dionysus transforms into a ram (lines 30-2 of the hypothesis). Connections between Dionysus and the ram can be found in one of the Thurii

and in one of the Pelina Bacchic tablets,[346] although there is no evidence that the god was generally imagined as a ram.[347] There is a chance that the choice of the animal by Cratinus pointed towards the Orphic tradition and the Orphics' reputation as hypocrites,[348] stressing Dionysus' ability to transform on his own all along, but choosing to do so only when he is faced with the responsibility of his actions. The mockery would be appropriate for the time, as 'under the stresses of the Peloponnesian War and the Plague people would turn increasingly to superstition'.[349] But even if a connection with the Orphics was not Cratinus' intention, still, Dionysus transforming into an animal when he needs to take responsibility, constitutes the third level of his transformations and shows that he is the master of disguise. By turning into a ram both his disguise as Paris (probably using a shepherd's outfit or something similar) and Aphrodite's transformation fade away at once.

Although the Judgement is not the main point of *Dionysalexandros*, it must have covered a whole scene of the play. By changing Aphrodite's gift, Cratinus also changed the myth's traditional form. The judgement in the context of the *Dionysalexandros* is not what leads directly to Helen's abduction, but does offer Dionysus an asset in order to accomplish it. This feature of the play

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[346] Graf and Johnston (2007) numbers 5 and 26a and b.

[347] Ibid. 128-9 and 131 discussing the context of *makarismos* that is found in these tablets. See also 151 on the later Gurôb Papyrus, in which the ram and the billy goat are two of the sacrificial animals. However, the ram is often sacrificed to Persephone and the billy goat to Dionysus.

[348] See, for example, Eur. *Hipp.* 952-7, where Theseus calls Hippolytus to join the Orphics if he wants to go on with his boasting, implying the hypocrisy of the rite. See also Lucas (1946) 65-6.

[349] West (1983) 20.

combined with the last piece of information (44-8) regarding the play mocking Pericles as the person who led the Athenians to war, points in a different direction in terms of responsibility: if Dionysus (disguised as Paris) is offered only the means to attract Helen by Aphrodite, then his choice of how and towards which woman to use it becomes wholly his own. By choosing Helen the supposed insult to the Greeks is presented as even more intentional than in the conventional version of the myth, proving this fake Paris to be fully responsible for the Trojan War.

In that respect Wright's proposal for P.Oxy. 863, which mentions Πάριδες in plural, makes even better sense, as Pericles is presented as a Paris type of person, who is ultimately the cause of war. The Πάριδες of the fragment refer to a certain type of man: one who is an adulterer and thus makes all the wrong choices.[350] In that respect, Pericles, as the object of mockery, is presented as prominently choosing and planning the Peloponnesian War, possibly against alternative options.[351] As Pericles was often mocked based on the influence his courtesan Aspasia had on him,[352] it is possible that Aphrodite's or even Helen's influence

[350] See Wright (2006) 594-5 on P.Oxy 863 being a fragment of the *Dionysalexandros* rather than a fragment of Eupolis' *Demoi* and further Shaw (2014) 91-2 on Pericles being mocked within a mythological plot.

[351] Bierl (2013) 374 notes: 'In addition Dionysus is blended with layers of Pericles. In reality the ridiculous behaviour aims at the mighty general who has overridden the *demos* in a tyrannical way. Most of all, his inglorious politics that was distinguished by love affairs and cautious manoeuvring at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War are mocked.'

[352] Pericles was said to have left his wife to live with Aspasia, who was herself a courtesan, but also a madame, importing other courtesan girls in Athens. See Ath. *Deip.* 12.553c-d and especially

over Dionysus or Paris respectively was used as a symbol of the relationship of Pericles and Aspasia and generally of a woman's influence over a man.[353] It is quite impressive that, according to the hypothesis, only when Helen hesitates to go back with the Achaeans (37-8) does Paris take her as his wife (39).

Wright is right to question whether the term Πάριδες of P.Oxy. 863 is used in a metaphorical sense or in a literal sense; in the latter case it would mean that there were more than one Paris on stage and thus the *Dionysalexandros* would be a good match for the fragment.[354] However, it appears that in the play the real Paris has nothing to do with Dionysus' lustful and fatal decision in the Judgement or any kind of dishonourable behaviour. Finglass, based on the pity that Paris demonstrates for Helen (38: οἰκτείρας) and the rest of his behaviour in the play, argues that 'such a feeling contrasts with the sexual passion and self-indulgence with which Paris is usually associated' and that 'part of the play's humour presumably derived from the unexpected presentation of Paris as a basically virtuous man'.[355] Thus Dionysus, as a fake Paris, and the real Paris of the play do not fall under the same category in terms of morality at least. Nevertheless, they would both be responsible for the destruction that P.Oxy.

13.569f-70a, which reads: 'as the witty Aristophanes observes in passing, when he says regarding the Peloponnesian War that Pericles brought the trouble into full flame because of his love for Aspasia and because of the servant-girls that Megarians kidnapped from her' quoting a passage from Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (524-9).

[353] See Marshall (2014) 66-7 on the role of Helen and her association with Aspasia in this context.

[354] Wright (2006) 594.

[355] Finglass (2016) 98-9.

863 refers to (line 6: διαφθείρουσι), notwithstanding Paris' noble and sympathetic motive; Dionysus picked Aphrodite, but Paris failed to return her, thus still bringing the Trojan war about.

Olson is right to point out that 'whether Pericles was supposed to be represented by Paris or by Dionysus is unclear'.[356] Aspasia might have been a courtesan, thus making Aphrodite's influence over Dionysus via her lustful bribe an appropriate match, but we cannot be sure whether Cratinus' pity of Paris is actually what he intended to use as a point of comparison regarding a female's influence over a man. Should we assume that Aspasia seduced Pericles regarding the war, or did she evoke his pity, especially based on Aristophanes (*Ach. 524-9*) and Athenaeus (n. 352 above) regarding the supposed girls that Megarians kidnapped from her.

Although the parallels with Pericles seem quite reasonable in the context of the *Dionysalexandros*, there is a possibility that the play did not point towards this direction at all. Unfortunately, we do not have any other substantial evidence from the mythological burlesque genre to which the play belongs and, thus, we cannot be sure as to how politically inclined these plays were. In any case, the hypothesis's comment is such a good fit for the play, that it is quite safe to consider the association with Pericles valid. In that case, Cratinus managed to handle a well-known mythological story in a way that makes it contemporary, but without making the political connection too obvious.[357] In fact, the reference

[356] Olson (2007) 87.

[357] Thus the δι' ἐμφάσεως of the hypothesis: Bowie (2000) 324; Biles (2014) 55-6. See also Revermann (2003) 117 on Cratinus using paraepic comedy as a device to achieve political allegory

to Pericles that the hypothesis provides has been debated not only in terms of whether there is a political inference at all, but also on the grounds of whether, if it is there, it is actually about Pericles. Vickers, for example, suggests that the play is more of a parody of Aspasia and Lysicles (her second husband) instead of her and Pericles, proposing a later dating for the play (after Pericles death) than the 430/29 B.C., usually considered accurate.[358] According to his argument, the constant references to sheep in the play fit much better a mocking of Lysicles, who was a known sheepdealer[359] rather than Pericles. However, we cannot really be sure that Cratinus chose the specific myth in order to fit Lysicles' activities; plus, although the ram is not often connected with Dionysus, the Bacchic tablets show that it was probably not the poet's innovation in order to mock Lysicles.

On a second level, it appears that the Judgement in the *Dionysalexandros* could imply a parallel to the comic competition and serve the meta-theatricality that is very often found in comedy. If in the hypothesis the chorus speak about the 'sons of poetry' to the audience (7-9), meaning the poets, and the Judgement is the scene directly following this choral song, it is possible that the audience

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and not in order to target Homer and epic poetry *per se.* (Lucian, for example, uses mythological tradition to mock the tradition itself, but also the literature that preserved it, see chapter 5.)

[358] Vickers (1997) esp. 193; Cf. Olson (2007) 87 on the possibility that the war Pericles caused for the sake of Aspasia was actually the one against Samos (440 B.C.) as Plutarch reports (*Per.* 24.2; 25.1). In that case the play can be dated a decade earlier.

[359] Ar. *Knights* 132: προβατοπῶλης.

and the judges are called to think of Paris and his Judgement.[360] This implication would only intensify the humorous aspect of the scene, as by no means can the harmless consequences of a poetic competition be compared to the dangerous results of Paris' choice.

Unfortunately, we are still missing pivotal details and trying to reconstruct a whole play using a hypothesis is challenging. In the case of the *Dionysalexandros* we do not have any extensive fragments that could potentially aid a more accurate reconstruction. For example, we cannot be absolutely sure whether Dionysus was disguised as Paris and, even more, whether his disguise was successful. (It would be interesting to know the plot, in the case of the goddesses seeing through his disguise).

Another uncertain, but extremely important point, is what happens between the Judgement and Dionysus' trip to Greece. How he made the decision to abduct Helen and what Aphrodite's role was in this are questions that simply cannot be answered. Also, according to the hypothesis the Achaeans come straight after the abduction and start burning the land of Troy asking for Paris, but how do they know that it was Paris who did it? As the play belongs to the genre of comedy things become even more vague and complicated. Comedy is known for breaking rules and inverting facts and, therefore, anything is liable to innovations that have not been encountered in other plays. However, the main

[360] Wright (2007) 424-5 and (2012) 33. He also discusses Aristophanes' *Birds* 1102-17, in which the bird-chorus invites the judges to imagine themselves in the role of Paris.

features of the play as presented in the hypothesis can shed some light towards its reconstruction.

In any case, the Judgement was represented on stage and a question worth asking is whether the beauty contest was the play's *agon*, if there was one at all. Bakola argues that the Judgement could not have been the *agon* of the play mainly on the grounds of technical difficulties: such an *agon* would need to involve three instead of two rival positions and, although we occasionally find *agones* after the *parabasis*, we would normally expect to find it before, which in the case of this hypothesis, she believes, is summarised before the Judgement scene, when the chorus is described speaking to the audience (6-9).[361] Storey, on the contrary, considers this speech of the chorus to be the *parodos* of the play.[362] In his opinion, we do not have to consider that much is missing from the hypothesis before what we already have,[363] as παραγενόμενος is used for first appearances in the play and so not much could have happened before the appearance of Hermes or the goddesses.[364] He also brings up other examples in which the chorus addresses the audience in the *parodos*, in order to support his view.[365]

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[361] Bakola (2005), 56 and (2010), 98-9.

[362] Storey (2006), 111-13.

[363] Cf. Bakola (2005), 55 on papyrological evidence (ink traces) which indicate that the missing part of the first column is around one third of the whole hypothesis.

[364] Luppe (1966), 172 and Storey (2006), 111.

[365] His argument is also based on reading in line 8 περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν (about the poets) (following Körte (1904) 495) and on the fact that Aristophanes speaks to the audience about the

Although Bakola's argumentation on the *parabasis* is more convincing than Storey's on the *parodos*, the beginning of the hypothesis fragment actually being the *parabasis* does not rule out the possibility of the *agon* coming after it. The 'standard' structure of a comedy – if there is such a thing – calls for the *agon* to come after the *parodos* and before the *parabasis* of the play.[366] Having the agon after the *parabasis* is something that, at least occasionally, occurs in comedies (for example in the *Knights* and the *Frogs*) and, therefore, is not impossible. Concerning Bakola's other argument against the Judgement being the play's *agon*, but rather being a typical Aristophanic scene, in which a series of individuals come in front of the central hero trying to win his favour, I am not convinced either. First, the hypothesis does not imply that the three goddesses appear on stage one by one rather than altogether. It is possible that the hypothesis' presentation of the scene is too compressed and so implies that the goddesses came on stage altogether whereas they actually did not. Nevertheless, even if the Judgement is not the play's agonal scene, it would be strange (even unique) to have the goddesses come in front of Paris/Dionysus one by one. Apart from the scene with the three goddesses being quite standard in art, it is still a beauty contest and, thus, the judge would normally have to see the three candidates next to each other to decide, at least at some point during the judging

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poets at the beginning of his plays usually through his actors. He argues, therefore, that Cratinus might be doing the same via the chorus (Storey (2006), 108 and 112-13). See also Storey (2010) 191.

[366] Marshall (2014b) 134 using Aristophanes' *Wasps* as a sample. However, in 135 he goes on to specify that the structure of Old Comedy is not straightforward and every play is unique.

process. An individual presentation of each goddess by Hermes, for example, cannot be rejected as impossible and again the lack of actual fragments makes it hard to come up with decisive conclusions. However, if we take into account our only extended piece of evidence, the hypothesis, it appears that the goddesses arrived altogether (παραγενομένων) and the arrival most probably refers to their appearance on stage.

Second, although the *agones* require two opposing parties and the Judgement is seemingly a choice among three options, we have seen so far that the distinction between Hera and Athena's gifts is not as strong as the one between theirs and Aphrodite's. Although in the *Iliad* and in tragedy this categorisation between two noble and one disgraceful choice is subtle and not extremely prominent, Sophocles' satyr play *Krisis* seems to provide a clearer example of the distinction between virtue and pleasure. In this light, it is possible that Cratinus followed a similar pattern and represented Hera and Athena as one version of choices and Aphrodite as the opposite one. Of course, such a setting would require at least four actors to be on stage at the same time (5 if we assume that Hermes does not leave the stage for the judgement) and this would break the three-actors-rule. However, it appears that in comedy this rule is not strictly applied until the time of Menander; in fact, Aristophanic comedy sometimes requires 4 or even 5 speaking actors.[367] If either Hera or Athena is a silent character and only one of them does the talking for the noble side of bribes, then it is not utterly impossible to have a scene similar to an *agon*. It is even

[367]Csapo (2010) 137.

possible to suggest that Aphrodite was the silent character during a debate between Hera and Athena; while the two goddesses are fighting against each other, Aphrodite could be standing on the side, luring Dionysus/Paris with her looks and announcing her bribe just before his decision. Since *agones* do not change the plot of the play,[368] the possibilities are endless: by knowing the obvious choice of the judgement is Aphrodite and not having her defend herself in order to win, the scene could even be an ironic representation, rather a mockery of the *agon*. In the same context of the play's meta-theatricality, it is a possibility that Cratinus set up an *agon* for the most pre-decided judgement in Greek myth, demonstrating both the power of looks and the vanity of the discussion within the universe of the play.

Third, since the play includes the Judgement of Paris it would be unreasonable to not make this the *agon* scene of the play. From what the hypothesis provides, the judgement of Paris was the most appropriate, if not the only, instance suitable for an *agon*.[369] It is easy to imagine the three goddesses on stage arguing and debating over who is the most beautiful and whose reward is the best, trying to convince Dionysus/Paris to judge in their favour. Bakola's arguments on the technical difficulties of considering the Judgement to be the play's *agon* are reasonable, but by no means conclusive. The Judgement is naturally an *agon* scene and we do not have evidence of a different one in the play, while comedies often break the rules of regularity and pre-defined

[368] Long (1972) 298.

[369] Whittaker (1935) 187 suggests that the Judgement is the only possible subject for an *agon* and that it could be in the form of a triple debate, like the one found in the *Thesmophoriazusae*.

structure. Thus, technicalities would not easily prevent the Judgement from being the play's *agon*.

The connection with *Krisis* suggests another key point of the *Dionysalexandros*: the identity of its chorus. Some scholars have argued that the main chorus of the play was a group of shepherds that would accompany Paris in Mt. Ida, while the chorus of satyrs would be a secondary chorus, similar to the one of the frogs in the homonymous comedy. The existence of a satyr chorus in the play can be easily deduced from the hypothesis: in line 42 an explicit reference to a group of satyrs (σάτυροι) can be found. This group, that has apparently been taking part in the dramatic action up to this point, is obviously a chorus. There is nothing problematic with a chorus of satyrs in a comedy, as many comedies do indeed have one.[370] Since *Dionysalexandros* in particular seems to bear special resemblance to a satyr play in aspects beyond the satyr chorus, such as its rural setting and the theme of contest, [371] it is hardly unexpected that it had a chorus of satyrs.

The assumption that there was another main chorus of shepherds to which the hypothesis refers as mocking and jeering Dionysus (6) and as being ordered by Paris to give Helen to the Achaeans (34-7) might be reasonable, but it is not a fact that clearly stems from the evidence that we have.[372] The satyrs in

[370] See Csapo (2003) 70 on Cratinus having at least two satyr choruses (in the *Dionysalexandros* and in his *Satyroi*) and Storey (2005) 201-2.

[371] Bakola (2005) 54-5.

[372] For a full account of the arguments scholars have posed against a single satyr chorus see Bakola (2010) 84-7.

the *parabasis*, as narrated in the hypothesis, are probably making fun of Dionysus for his disguise as Paris, right before the Judgement. This seems like a reasonable scenario that does not need an alternative chorus to make sense, especially a chorus of shepherds. If it is hard or inappropriate for a satyr chorus to mock Dionysus on stage, it is no easier for a group of mortal shepherds to do so (although Dionysus is a divine figure that would not generally be insulted by mocking or jeering). In any case, a second chorus is not needed. As far as the second problematic point is concerned, especially combined with fr. 39 of *Dionysalexandros*,[373] it can be easily solved by assuming that the satyrs are working as shepherds in Ida. In this respect, fragment 39 can be their description of what they have been doing while Dionysus was in hiding, whereas their position as Paris' followers is in agreement with their return under the command of their original master, Dionysus, near the end of the hypothesis (41-4).[374]

With the single satyr chorus, the connections that the *Dionysalexandros* has with a satyr play become more prominent. The rural setting of the play

[373] Luppe (1966) 184-92 on fr. 39: ἔνεισιν ἐνταυθοῖ μάχαιραι κουρίδες, / αἷς κείρομεν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας, referring to shearing sheep, an activity normally attributed to shepherds and on a possible alternative title ΙΔΑΙΟΙ. However, the accusative τοὺς ποιμένας can only indicate that the first person plural subject of the relative clause is different from the shepherds, whereas the title theory is merely an assumption that does not need a separate shepherd chorus to be validated. See also Bakola (2010) 85-6.

[374] Bakola (2010) 87. Cf. Dobrov (2007) 258-9 on the satyrs being just a means to mock Pericles, as he believes that comedy systematically avoids connections with satyr play.

brings to mind Euripides' *Cyclops* and Sophocles' *Poimenes* [375] among others, but the role of the satyrs as shepherds is very reminiscent of Sophocles' *Krisis*. There are two reasons why a satyr chorus is appropriate for the context. The first has to do with the mythological background. Cratinus' play might be satirising its contemporary political circumstances, but it does so set in a mythological background. Therefore, the satyrs pose as the figures which connect this mythological base of the story with *Dionysalexandros*' comic context.[376] The second one is similar to the role of satyrs in *Krisis*; as Paris/Dionysus is trying to decide among the goddesses and their bribes we cannot expect that the satyr chorus stays silent and does not have any commentary or participation to offer on the judging procedure. Of course this could also have been done by a chorus of shepherds, but satyrs offer all those extra possibilities that a conventional chorus would not: they can jeer loudly and voice their drunken and lustful opinions in a way that can be very straightforward and obviously funny. In fact, in this version of the myth, Aphrodite's bribe seems even more appealing for the sexually driven satyrs, since becoming irresistible to every woman means that a man can have any woman, at any place, any time.

The problem of the chorus obviously is not whether a chorus of human shepherds would be appropriate. It most certainly would. However, there was

[375] The *Poimenes* is not universally accepted to be a satyr drama. Rosen (2003) 384 (proposing actually an analogy with the *Dionysalexandros*) and Bakola (2010) 93, n. 35 argue for it being a satyr drama, whereas Sommerstein and Talbot (2011) 183-8 and Coo (2012) 89, n. 1 consider it to have been a tragedy.

[376] Shaw (2014) 92 and especially 93.

a satyr chorus in the play, which could easily have fulfilled the parts that are attributed to shepherds. Taking it a step further, there is even a possibility that the satyrs were disguised as shepherds to make Dionysus' disguise more convincing. As Hermes and the goddesses come on stage the satyrs could be engaging with pastoral activities, under Dionysus' command, for him to appear as Paris with his shepherd companions.

Although *Dionysalexandros* is a comedy, the presence of the satyrs is, as in *Krisis*, associated with the symbolism of the Judgement of Paris myth. The replacement of Paris with a disguised Dionysus fits well within the genre of comedy, but it does not presuppose the existence of satyrs. In *Frogs*, for example, the motif of the disguised Dionysus is not escorted by a satyr chorus. The theme of the play, however, does create the dramatic circumstances in which the satyrs fit perfectly. Although the Judgement of Paris is just a scene in the *Dionysalexandros* (even if it is the *agonal* scene) it is so essential for the play that it makes sense for it to set the pace for the other dramatic elements.

Dionysalexandros is a comedy, which bares a few features of satyr play, too. The satyric element of the play becomes quite clear from its ending. Although the hypothesis does not give an absolutely clear indication of the play's ending, rather it sums everything up with a general comment on the play mocking Pericles, one would assume that Paris, convinced by the satyrs, does not hand Dionysus in to the Greeks. This would mean that in the end of the play, the *status quo* of the story remains the way we know it from the myth: Paris has decided to take Helen as his wife, Troy is burned down by the Greeks while they are asking for Paris and Dionysus, along with the satyrs, never existed in the

story. From this aspect, although the play follows comic norms like having Dionysus as a *dramatis persona*, the chorus addressing the audience and mocking of contemporary political figures, it also presents an alternative, funnier version of a known myth, but without an alternative mythological outcome. The myth remains the same and what happens within the play cannot change that; it is just a twisted version of the story that is represented in the satyr play.

However, if the hypothesis does not offer the full picture, then it would be interesting whether the play's finale consist of the usual Aristophanic big celebration. In that case, we would assume that Paris gives in Dionysus to the Greeks and somehow everyone forgives everyone else and they are all drinking and dancing together. But what would happen with Helen, who according to the hypothesis, hesitated to be returned to the Greeks? And would that mean that the Trojan War would be ultimately avoided the last minute? This type of ending might bear somewhat the usual irrational character of typical comic finales, but the way the story unravels calls for more of a satyrical rather than a comical ending.

Chapter 4

Hellenistic Literature

The Judgement of Paris appears sparsely in Hellenistic literature. Works that refer to the myth include Lycophron's *Alexandra*, where the Judgement is briefly mentioned in the context of the Trojan War's past in Cassandra's delirious prophecy, Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* and a few epigrams, not all of which can be dated to Hellenistic times with certainty. Callimachus' use of the Judgement is in a unique context and, therefore, will dominate the discussion to come, along with some of the epigrams, which provide a wider perception of the myth's significance and themes around that time and later. The *Alexandra* reference is also interesting in its own right, especially considering Lycophron's composition in terms of vocabulary and the placement of the Judgement story within the full scale of events before and after the Trojan War.

In terms of genre, the *Alexandra* belongs somewhere between tragedy and epic. An obscure piece of work, it is hard to date,[377] alluding, as it does, to events and people without always being clear about their identity,[378] while using arcane vocabulary. The poem portrays a messenger reporting direct speech: a prophecy

[377] I will come back to the problems of dating the *Alexandra*, while discussing, later in the chapter, its possible political implications.

[378] Sens (2010) 299.

of Cassandra, whom the poet calls Alexandra (thus the work's title) speaking of all the ills of the past and the aftermath of the Trojan War. Her account includes a brief retelling of the *Iliad* and a more elaborate one of the *Odyssey* and also draws in the *Cypria* and a range of now lost texts from various genres relating to the Trojan War.[379] In this context of exploring the causes and consequences of the war, Cassandra mentions the Judgement of Paris (90-3):

> καὶ δή σε ναύτην Ἀχερουσία τρίβος
> καταιβάτις πύγαργον, οὐ πατρὸς κόπρους
> στείβοντα ῥακτῶν βουστάθμων ξενώσεται,
> ὡς πρόσθε κάλλους τὸν θυωρίτην τριπλαῖς.
>
> And you, white-rumped sailor, the path which leads down
> to Acheron will receive you, no longer treading
> the dung of your father's rough ox-stalls,
> as previously, when you were judge of beauty for the Three.
> (trans. Hornblower)

Her prophecy of the Judgement, which will ultimately lead to Paris' death,[380] is followed by a prediction of how Paris will abduct Helen, causing the Trojan War to happen without knowing that the true Helen will be left in Egypt and he will carry her phantom with him to Troy (94-143).

[379] Sens (2010) 301.

[380] Hornblower (2015) 143 n. on Ἀχερουσία τρίβος / καταιβάτις.

Lycophron has Cassandra talk about Paris' past as a shepherd, at the time when the Judgement took place. βουστάθμων, in particular, is reminiscent of Euripides' vocabulary when referring to Paris as shepherd,[381] while the version of the myth that has Helen in Egypt is the one used (or conceived) by Stesichorus and remastered by Euripides. In just four lines Lycophron has described Paris' life as a shepherd (91-2), has pointed to his cowardice (as πύγαργον in 91, is used as a metaphor for a coward), reminding the reader of Homer and his portrayal of Paris, has mentioned his role as judge of the three goddesses (in 93, where he is described as the examiner (θυωρίτην) of the three) and has prophesied his death (in 90-1). And all this within a poem that attempts an almost Herodotean description of the history of the world, with special focus on the interactions between Asia and Europe.[382] It appears, therefore, that Lycophron uses a variety of sources and genres in composing the *Alexandra*, sources that are widely known and easily recognisable. Nevertheless, the poem still withholds its obscure and ambiguous character, challenging the reader to decode Cassandra's predictions through the prism of prior knowledge of the events that are being prophesised.[383] Truly, if we did not have prior knowledge of who Cassandra is

[381] Eur. *Hel.* 29: λιπὼν δὲ βούσταθμ' Ἰδαῖος Πάρις compared by Hornblower (2015) 144.

[382] Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 440-1; Sens (2010) 302: 'More important, in the final section of the prophecy it becomes clear that the immediate focus of Cassandra's concern, the Trojan War and its aftermath, forms part of a larger, ongoing conflict between East and West (1283-1450)'; Hornblower (2015) 4.

[383] Gutzwiller (2010) 358. See also West (2000) on her proposal that the *Alexandra* is also using a tradition of prophetic/apocalyptic literature in various Eastern cultures.

or how and why the Trojan War happened, it would be impossible to grasp the meaning of the poem, just based on its text. Lycophron incorporates the tradition of the Trojan War in his work, while rendering it essential information in order to follow the prophecy.

In Callimachus' *5th Hymn*, on the other hand, the Judgement of Paris is used not in its usual role of discussing the war's causes, but in a unique context: a contest in which Athena lost is brought up within a hymn in honour of the goddess. Thus, the Judgement is narrated in such a way that the goddess's loss is actually presented as something positive. At the same time, the element of the mortal gaze at a goddess is initially brought up through the Judgement, to be further elaborated on in the story about Tiresias' blinding by Athena, which is actually the main story of the hymn. The Judgement of Paris in a way sets out the main themes of the hymn, which will then receive further reflection in the myth of Tiresias; the nature of masculinity and femininity, vanity and virginity, the will of the gods and anger and mortals' trespassings are first brought up through the Judgement, and so for the Tiresias myth is filtered through the impression that the Judgement of Paris has already created, as narrated by the priestess of Athena. The Judgement can be found a few lines into the poem (13-32):

ὦ ἴτ' Ἀχαιιάδες, καὶ μὴ μύρα μηδ' ἀλαβάστρως
(συρίγγων ἀΐω φθόγγον ὑπαξόνιον),
μὴ μύρα λωτροχόοι τᾷ Παλλάδι μηδ' ἀλαβάστρως
(οὐ γὰρ Ἀθαναία χρίματα μεικτὰ φιλεῖ)
οἴσετε μηδὲ κάτοπτρον· ἀεὶ καλὸν ὄμμα τὸ τήνας

οὐδ᾽ ὅκα τὰν Ἴδᾳ Φρὺξ ἐδίκαζεν ἔριν,
οὔτ᾽ ἐς ὀρείχαλκον μεγάλα θεὸς οὔτε Σιμοῦντος
ἔβλεψεν δίναν ἐς διαφαινομέναν·
οὐδ᾽ Ἥρα· Κύπρις δὲ διαυγέα χαλκὸν ἑλοῖσα
πολλάκι τὰν αὐτὰν δὶς μετέθηκε κόμαν.
ἁ δέ, δὶς ἑξήκοντα διαθρέξασα διαύλως,
οἷα παρ᾽ Εὐρώτᾳ τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ἀστέρες, ἐμπεράμως ἐνετρίψατο λιτὰ λαβοῖσα
χρίματα, τᾶς ἰδίας ἔκγονα φυταλιᾶς·
ὦ κῶραι, τὸ δ᾽ ἔρευθος ἀνέδραμε, πρώιον οἵαν
ἢ ῥόδον ἢ σίβδας κόκκος ἔχει χροΐαν.
τῶ καὶ νῦν ἄρσεν τι κομίξατε μῶνον ἔλαιον,
ᾧ Κάστωρ, ᾧ καὶ χρίεται Ἡρακλέης·
οἴσετε καὶ κτένα οἱ παγχρύσεον, ὡς ἀπὸ χαίταν
πέξηται, λιπαρὸν σμασαμένα πλόκαμον.

Oh, come, Achaean women, and neither myrrh nor perfume jars (I hear the (hissing) sound from under the axle naves), (15) you bathpourers, bring neither myrrh nor perfume jars for Pallas (for Athena is not fond of mixed ointments), do not even bring her a mirror. Her looks are ever fair. Not even when on Ida the Phrygian was judging the contest did the great goddess glance into the orichalc or (20) into the transparent eddies of the Simois. Neither did Hera. But Cypris having frequently taken up the shining bronze twice rearranged the same lock of hair. But Athena having run twice sixty double lengths of the course just like the Lacedaemonian stars

> [*sc.* Castor and Pollux] along the Eurotas, (25) and taking a simple oil, the product of her own planting, skilfully rubbed herself down, girls, and a blush suffused her, like the early rose or the seed of the pomegranate has on its surface. Therefore bring some manly olive oil only, (30) with which Castor, with which Heracles too anointed himself. Bring her also a comb, all gold, that she may comb her hair, having cleansed her shining tresses. (trans. Stephens)

Athena is generally portrayed in the hymn as a rather masculine figure,[384] who does not waste her time on beautifying herself in any traditional female way. She is almost unwilling to bathe unless she washes her horses first,[385] and even then her bathing is not of a luxurious, beautifying nature, but rather a matter of practicality. Bathing in itself, on the other hand, often leads to rape or attempted rape,[386] and thus is a setting highly inappropriate for an eternal virgin. Since bathing is so closely connected with both beautification and rape, Athena cannot be possibly represented as bathing herself before the Judgement of Paris. That sort of regime is more appropriate for a figure like Aphrodite. Much later, it appears that the bath probably became quite mainstream for the preparation for the Judgement: in *A.P.* 9.637 (? 6th c. A.D., anonymous) the narrator informs us that Aphrodite bathed her divine limbs here and went straight and showed

[384]See for example Depew (1993) 68 on Athena using ἄρσεν ἔλαιον (29), the same that Castor and Heracles, two archetypical masculine figures, use.

[385] Heyworth (2004) 139-40.

[386] Morrison (2005) 38.

herself to Paris, wining the apple, but in *A.P.* 9.633 by Damocharis Grammaticus (6th c. A.D.), all three goddesses bathed before the Judgement. Damocharis goes on to say that: 'perhaps now Paris will not be their judge, but their image reflected in the silver flood', possibly implying that their nude images while bathing (and possibly before doing anything further in their regime) would be the best criterion to choose a winner.

The myth of the Judgment fits into Callimachus' allusions to Homer and archaic poetry, mainly the *Homeric Hymns*.[387] The story itself is a reminder of the Trojan War in general, whereas the preparation details of the goddesses resemble similar scenes of preparation from the *Iliad* (like the *Dios apate* in Book 14), the *Cypria* (frr. 5 and 6 West) and the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

The reference, thus, fits the allusive context of Callimachus' work, but the main question remains: how does a myth about a contest which she lost help towards honouring Athena? It certainly should not be considered an indication that Callimachus' hymns lack cultic or religious context.[388] The answer is rather that it is a matter of inverting the usual impression that the Judgement leaves, to honour Athena as the paradigm of natural beauty and virginity.

[387] On allusions to Homer see Bulloch (1985) 45. On Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* see Depew (1994) 420-1; Van Tress (2004) 88;

[388] Bulloch (2010) 167-8; Stephens (2015) 11. See also Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 364 on Callimachus' hymns being authentic hymnic texts.

Bulloch considers the reference to the Judgement of Paris in a hymn to Athena to be 'a deliberate Callimachean puzzle',[389] which needs to be decoded in order to conceive the actual meaning of the myth, as told in the context of the hymn. One can trace ironic connections of Athena to Aphrodite or Helen (like the pomegranate or the rose in 28),[390] as what she does and what she refuses to do before the Judgement is what dissociates her completely from Aphrodite and Helen, and rather connects her to her brothers, the Dioscuri and Heracles instead (24 and 30).[391] Athena, according to Callimachus, did not take time in front of the mirror (neither did Hera) before the Judgement, as Aphrodite did fixing again and again, because she always looks beautiful (17). Instead, she ran, which brought a lovely flush on her cheeks (27-8) and then rubbed herself in plain

[389] Bulloch (1985) 127. See also 46-7 and 138 on a second layer of allusion to Theocritus 18, where Helen is described as ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα, in a similar manner to Athena in the *5th Hymn*'s 28. On the imitation of Theocritus' 18 (epithalamium for Helen and Menelaus) see also Stephens (2015) 250, where she points out that 'Callimachus transfers the simple health regimen of Helen's female attendants (running, anointing in manly fashion) to Athena [...] However, Theocritus goes on to inform us that none of these girls is the equal of Helen, just as in the contest Athena, however healthy, is no match for Aphrodite.' We need to point out, however, that Athena is no match for Aphrodite, because, as portrayed in the hymn, she does not care to be.

[390] Morrison (2005) 40-1.

[391] Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* is not the only instance when Athena dissociates herself from Aphrodite. The same thing happens in Apollonius' *Argonautica* 3, 32-5, when Athena tells Hera to do all the talking with Aphrodite (since they want her help to make Medea fall in love with Jason), because she knows nothing of her crafts and she does not want to know anything about it.

olive oil, the same that men use, instead of some kind of aromatic oil. The idea behind this scene, however, goes beyond Athena's preference to simple beauty and plain masculine preparation rather than the intricate female pampering; it is very much about Athena's virginity and her attitude towards men. She does not care to attract men in a sexual fashion and thus she will not take the time to prepare herself for the sake of one of them. Paris, who is only referred to as Φρύξ (18), like some kind of meaningless barbarian, who does not even have a name, is not important. As far as Athena is concerned he should not even be looking at her; look at what will happen to Tiresias in a while. Athena is always beautiful in her own, wild, masculine and glorious way, that does not depend upon her beautifying herself, while her eternal virginity makes her ignorant and uninterested in Aphrodite's craft.

The allusions of the *Bath of Pallas* to Homer, the *Cypria* and the Homeric Hymns are not limited to the goddesses' preparation scenes, but expand on Athena's figure as an eternal virgin. Most scholars have focused on how the juxtaposition of Athena to Aphrodite (and Helen) in the first section of the poem brings out the goddess' masculinity. Under this scope, scholars have found the setting of Tiresias' blinding incompatible with Athena's representation in the first part, explaining it mainly as an intentional kind of irony by Callimachus over the generic stereotypes of hymns.[392] However, if, along with

[392] Bulloch (1984) 229: 'his (Callimachus') religious poems present a very non-simplistic, distrustful view'; Depew (1993) 69: 'What is noteworthy is that Callimachus has throughout the poem's first section emphasized her masculinity. In the myth he then focuses on aspects of a traditional account for which the quality is absurdly out of place (referring to the stereotypically

masculinity, Athena's virginity is also added in the picture, then the setting of Tiresias' blinding appears less troubling. It is her eternal virginity that makes it forbidden for Tiresias to see her naked. The Judgement of Paris gives Callimachus the opportunity to mention Aphrodite early in the poem in a way that demonstrates her full potential in the art of love. When someone needs help with seduction they go to Aphrodite and it appears that the Judgement, in the way it is described in Callimachus, was, after all, more of a contest of seduction, rather than of objective beauty.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* the reference to Athena, along with Artemis and Hestia, at the beginning of the poem (7-33) serves both as a reminder of Aphrodite's limits of power, but also as an indication of the goddess' sexual nature.[393] In direct intertextual conversation with the archaic hymn, Callimachus uses Aphrodite in his *Hymn to Athena* to create the exact opposite effect: Aphrodite's seductive nature only enhances Athena's virginity. The two hymns, therefore, follow a common, but inverted pattern: the first section of each mentions the other goddess to stress Aphrodite's lustful nature in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and Athena's virginity and masculinity in *The Bath of*

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female setting of bathing in the woods, with the companion of Nymphs) [...] Callimachus alters the referential force of the conventions that introduce the poet, the *laudanda* and the context of praise. In doing so, he undermines the generic functions those conventions traditionally perform.'; Haslam (1993) 123: 'we shall recognize that their affectiveness is continuously destabilized, both by their obtrusive stylization and by their intertextuality.'

[393] Faulkner (2008), 84-5. He recognises the inverse use of Aphrodite in Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena*, but does not offer a further discussion.

Pallas. These initial images are further enhanced by the second parts: both goddesses encounter a mortal man, but make completely different outcomes of the opportunity, proving their initial representation. Aphrodite lies with Anchises, whereas Athena blinds Tiresias in an outburst of anger.[394] The same situation leads to sexual contact in the *Homeric Hymn*, whereas in Callimachus it actually affirms Athena's initial chaste and partly masculine nature.[395] In the *Hymn to Athena*, being the loser of the Judgement of Paris, a competition that would normally be used to praise Aphrodite as the winner, is inverted into being an honourable thing. Callimachus thus further enhances the mirrored image of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, by altering the usual preparatory scene as described for Aphrodite and adjusting it to Athena's traces of masculinity and virginity.

The opposition of Athena to Aphrodite, as established by the nature of the goddesses themselves, but also through the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, has not just been exploited by Callimachus, but, as discussed earlier (chapter 3, 113-23), was probably also found in Sophocles' *Krisis.* One of the most intriguing similarities between the preparation of Aphrodite in Callimachus and that of Sophocles' *Krisis*, would be the element of the mirror. Aphrodite checks her image while preparing (fr. 361 I: κατοπτριζομένην), while even Vice at the crossroads is described in Xenophon to be eyeing herself constantly (*Mem.* 22: κατασκοπεῖσθαι δὲ θαμὰ ἑαυτήν) and to often be checking her shadow

[394] Stephens (2015) 236.

[395] Hadjitofi (2008) 15-8.

(πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σκιὰν ἀποβλέπειν). Similarly, Callimachus' Aphrodite frequently took up the mirror and twice rearranged the same lock of hair (21-2: Κύπρις δὲ διαυγέα χαλκὸν ἑλοῖσα / πολλάκι τὰν αὐτὰν δὶς μετέθηκε κόμαν). As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is possible that Athenaeus' account of *Krisis* was influenced by his knowledge of Callimachus' hymn, so the mirror might not have been found in *Krisis* prominently or at all. Nevertheless, even if Sophocles introduced the element of the mirror before Callimachus, in the *Hymn to Athena* the poet has managed to enrich the feature: the obsession with appearance and the use of the mirror fit the context of Callimachus' hymn perfectly both in regards to the contrast between Athena and Aphrodite and the significance of vision in the context of the poem overall.

There appears to be a common conception on the evil nature of female vanity and obsession with appearances, but Sophocles might have actually given a completely different twist to the events of the Judgement, especially within the satyric context of the play. If this is the case, then Callimachus' *Hymn to Athena* could be one of the first instances where the Judgement of Paris is used to effect a direct comparison between Athena and Aphrodite with clear moral implications. That is not to say that in archaic or classical literature Paris' choice of Aphrodite was considered right or even forgivable and that there was no moral background regarding Paris' choice, but rather that the Judgement could have been more about three separate life choices (two potentially honourable and one more mundane) rather than a clear cut dilemma between right and wrong.

In a dedicatory epigram (*A.P.* 6.48), possibly by Antipater of Thessalonica (1st c. B.C. or A.D.) a woman by the name Bitto dedicated to Athena her loom-comb. However, later on, bored and tired of the cares and difficulties of loom labour she declared to Athena that she will take on the works of Aphrodite, implying she will become a prostitute, voting like Paris against her (τῶν Κύπριδος ἄψομαι ἔργων, / τὴν Πάριδος κατὰ σοῦ ψῆφον ἐνεγκαμένη) Here, the spheres of influence of the two goddesses are juxtaposed at a level where morality and ethics are factors. Aphrodite's craft is not only feminine, but also the easy solution, whereas Athena's choice stands for hard work and difficulties.[396] Athena is the proper choice, although not the simplest. Similarly, the portrayal of Athena through the viewpoint of the Judgement's narration in the hymn prepares the audience (or the reader) for the story of Tiresias and his blinding that is to come in two ways; the first has to do with Athena's masculine nature and virginity, but also her propriety. The second, however, is by initiating the theme of the male gazer of a female goddess.

Gazing or even looking upon the goddess is forbidden in the context of the hymn. The Judgement of Paris, as the source of the Trojan War does not need further explanation as to its consequences. It automatically brings to mind destruction and misfortune, even without the slightest hint or reference to what happened afterwards. Everyone knows that Paris, along with his whole city, got what he deserved. By placing the Judgement before a story about Tiresias's

[396] See also Call. *Hymn to Ath.* 26: τᾶς ἰδίας ἔκγονα φυταλιᾶς. The olive oil that Athena prefers is a product of her own planting, thus her own labour.

blinding, Callimachus stresses as the source of all evils, not only Paris' choice of Aphrodite, but his role as gazer of the goddesses before choosing and especially as gazer of Athena. Thus, from early in the poem, seeing Athena is established as a source of trouble for males. That way, the story of Athena blinding Tiresias after seeing her bathing by mistake, which seems to be a Callimachean innovation,[397] does not come as a surprise, since the audience has been subtly reminded of what happened the last time a male looked at Athena. From the narration of the Judgement one could imagine that Athena did not care about the verdict of the contest, but was furious with the contest's procedure. A judge of beauty inevitably has to observe the candidates to reach a verdict, but for the virgin Athena this is unforgivable.

Vision has a specific place in the *Hymn to Athena*. Certainly senses in general are extremely important in the hymn and the vivid descriptions it provides: the smell of the perfumes and ointments, that Athena does not like, in contrast to the earthy, delicate smell of the olive oil, the touch of the oils, the combing of the hair and the bathing, hearing of the Argive girls' songs, the callings of the priestess and the whispers and dances of the Nymphs (66-7) and sight, which is first brought to attention with the reference of the mirror (17:

[397] This version is not attested anywhere else, and seems to be inspired by the myth of Actaeon ending up transformed into a stag and devoured by his own hunting dogs, after taking a glimpse of Artemis bathing while he was hunting (Apoll. *Bib.* 3.30). In fact, the myth of Actaeon is mentioned in the *Hymn to Athena* (107-116) as a reason why Chariclo, Tiresias' mother and Athena's companion, should consider her son lucky to just be blinded after seeing a goddess naked, especially, since Tiresias will also get the gift of seeing the future.

κάτοπτρον), that Athena does not need since she is always beautiful. In fact, the mirror is what seems to cause the narration of the Judgement of Paris. The vocabulary used in the next few lines is all about sight: ὄμμα, ὀρείχαλκον (referring to a bronze mirror again), ἔβλεψεν, διαφαινομέναν δίναν, and διαυγέα χαλκόν,[398] while impressively all of these lines are about how Athena never uses a mirror, the ultimate viewing object, traditionally connected with beauty and vanity, not even before she were to be judged for her appearance. If Athena does not even look at herself in a mirror or any kind of reflective surface, it would not be possible for a mortal to see her without consequences. In fact, her punishment of Tiresias is symbolic: she takes away his sight, for seeing something that he should not. Her appeasing by Chariclo's lament urges her to offer Tiresias an equally symbolic gift in return: the ability to "see" the future and the omens. His ability to superficially conceive the world with his eyes, is now transformed into an ability to *know* the truth of the world and the will of the gods. Athena, once again demonstrates her defiance of appearances in the world of the mortals.

The Judgement of Paris, as a beauty contest, is inevitably connected with vision and sight. Several epigrams that refer to the Judgement, also refer to specific artifacts. This, in some cases is due to the fact the piece of art is clearly

[398] For διαυγέα χαλκόν see Stephens (2015) 249 pointing out that the phrase also occurs in an epigram (*A.P.* 6.210.3-4) in which a *hetaira*, upon retirement, dedicates her equipment to Aphrodite. Once again the connection of mirrors with beautification and Aphrodite, as opposed to the virginity of Athena, is displayed.

inspired by the Judgement of Paris. For example, in *A.P.* 9.576 by Nicarchus (c. 1st c. A.D.) Aphrodite is speaking in view of a statue of Athena holding an apple and asks her why she robbed her. She goes on to remind her of the Judgement and that the spear and the shield are Athena's, but the apple is her own (σὸν δόρυ καὶ σάκος ἐστίν· ἐμὸν δὲ τὸ μῆλον / ὑπάρχει). However, in some other cases, the Judgement feels suitable. Typical examples of these cases are epigrams referring to Aphrodite of Cnidos, the famous statue by Praxiteles (dated *c.* 350 B.C.). The tradition of the statue is amazing: according to Pliny,[399] the people of Cos asked Praxiteles to make a statue of Aphrodite. The artist created two versions: one dressed, one nude. The people of Cos found the nude Aphrodite inappropriate and so chose the draped version, but the people of Cnidos loved the nude statue and kept it for their city. The statue was considered a masterpiece that could be admired from every angle[400] and became famous. Aphrodite's nudity and the human sexuality that it portrays is a source of inspiration for the poets, including Callimachus himself.[401]

The epigramatists seem to be fascinated both by the 360° image of the statue, as well as Aphrodite's nude figure. The beauty of the statue is so perfect that it is considered accurate to how beautiful Aphrodite herself would be. Thus, apart from using the statue as an argument to give justice to Paris for his

[399] *Nat. Hist.* 36.20-24.

[400] Ibid; *A.P.* 16.169: "Gaze from every side at the divine beauty of the foam-born Paphian" (Ἀφρογενοῦς Παφίης ζάθεον περιδέρκεο κάλλος).

[401] Zanker (2004) 144-8, esp. 146.

decision,[402] a question is a recurrent theme: where and when Praxiteles saw Aprodite naked (*A.P.* 16.160 by Plato and 162: ποῦ γυμνὴν εἶδε με Πραξιτέλης;).[403] In *A.P.* 16.168 the same question is expressed in a context which suggests that we are dealing with the wider idea of mortals gazing at the goddess. Aphrodite herself speaks about her Cnidian statue:

> Γυμνὴν εἶδε Πάρις με, καὶ Ἀγχίσης, καὶ Ἄδωνις·
> τοὺς τρεῖς οἶδα μόνους· Πραξιτέλης δὲ πόθεν;
>
> Paris, Anchises, and Adonis saw me naked. Those are all I know of, but how did Praxiteles contrive it?

The goddess is not only wondering how Praxiteles saw her naked, but is also providing a list of the three men that are known to have seen her naked, Paris, Anchises and Adonis. These lines are a testament to the craftsmanship of Praxiteles (since Aphrodite herself has noticed the accuracy of the depiction), but also an indication of the fact that goddesses need to give their permission for a mortal to look at them, especially naked. Aphrodite in these epigrams demonstrates a genuine query that does not seem to indicate aggression or vengefulness. Besides, Praxiteles has created a depiction that enhances her

[402] *A.P.* 16.165 and 166 (by Evenus, 1st c. B.C. or A.D.). See also: *A.P.* 16.172 (by Alexander of Aetolia, 3rd c. B.C.) on a statue of Aphrodite (which could be the Cnidian) being wrought to perfection by Athena herself, having forgotten the Judgement of Paris.

[403] See Page (1981) 385 on 16.162 (=LXXXII) being safely assigned to a Hellenistic poet.

inherent tendency towards sexual attraction. Thus, Aphrodite is not the goddess to be insulted or angered by a mortal seeing her naked without her permission. For the rest of the goddesses, however, this does not seem to be the case. In *A.P.* 16.216, Parmenion (1st c. B.C. or A.D.) writes on a statue of Hera:

Ἀργεῖος Πολύκλειτος, ὁ καὶ
μόνος ὄμμασιν Ἥρην
ἀθρήσας καὶ ὅσην εἶδε τυπωσάμενος,
θνητοῖς κάλλος ἔδειξεν, ὅσον
θέμις· αἱ δ᾽ὑπὸ κόλποις
ἄγνωστοι μορφαὶ Ζηνὶ φυλασσόμεθα.

> Polycleitus of Argos, who alone saw Hera with his eyes, and moulded what he saw of her, revealed her beauty to mortals as far as was lawful; but we, the unknown forms beneath her dress's folds, are reserved for Zeus.

The implication of the epigram is clear: Polycleitus did see Hera with his own eyes (and that is why his statue of her is so good), but did not see her naked. So, he depicted (τυπωσάμενος) her beauty, but in a way that was lawful and respectable, since her nude body is saved for Zeus, her husband. If Hera is to save her nudity for her husband, then it is only natural that virgin goddesses like Artemis or Athena would never and by no means allow a mortal to see them naked either on purpose or even by mistake.

Under this scope, Tiresias' blinding in the *Hymn to Athena* is not just about the sight motif. It rather fits into a wider tradition of mortals gazing at

gods, but also of men gazing at women. As far as the second aspect is concerned, it appears that the whole hymn is based on the principle that there are certain instances where male access is denied. The mimetic nature of the hymn (the main narrator of the poem being supposedly a ritual participant in the celebration of the goddess, in this case the priestess that gives all the guidelines to the girls of Argos in order to perform the ritualistic bathing of Athena's statue)[404] demonstrates that the celebration in question was an exclusively female affair, where the bathing of Athena takes place and in which men are not by any means allowed to participate. It has also been suggested that apart from the priestess, there is a second separate narrator, too, who is not mimetic, but rather takes up the role of a male scholar, who offers extra information on Athena.[405] If that is the case, then it appears that there are two separate audiences of the celebration and the hymn: a female one, which can participate and watch all aspects of the ritual, including Athena's statue being bathed, and a male one,

[404] On the 'mimetic' nature of the hymn see: Fantuzzi and Hunter (2002) 30; Gutzwiller (2007) 72; Morrison (2005) 28; Bulloch (2010) 172. This does not mean that the hymn was composed to be used during an actual celebration, as described by Callimachus and indeed there is no further archaeological or literary proof of such a ritual taking place in Argos (Depew (1994) 410, esp. n. 45 on why the washing of the horses particularly was probably not part of the specific ceremony in Argos).

[405] Morrison (2005) 31. Indeed, lines 5-12 could be a parenthetic comment on what the priestess is saying, adding information concerning Athena's standard regime after battle. Bulloch (1985) 115-6 however argues that the washing of the horses was a mandatory part of the ritual, in which case the priestess would be the one still talking to give the cue for the horses to be washed before Athena and Haslam (1993) 125 talking of a 'single' narrator.

which know all sorts of information about the goddess and the festival, but are not allowed to either participate or watch.[406] The forbidden nature of both Paris' and Tiresias' acts is demonstrated in this imaginary festival in honour of Athena.

The divine nature of Athena against the mortality of the male audience, of Paris and of Tiresias is of no small importance. Traditionally mortals are the objects of the divine gaze, and gods' viewing provides them with the power to know more and potentially intervene.[407] Also, typically gods cannot appear in front of mortals in their actual form, because their appearance brings about tremendously powerful effects that no man can withstand. This is why they will typically use some kind of disguise or come into mortals' dreams. In any case, the encounter with a mortal will be solely due to the god's own will, but even then, the mortal cannot know how things will end up, as in the case of Paris. The three goddesses seem to step in front of him willingly, but, although he has a say as to the result of the contest, he does not know all the other effects that this encounter will bring upon him. In Tiresias' case, where the encounter does not entail Athena's free will, despite being an unfortunate mistake, it has grave consequences for Tiresias, especially since he happens to see Athena, an eternal virgin, naked in the vulnerable and sexual state of bathing. Tiresias as a male who looks at Athena needs to be punished, as Paris will be in due course. However, his transformation into a prophet makes him a figure that does not belong in either the mortal or immortal world, but rather bears a sense of

[406] Morrison (2005) 35-6.

[407] Lovatt (2013) 25 and 29.

otherness.[408] In that sense, Tiresias as a prophet is not exactly male any more and thus will be rewarded with a long life and an honoured death (128-30). However, the audience knows that this is not the case with Paris. His gazing at the goddesses has not been forgiven, nor will he be. Paris as a mortal man decided to take up the role of the judge, observe the three goddesses and will be rewarded or punished as each of them sees fit.

We have seen the form and role of the Judgement of Paris within each of the two works. However, since in the Hellenistic period there was a relationship of cultural patronage between poets and monarchs,[409] it is essential to question the place of the Judgement within a politically centred ideological scheme. Lycophron's *Alexandra* is quite problematic, due to its severe dating problems. Most scholars suggest that the poem should be dated in the early third century, as several passages could bear particular significance for a Ptolemaic audience, considering lines 1446-50, which seem to refer to Rome, a later interpolation.[410] If that is the case and the poem was composed in the 3rd c. under Ptolemaic kingship, then the Judgement of Paris takes the form of an injustice committed by Paris, but fixed by Proteus. In the context of the *Alexandra* (esp. 128-9) Egypt

[408] Lovatt (2013). 149-50.

[409] Strootman (2010) 37-8.

[410] Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 438. Cf. Hornblower (2015) 4, who argues for a dating in 197 BC, when the Roman proconsul Titus Quinctus Flamininus defeated Philip V of Macedon at Kynoskephalai in Thessaly, suggesting that the poet was not the known Lycophron of the Ptolemaic kingdom.

is a space of moral integrity[411] and Proteus an upholder of divine justice, who essentially deprives Paris of Helen and guards her until Menelaus can claim her back.[412] Even if the dating to the third century is not right, the Judgement of Paris still is what initially caused the conflict between Asia and Europe in this Herodotean view of the world and what is needed is a leader, who will unify the two areas under a common ruling.

In the spirit of Hellenistic literature and Ptolemaic rule, the monarchs had to be connected with the divine,[413] as well as with Alexander and his mythical ancestors,[414] in order to be considered both Greek and Egyptian, guaranteeing their descent from Alexander himself. Callimachus is a poet quite typical for his age,[415] so it is only natural to assume that in his 5th hymn, Athena is used one way or another as a portrayal of a Ptolemaic queen. Although male deities (Zeus, Apollo) are celebrated in Callimachean hymns as sources of benefit (probably implying that their earthly counterparts, the kings, also brought prosperity and wisdom to the world),[416] all the female deities (Artemis, Athena and Demeter) are portrayed, one way or another, as vengeful sources of harm. In Gutzwiller's

[411] Stephens (2010) 60.

[412] Stephens (2010) 60; Sens (2010) 304.

[413] Depew (2004) 117-8: 'poetry that needed to connect the monarchs with divinity'; Strootman (2010) 40: 'Last but not least, there is the equation of the earthly rule of the king with the cosmic rule of Zeus.'

[414] Stephens (2010) 50-1. Note especially Heracles as Alexander's mythical ancestor and his use as a parallel for Athena in *The Bath of Pallas*.

[415] Cameron (1995) 66-7.

[416] Gutzwiller (2007) 73 and Depew (2004) 125.

words: 'they have absolute power to punish both the morally innocent and the naively guilty'.[417] The absolute power of the goddesses can easily be translated to the absolute power of the Ptolemaic queens. Although the connection of queens to goddesses is common to an extent in Hellenistic literature, this connection was usually to Aphrodite (or Helen);[418] in *The Bath of Pallas*, however, the contrast between Athena and Aphrodite is prominent, due to their different preparation for the Judgment.

Thus, it appears that either the portrayal of the queens was not among the aims of Callimachus in the hymns, or his goal was to present them under a different light: as powerful entities, stripped of their usual feminine characterisation, that will not hesitate to punish what they consider a wrongdoing. At the same time, as the Judgement of Paris is known as the source of the Trojan War, Aphrodite is portrayed as the source of evil. Since Callimachus brings up the Judgement of Paris in the hymn, it would not be a good choice to draw parallels between the queens and Aphrodite. The queens are supposed to be peacemakers and guarantors of political and financial stability. Since the Judgement, more or less, points to Aphrodite as a figure that caused the Trojan War and ruptured relations between Greece and Troy, the queens had better be represented by a figure as dissociated from Aphrodite as possible, as one of the aims of the Ptolemaic monarchs was to unify their local population and maintain their sense of Greekness. The tradition of Athena as a

[417] Gutzwiller (2007) 73.

[418] Depew (2004) 129. See also 126 on Artemis and Athena being primarily defined by their virginity.

confident figure, who does not have anything to do with Aphrodite's vain games, is ideal to attach to a queen. Callimachus' gods are more active than in other religious Greek poets, as they have to compile a record of unusual, extraordinary tasks, like their counterparts on earth, the monarchs.[419] Therefore, despite the usual analogy between the queens and Aphrodite or Helen, in regards to their appearance and beauty, in Callimachus, through the prism of the Judgement of Paris, the Ptolemaic queens have to be portrayed as active Athenas and not lustful, mindless Aphrodites. The praise for Athena in the *5th Hymn* is not so much about what she looks like, but rather what she chooses to act upon.

[419] Heinrichs (1993) 127-8.

Chapter 5

Imperial Literature

After Lycophron and Callimachus, in the Hellenistic period, the Judgement of Paris reappears in Greek literature in the works of Dio Chrysostom and Lucian, in the 1st-2nd c. A.D., during the Imperial Period.[420] This period is strongly characterised by a shared interest in past Greek literary forms, including, but not limited to, philosophy and oratory.[421] The main feature of the time, however, is an educated audience (*pepaideumenoi*) to which the contemporary writers appealed, in combination with a fondness for both philosophy and oratory.[422] This high-class contemporary audience could fully grasp the essence of their

[420] The story does feature in various epigrams that could be dated in the few centuries that intercede, but the myth is not found as part of a wider narration again until Virgil's *Aeneid* 1.25-8 (1st c.B.C.). In Virgil, the Judgement of Paris is the reason why Juno is wrathful towards Aeneas (son of her rival and winner of the beauty contest, Aphrodite).

[421] The strong presence of these two specific genres led Philostratus to use the term 'Second Sophistic' in his *Lives of the Sophists* (*VS* 480-1) discussing it in the context of a specific group of people who who share common cultural and socio-political values (see Swain (1991) 149).

[422] As Gleason (1995) 131 points out, it is difficult to distinguish between philosophical and eloquent sophists, as gradually the two genres overlap significantly.

works, due to their deep knowledge of the previous Greek literary tradition, while living within the borders of the Roman Empire.

In the Hellenistic period the knowledge of Greek was mainly an issue of practicality in the administration and rule of large, non-Greek populations, for which the knowledge of the language meant the shaping of a Greek identity,[423] but under the Roman Empire, knowledge of Greek assumes a different character. It is now a sign of high social status to be a *pepaideumenos*, a social marker that one belongs to the aristocratic elite of the time,[424] while the educated writers, who compose content for this same group are a type of intellectual specialist.[425]

Both Dio and Lucian attempt to fill in the blanks of what is already known mythological tradition to them, recognising the absurdity of a story such as the Judgement and attempting to reveal it through a reinvention of literary norms of the past. Nevertheless, Dio does so by rationalising, almost euhemerising, the tradition of the Judgement (in two different ways in different orations), whereas Lucian embraces the absurdity of the mythological universe and uses it as the actual *status quo* of his imaginative reconstruction of the story. In doing so, they both refer to the wider mythological and literary tradition surrounding the Judgement of Paris, but manage to find completely new ways around it. The essence of the educated writing of the period is about

[423] Kim (2010) 7 discusses the topic, in regards especially to the core role of Homer in the Greek curriculum.

[424] Kim (2010) 9.

[425] See further Schmitz (1997) 63-7.

transforming a widely, well-known past through the lens of contemporary experience and inspiration.

Dio Chrysostom

The Judgement of Paris in Dio Chrysostom's *Discourses* has to be tackled as part of a wider discussion on the role of myth in Dio's work and ideological system. Dio's work reveals a wide awareness of different philosophical doctrines, but he does not appear to have devoted his life or his thought to any of them in particular. In regards to his mythological references, and to the Judgement of Paris in particular, each occasion is different and needs to be handled separately. The variety of Dio's work makes it difficult to come up with conclusions about specific ideas that he might have had on the interpretation of the Judgement.

In his *Trojan Discourse*, where the Judgement of Paris is found (11.11-14), Dio attempts to refute Homer. At the beginning of his speech he claims that it is easier to deceive (ἐξαπατᾶν) people than to teach (διδάσκειν) them, because the truth is bitter (τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθὲς πικρόν ἐστι) whereas lies are sweet (τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος γλυκύ).[426] This is the reason, according to Dio, why everyone has believed in what Homer wrote and accepted it as the truth. Thus, he is going to use Homer's own poetry (ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ποιήσεως) to refute him, in order, as he says, to defend Athena (so that she is not thought to have destroyed her own city unjustly), but also Hera and Aphrodite (11.11).

[426] See also *Or.* 11.42 on people accepting as true whatever they like to hear and 7.98 on myths being the opinions of the masses.

Dio argues that Athena would not have destroyed her favourite city nor have gone against her father's will, while Hera would have wanted her own husband as the judge of her beauty and not a shepherd. Moreover, she could not have competed with the other goddesses in appearance, since she considered herself the oldest and thus most honoured of Cronus' daughters, as she herself states in Homer (*Il.* 4.59). He goes on to argue that it would be absurd for Hera to be so insanely angry with Paris, since she accepted him as the judge in the first place and that Aphrodite could have never offered such a devious gift that would bring such destruction upon Paris and his city, without caring about him or Helen. Finally, Dio states that it does not make sense for Helen, a daughter of Zeus, to have become the ultimate symbol of disgrace, when she was considered a deity among the Greeks. The argumentation, especially in its first half, is similar to that used by Hecuba in the *agon* of the *Trojan Women* (969-86). Thus, it is reminiscent not only of Euripides, but also of the sophistic movement that reached its zenith in Euripides' time. Dio displays deep knowledge not just of Homer, but of Greek literature as a whole, while projecting his education through Homeric criticism.

This rationalisation of the Judgement of Paris, as well as of the rest of the *Iliad*, looks quite sophistic, in the sense that Dio attempts to fulfil the sophistic task of making the weaker argument appear stronger,[427] experimenting with argumentation on issues that were considered established or resolved.

[427] Arnim (1898) 166-7, esp. on the reputation of the goddesses being presented as fully dependent upon Dio, as if he is the one to protect their good name.

However, Dio's methodology goes deeper. The *Trojan Oration* is presented as a result of a supposed initial written tradition that ended in an imperfect oral version, which causes a variety of explanations and aims to be applied to Dio's speech.[428] Among others, it could be read as a rhetorical exercise,[429] a typical piece of Cynic moralizing,[430] a piece of Roman propaganda,[431] or even as an attempt to transform myth to fit a more contemporary ideological message.[432] The multitude of variety in Dio's work, however, shows that his speeches can serve more than one purpose, as his activities point to a sophist, a philosopher, a historian and even a literary critic simultaneously.[433]

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[428] *Or.* 11.37-8 Dio repeats a story that he heard from an Egyptian priest (in a similar way to Herodotus or even Plato in *Timaeus*), who bases the story on the oral tradition of the Egyptians, since Menelaus told them the story as it had occurred; Trapp (2000) 237. On the complications of this presentation see further: Saïd (2000) 177 and for an overview of different approaches see ibid. 177-80.

[429] Swain (1996) 210; Anderson (2000) 152-3.

[430] Kindstrand (1973) 156. See also Brancacci (1985) 127-8 on the parallels of Dio's work with Diogenes' (the Cynic's) teachings as found in Stobaeus.

[431] Although in Dio's speeches the presence of Rome is always in the background (Jones (1978) 124) and there is a tendency in the *Trojan Oration* to project the superiority of the Trojans (ancestors of the Romans) over the Greeks, it is mainly prominent in a small part of the speech (11.137-50) as Kindstrand (1973) 162, Jones (1978) 18, Swain (1996) 210-11 and Saïd (2000) 179 have pointed out.

[432] Desideri (1978) 496; Saïd (2000) 179. See also: Swain (2000) 38.

[433] Moles (1978) demonstrates the dangers of conversion-analysis, that is attempting to attribute one and only specialisation/activity to someone, especially in the case of Dio.

In this context, Dio's plan when dealing with the Judgement of Paris seems to be multidimensional. He appears to have undertaken the ultimate challenge overall, that is to refute Homer,[434] but claims that he will do it based on Homer's own writings. This point is problematic as far as the Judgement of Paris is concerned: Homer does not say much about it and Dio's refutation of the incident reveals a much deeper knowledge of the existing tradition than that which someone would acquire necessarily just by reading Homer, especially in the case of the Judgement of Paris, which is mostly alluded to in the *Iliad*, rather than clearly told. Thus, Dio's treatise expands beyond Homer; it refers to the gullibility of the masses and the weirdness of the ideas that people accept. The reference to the Judgement of Paris is an excellent chance to demonstrate what he considers the absurdity of this tradition in terms of realism.

Dio's objections do not appear to be very Platonic,[435] in the sense that he is not worried about the moral implications of the stereotypes found in mythology or literature; he does, however, demonstrate later on a Platonic disregard for poetry (11.39) in terms of its invalid depiction of reality. Under this scope, his attitude is also close to that of Lucian, meaning that he reproaches

[434] Saïd (2000) 180: 'the speech should be read as a [...] refutation of Homer and those who believe him.' Cf. Kim (2010) 12, 87, 98-9, who argues for a rebuttal of Homer as a historian and Whitmarsh (2005) 71 who argues that: 'Dio of Prusa composed a sophistical argument that the Trojans won the Trojan War.'

[435] But see Saïd (2000) 163 on myth in Dio lacking seriousness and, thus, being associated, as in Plato (*Rep.* 2.377a), with childhood and playfulness.

poets for 'sacrificing the truth to the seduction of words'.[436] This criticism, of course, cannot be fully serious all the time. As Russell writes: 'it is difficult to get the balance between seriousness and fun quite right',[437] while Dio does not criticise Homer anywhere else on similar grounds, but rather frequently praises the ethics of Homeric poetry.[438] And how serious can this reasoning of the Judgement of Paris be considered? It is as if arguing, on a serious note, that Red Riding Hood could not have happened because wolves cannot speak. In his speech, Dio momentarily ignores the fact that it is a myth he is talking about, accepts it temporarily as a possibility and goes on to prove the self-explanatory: that it could not have happened. In doing so, though, he still uses arguments that stem from the same mythological universe (like the position and attitude of the goddesses) and does not plainly disregard it as irrational. Even his objections to the Homeric depiction of the gods is based on an argument relevant to sources and forensics: how can Homer cite words of gods and dialogues among them verbatim? [439] This is an argument that does not apply to any kind of moral implications of the gods' depictions, but once again returns to the creation of Homer's universe itself.

According to Dio's euhemeristic interpretation of the story, there was no abduction, but rather a properly agreed marriage between Paris and Helen. In his version of the story, Paris was one of Helen's suitors and he convinced

[436] Lucian, *Jup. trag.* 39; Saïd (2000) 185.

[437] Russell (1992) 10.

[438] *Or.* 53; Kim (2010) 86.

[439] *Or.* 11.18; Kim (2010) 98-9.

Tyndareus that he is the best choice for his daughter. Tyndareus, along with Castor and Pollux, was convinced by Paris' wealth and status and agreed that it would be good to establish ties with Asia, since his family's bond with the house of Atreus was already secured via Clytemnestra's marriage to Agamemnon (11.44-54). Now, according to this account, in his attempt to convince Helen's father and brothers, Paris does mention that he enjoys the favour of the gods (θεοφιλής) and that Aphrodite promised him an excellent marriage (ἄριστον γάμον), but also makes clear that he was the one to choose Helen, despite being able to choose any princess from Asia he might have wanted (11.49). This comment of Paris somehow sparked the story of the Judgement, which, in turn, was the basis for the absurd abduction version, which Dio's friend, who is telling the real story, goes on to prove is absolutely impossible (11.54). The improbability of the Homeric version is further supported by a well-known Herodotean argument: if Paris did abduct Helen, why did the Trojans not return her before the sack of their city? (11.66). In Dio the grounds of the argument are not based on a concept of 'just abduction', but rather on the notion that it was not an abduction and could not have been one in the first place. Otherwise, even if Paris had managed to abduct Helen, someone from the Trojan royal family would have stopped him (11.54).

Dio's methodology follows that of historians like Herodotus and Thucydides: he declares the implausible as impossible and rejects it.[440]

[440] *Or.* 11.38 on Egyptian sources and 11.39-41 on refuting both Homer and Stesichorus. See also Saïd (2000) 186.

Nevertheless, his arguments about the Judgement of Paris seem to bear a tone of humour, too. When referring to the supposed later wedding of Helen to Deiphobus and her unwillingness to get back to her husband, Menelaus, Dio seems to not be able to hold himself back in ridiculing the idea by adding an ironic comment, that refers to the Judgement of Paris: 'Afterwards too it is just unlikely that on the death of Paris, whom they say she loved, she should have been the wife of Deiphobus –I suppose because Aphrodite had promised her to him also' (11.70: ὕστερον δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος, οὗ λέγεται ἐρᾶν, Δηιφόβῳ συνεῖναι, καθάπερ οἶμαι κἀκείνῳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὑποσχομένης), implying not only that the very idea of Helen marrying due to Aphrodite promising her to someone is ridiculous, but also that it is an easy way out of explaining things that are indeed inexplicable. Helen married Paris because she and her father wanted to and not due to some kind of imaginary divine intervention. The idea of the Judgement in particular bemuses Dio so much that he attempts to ridicule it in addition to refuting it.

Dio does not detect absurdity only in the story of the Judgement itself or its connections to the rest of the story. In terms of the gullibility of the masses, one of Dio's main concerns is their easiness in accepting that Homer, as the narrator, has decoded the gods and thus can report upon their discussions and behaviour with accuracy (11.21). Although he focuses more on specific conversations, especially supposed secret ones, among gods as examples of Homer's nerve in pretending that he knew what was being said without including the Judgement of Paris, one cannot help but assume that this story,

being so much about divine affairs, is included in the list of the things Homer could not have possibly known about.[441]

In terms of Homer's composition, Dio is also quite critical of the structure of the *Iliad* in regards to the series of events. Homer, according to Dio, starts off the poem with the anger of Achilles, whereas he should have begun with Paris' crime (11.28), namely the abduction. And he does that to confuse his audience, because he is lying about the story. Whereas Homer is accurate in his narration of the battle itself, Dio claims that Homer is not being truthful as far as the abduction is concerned, otherwise he should have mentioned it very clearly and with great care (11.81: σαφέστατα ἔδει ῥηθῆναι καὶ μετὰ πλείστης σπουδῆς), since it would have been the beginning of the war. The refutation of the abduction does not rule out the Judgement of Paris on its own; however, Dio has already made clear that the Judgement does not make any sense on its own anyway.

A different and truly unique version of the Judgement can be found in Dio's *On Retirement* (20.19-25). In this discourse Dio discusses the definition of retirement. He argues that retirement is 'being occupied with one's own self, when one wishes' (20.7) and that 'the best and most profitable kind of retirement is retirement into oneself and giving attention to one's own concerns' (20.8). However, these concerns have to be well focused on matters considered to be

[441] This Homeric technique of imagining and presenting dialogues between gods is probably a source of inspiration for Lucian's dialogue works, including those that have to do with the Judgement of Paris, as we will see later in the chapter. Lucian seems to be embracing the possible absurdities of the Homeric world, in terms of both plotline and literary composition.

fitting. Otherwise, 'the mind that spins this way and that and fidgets and turns to one thing after another [...] will derive no benefit whatever from even perfect quiet and seclusion' (20.14).

Thus, the thoughts of the retired person have to be of a specific kind to be beneficial; they need to be reasonable and focused. A person who is thinking too much and does not keep himself in the present might get lost in dangerous thoughts. As an example Dio uses Paris, claiming that while he was a shepherd he started thinking that he would like to have the most beautiful wife rather than kingship or warcraft. This thought bore desire and the desire bore a plan of abducting Helen and inventing the story about the three goddesses in Ida, offering different gifts. This version of what really happened with Paris involves the same rationalisation as before, only now Paris, through the Judgement, is revealed to be the stereotype of an overambitious character. Paris' choice of Aphrodite's gift portrays him as making the decision of a simple man (as of non-royal descent), without actually being one.[442] In Dio, Paris is portrayed as overambitious, by making Helen his own personal disruption from the quiet life that he was leading, while his kingly background made it possible for him to fulfill this disruption.

The use of the Judgement of Paris in Dio's *On Retirement* bears a clear philosophical meaning, as the Judgement transforms into a bad example of a

[442] This distinction between country and urban life can also be found in Dio's *7th Discourse*, where he meets a rustic man, who offers him an alternative view of the city-life; Goldhill (1995) 123.

philosophical doctrine: that of Epicureanism.[443] Men are not supposed to be spending their days away aimlessly when supposedly in retirement. Retirement has to be characterised by a specific type of internal reflection in order to be beneficial. Dio as philosopher uses myth to condemn useless luxuries and to promote the simple and virtuous life in accordance with nature;[444] *On Retirement* does exactly that by transforming the myth of the Judgement into a fantasy of Paris.[445]

Dio's profile is that not only of a philosopher, but of a political theorist as well. In his work he often expresses his socio-political concerns and ideas.[446] In his *On Retirement*, the example of Paris offers Dio the opportunity to elaborate on his ideal of the good monarch. According to Dio, monarchs need to consult with philosophers in order to make decisions.[447] Dio himself was advisor of emperor Trajan after all (his four orations *On Kingship* where written probably for him). The good monarch for Dio is above all the most virtuous and a

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[443] Desideri (1978) 377.

[444] Saïd (2000) 171.

[445] Desideri (1978) 496. He argues that myth has to be transformed into something else to serve contemporary messages discussing the *Trojan Discourse*, but the same idea applies here as well, in the sense that the myth is transformed in order to serve a different philosophical idea.

[446] See, for example, Baldwin (1961) 204 discussing Dio's political concerns, especially his views on unemployment as a source of poverty in his *7th Oration*. See also Goldhill (1995) 125 on Dio as 'a broadly Stoic political theorist'.

[447] See *Or.* 4 *On Kingship* and 49. The idea can also be found in Plutarch's *To an Uneducated Ruler*. For an overview of this relationship between rulers and philosophers see Flinterman (2004) 359-61.

philanthropist (1.17).[448] He is actually a 'shepherd of the people' that takes care of their own benefit (1.12-13), unlike Paris, who is a shepherd, but lost in his own ambition. What is interesting, however, is what Dio has to say in terms of monarchs and philosophy. In 2.26 he says: 'nor again, is it necessary that he study philosophy to the point of perfecting himself in it' (οὐδ' αὖ φιλοσοφίας ἅπτεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατο), going on to say that the ruler should lend an ear to the teachings of philosophy when there is a chance, but to the extent that does not oppose his own character. One cannot but wonder about this hesitation of Dio towards granting the ruler full access to philosophy like Plato did. *On Retirement* sheds some light on this attitude: there are possible dangers in overthinking, as the example of Paris shows, especially for a prince, like Paris, who will have the resources to attempt and actually fulfill crazy thoughts that might spring to mind.

Therefore, the aim of the discourse is not just philosophical; Dio extracts the implausible aspect of the myth by removing the divine interference and setting a definite foundation of reason that will enforce his thoughts on retirement. With this version, however, he also reveals a political element of the myth in this form; the monarchs, the rich and the powerful (20.24: τῶν μονάρχων ἢ πλουσίων ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐχόντων δύναμιν) refer to the emperor Domitian, responsible for Dio's exile.[449] The speech points in two directions: the first is the importance of socialisation and the grave consequences that solitude

[448] On the Cynic background of this portrayal of the perfect monarch see Desmond (2008) 197-8.

[449] Arnim (1898) 267.

might have on a man's mind, potentially implying the impact of his own exile on his mentality,[450] and the second, and most important, is the danger of people with power fulfilling any absurd fantasies they might come up with.[451] The Judgement, rationalised as Paris' own fantasy, is demonstrated to be, more than in any other version of the myth, a personal decision with grave consequences due to the social and economic status of Paris (20.24). If he was not a prince, he would not have the resources to fulfil his plan and, thus, his ideas would be much less dangerous than those of a simple man. Paris is, therefore, the monarch that has been longer in his head (possibly by studying too much philosophy) than near his people, as he should.

The Judgement of Paris in the *Orations* can serve as a case study demonstrating the many faces of Dio. While Herodotus, as a historian, or Isocrates, as an orator, or Gorgias, as a philosopher and orator, do not refer to the Judgement as the aspect of divine intervention would interfere with their train of thought, Dio takes the risk and finds a way to incorporate the Judgement – and myth in general – in a body of work, where seemingly it does not belong. His transformations of the Judgement, either to a tradition stemming solely from Homer's ability and willingness to lie or to a fantasy born in Paris' mind, as a result of the wrong type of retirement, demonstrate just a few of Dio's many faces.

[450] Desideri (1978) 378.

[451] Anderson (2000) 153-4.

Lucian

Lucian's use of the Judgement ranges from a mention by implication in his *Convivium* (or *Symposium* or *The Lapiths*), to a reference in one of his *Dialogi Marini* (7) between Panope and Galene (a type of prequel to the events of the beauty contest), to a dramatisation of the whole incident in a dialogue, as conceived by Lucian's creative imagination in his *Dearum Iudicium.* The ways in which Lucian uses the Judgement of Paris can shed light not only on the overall effect of these works, but also on Lucian's philosophical and, in some cases, social ideology.

The *Convivium*, is a narration (incorporated into a dialogue) of a wedding feast held in the house of Aristaenetus, attended by famous learned philosophers. The atmosphere is already tense by the time a letter, sent by Hetoemocles the Stoic, arrives and is read by one of his servants in front of the participants. The letter makes the mood of the symposium explosive (21). According to Lycinus, the narrator (35):

> καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ὡς ἂν ἄριστά τις εἰκάσειεν, ὁμοιότατα εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ οἷς περὶ τῆς Ἔριδος οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ κληθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐς τοῦ Πηλέως τὸν γάμον ῥῖψαι τὸ μῆλον εἰς τὸ σύνδειπνον, ἀφ᾽οὗ τοσοῦτον πόλεμον ἐπ᾽ Ἰλίῳ γεγενῆσθαι. καί ὁ Ἑτοιμοκλῆς τοίνυν ἐδόκει μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ὥσπερ τι μῆλον οὐ μείω τῆς Ἰλιάδος κακὰ ἐξεργάσασθαι.
>
> It seemed to me that, to use the best possible simile, the events of the dinner were very like what the poets tell of Discord. They say, you know,

> that, not having been asked to the wedding of Peleus, she threw the apple into the company, and that from it arouse the great war at Troy. Well, to my thinking Hetoemocles by throwing his letter into the midst of us like an Apple of Discord had brought on woes quite as great as those of the *Iliad*. (trans. Harmon)

The Judgement of Paris is not explicitly mentioned. However, it is implied through the reference to the apple of Discord at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and to the Trojan War. The event that connects, both temporally and logically, those two events is the Judgement of Paris. Before we get to that, however, we need to explore how any such mythological reference fits into this dialogue.

The *Convivium* belongs to what we would call sympotic literature. In the time of Lucian, the genre has been well-established and is mainly shaped under the influence of Plato's *Symposion*.[452] However, it appears that Lucian's text leans more towards the ironic side of the genre. More specifically, Lucian's participants are indeed of various philosophical ideas, but their coexistence in a dinner leads up to a quarrel, rather than a civilised exchange of opinions. Therefore, in the *Convivium*, Lucian, instead of presenting various

[452] Mossman (1997a) 120-1. Referring to Plutarch's *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men*, Mossman discusses the overall role and effect of *symposion* literature already present in the time of Plutarch. See also Cazzato (2016) 193 on Lucian being 'an author with a penchant for 'talking over the wine cups' as well as an acute eye for literary conventions.' She moves on to discuss the second book of his *True History*, but nevertheless the same clearly applies to the *Convivium*.

philosophical voices, seems to be bringing up the behaviour and character of the society's educated members.

A few lines before the reference to the Trojan war, Lycinus makes a clear distinction between the way the simple people (ἰδιῶται) are behaving at the table and the way in which the wise men (σοφοί) are insulting and viciously attacking each other. While the simple men are acting in a civilised manner,[453] those who are supposed to be the respected members of the society, due to their educational background manage to outdo each other in greed and occasional violence.[454] Especially in terms of greed, the sympotic context of the *Convivium* offers an excellent opportunity not only to demonstrate the lack of constraint that people may show in *symposia*, but also to pinpoint a potential unrealistic factor in sympotic texts; Lucian questions the possibility of having people with certain opinions discussing in a civilised manner over eating and drinking. This, of course, does not mean that Lucian is rejecting philosophy in general, but rather mocks professional philosophy, especially as a source of conflict. Moreover, it appears that Lucian's attitude towards those professional philosophers in the *Convivium* is part of his overall attitude towards a Greek education in the

[453] Romeri (2001) 651-2 on the distinction between ἰδιῶται and φιλόσοφοι; Gómez and Jufresa (2010) 107. See also Anderson (1976b) 97 on Lucian's narrative around the comparison between the humble board and the rich man's table, or the rustic and the sophisticated wedding as demonstrated in *Gallus* and the *Convivium*.

[454] Ligota and Panizza (2007) 3. These *pepaideumenoi* also hold a socially and financially high status in society, in contrast to their ἰδιῶται counterparts. On Lucian's awareness of the gap between the rich and the poor see Baldwin (1961) 199.

Second Sophistic.[455] In that sense, he mocks the philosophers in a way that demonstrates his high expectations of them, both in terms of their educational role,[456] but also in terms of general courtesy and ethics.

The mythological reference to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and to the Trojan war seems to appear in the middle of nowhere in the text. The comparison between the Trojan war and the philosophers' fight is obviously a funny exaggeration. However, through the lens of Lucian's portrayal of the philosophers, it takes a different shape. If Hetoemocles' letter is the apple and the fight is the Trojan war, then the philosophers are inevitably somewhere between the gods at the table of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the humans who got involved in such a disastrous war for, ultimately, what was a divine, petty competition. The philosophers are those who the simple people look up to, but who behave in the most inappropriate way, bearing characteristics similar to those of the Greek gods. Truly, in Lucian the real philosopher seems to be the only one who does not misbehave at the table;

[455] Swain (2007) 23: 'Lucian's attitude to Greek culture and his own status within it is characterized by unease and awkwardness. On the one hand he constantly stresses his independence as an observer of the follies and foibles of his contemporaries. On the other there is a strong desire to be taken seriously by these same people, to be included in their games, to be allowed to criticize and be thanked for doing so.'

[456] See again Swain (2007) 22, on the term 'sophist' bearing mainly an educational definition, meaning that a sophist was most commonly a teacher philosopher.

everybody else does.[457] The seemingly absurd mythological comparison is, therefore, targeted towards displaying the pettiness of the philosophers' conflict, pointing towards the scuffle among the three goddesses. The philosophers' fight is as vain as that of Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, where a winner cannot be chosen at the actual table. The dispute not only is resolved elsewhere, in Ida, but does not really affect the gods. The final comparison of the argument to the Trojan war shows the viciousness of the fight along with the realisation that, although for the gods there is room for such petty conflicts, it can never end well for the mortals.

A mythological reference like the one to the Judgement of Paris, however, also reveals and exploits a secondary narrative level that exists in the *Convivium*. Since the dialogue is not a straightforward dialogue, but rather part of a narrative of the primary dialogue between Philo and Lycinus, Lucian clearly represents the way two educated people would communicate such news to each other, using a commonly known mythological reference. Nevertheless, the reference to the Judgement of Paris also appeals to Lucian's own educated audience. We are dealing with a kind of 'meta-appeal', in the sense that it is a reference that applies both to the educated audience of the text – that would be Philo, Lycinus and anyone who belongs to their circle – and to the learned audience that Lucian writes for.

[457] *Nigr.* 22. See also Anderson (1976a) 87: 'But his (Lucian's) victims will misbehave at dinner in any other setting: men shame the gods; philosophers affront their patrons; the poor embarrass the rich; and the gods themselves fight over places or ambrosia.'

As the external educated audience comes in contact with this first mythological reference to the Judgement of Paris and potentially feels a great degree of participation in the dialogue's narrative, they are in for a big surprise when it is revealed that the dialogue is a piece of harsh criticism for their group; unless they can actually think that the Judgement of Paris is the story to honour high character and appropriate behaviour. Lucian, through the words of his literary alter ego, Lycinus, almost tests the intellectual capacity of his readers by using a mythological reference which is easy to recognise, but which also foreshadows the spirit of the fight that took place in the wedding feast.[458]

The *Convivium* exploits the idea and the symbolisms of the Judgement of Paris within the mortal sphere; mythology works as a point of reference to enhance and deepen the narration of an otherwise mundane situation on various levels. Lucian, however, also imagines the impact of the Judgement in what we would call the minor divine world in his dialogue between Panope and Galene, in his *Dialogi Marini* (7), in the sense that it is not a dialogue between any of the major twelve gods, but between two sea-nymphs. The dialogue takes place after the wedding of Peleus and Thetis and the incident with the apple of Eris, but before the Judgement. Galene, as indicated by her name (γαλήνη = calmness), is the nymph responsible for calming the sea and this is exactly what Poseidon asked of her for the duration of Thetis' wedding, as she states herself in her first

[458] Branham (1989) 105 refers to Lycinus' role as narrator in evoking interpretative frames for the tale, both in mythological and in literary level, discussing the two alternative titles of the work: *Symposion* and *The Lapiths*. The same could apply to his reference to the Judgement: it is evoking a mythological allusion to an event that is all about mindless competition.

words of the dialogue. Panope, who was present at the wedding, offers an account of what happened: Discord, who was not invited, crept in the feast, after Peleus and Thetis had left for their chambers escorted by Poseidon and Amphitrite and while everyone was drunk. Once she was in, she threw a gold apple, with the inscription 'Let the beautiful get it' (ἡ καλὴ λαβέτω) on it, towards where Hera, Aphrodite and Athena were seated. Hermes picked up the apple and read the inscription, but according to Panope all the Nereids held their tongues, because, as she says: "What more could we do with them present?" (τί γὰρ ἔδει ποιεῖν ἐκείνων παρουσῶν;). The three goddesses started claiming the apple each for herself, until Zeus parted them, refusing to judge the matter himself, despite their insistence. Rather he sent them to Paris, in Ida, because he is a lover of beauty (φιλόκαλος) and thus his judgement is bound to be right. Panope goes on to say that they would be going to Ida that day and that shortly they will have a messenger with the results, while Galene claims that Aphrodite will win, unless the judge is short-sighted (ἀμβλυώττῃ).

Several things here require our attention, despite the shortness of the dialogue. First, since the Judgement of Paris is the sole theme of Lucian's *Dearum Iudicium*, in which the contest is described in detail, it could seem redundant to have such a short dialogue on the same topic in Lucian's body of work. Anderson attributes this repetition of themes to Lucian's intention to entertain his readers by variation.[459] Bartley goes one step further: the two dialogues present different parts and aspects of the same story. While the

[459] Anderson (1976a) 21.

Dearum Iudicium is told from the point of view of the participants, the dialogue between the Nereids presents an indirect reporting of events. At the same time, the *Dearum Iudicium* starts with Zeus's command to Hermes to bring the goddesses to Paris, while Galene's account finishes with the exact same command, drawing more attention to Eris and her spitefulness for not being invited to the wedding.[460]

However, there is more to it than that. The Nereids of the dialogue, are, in Panope's words, less powerful and beautiful figures than Hera, Athena and Aphrodite. According to her, the nymphs could not say anything about the apple when the three goddesses started claiming it. Her intention was humorous and sarcastic, pointing towards the fact that the three goddesses could not have been the only beautiful figures at the table and, therefore, the contest was not just about beauty.[461] Nevertheless, Panope's words also signify a distinction between higher and lower status goddesses. With this distinction taken into account, the dialogue serves as a take on the apple incident and the Judgement of Paris within the divine world as a whole, but not in the most common sphere of the main gods (they were all at the table anyway and we already know from the *Cypria* what happened there). Lucian's dialogues, in the spirit of the Second Sophistic, challenge learned readers to think of a wide range of issues connected with well-known myths.[462] As such, this dialogue offers an imaginative view of how the whole story of the Judgement might have been conceived and chatted about by

[460] Bartley (2009b) 100-1.

[461] Bartley (2009b) 106.

[462] Bartley (2009b) 6.

gods and goddesses that were not directly linked to the events. Panope's account and Galene's reaction show that what took the form of an unresolvable malice among the goddesses and would end up in a terrible war between mortals, became a subject of gossip among the rest of the gods. The Nereids could not compete with Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, while they could not have the insight of Zeus about where all this would end. Therefore, they talk about it as if it were an isolated, funny and spicy incident. The events at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis along with the Judgement become the saucy gossip of the day.[463] Galene's ease in judging the result at the end shows that the Nereids do not hold knowledge of how many things are dependent upon this decision, nor that it will not be just about beauty at the end. The Nereids due to both their divine and their feminine nature are not aware of the danger that befalls a male mortal gazing upon a female goddess.[464]

A second feature worth mentioning is the inscription of the apple according to Lucian. The apple was probably not mentioned in the *Cypria* (at least Proclus does not mention it in his summary of the poem) and, based on the

[463] Bartley (2005) 364 mentions that in the *Dialogi Marini* the sexual relations of the gods become a central theme. Although the Judgement is not exactly of a sexual nature, it shares a similar erotic and personal character, which leads to it becoming an item of gossip.

[464] The use of ἀμβλυώττῃ is far from random: in Plato, *Rep.* 7.517d the word is used for a man that cannot see well for a while after contemplating the divine. Lucian indirectly brings up the theme of the endangered sight of a human who undertakes the task of looking at a god (in the context of the Judgement especially the sight of a male mortal gazing upon a female goddess, like, for example, Tiresias in Call. *Hymn to Athena*). For further use of the word in philosophical terms see Bartley (2009b) 107-8.

artistic representations of the myth, it really does appear to be a feature that belongs to the later tradition. Hyginus in his *Fabulae* (92) mentions the apple and the inscription, but uses a superlative form of the epithet beautiful (*formosissimam*), whereas Lucian does not, neither here nor in the *Dearum Iudicium*. The lack of the superlative implies that the winner should not be the most beautiful of the goddesses, but rather the one who personifies beauty and that is Aphrodite, as Bartley argues.[465] There is a second implication, however, and that is the fact that the apple itself could not have been a reason for competition among the goddesses. By stripping the epithet 'beautiful' of the superlative form, Lucian reveals the same antagonistic nature of the goddesses that he uses to a more elaborate extent in the *Dearum Iudicium*, when the goddesses are using any means possible to win, while stripping the other two of any assets (girdle, helmet, etc.).

A third point of interest in the dialogue is Panope's account of the reason why Paris shall be the judge according to Zeus: Paris can judge the most beautiful, because he is φιλόκαλος (a beauty lover). In this context, Paris is not so much an expert on female beauty, but rather an expert on beauty as a general, philosophical term.[466] In this context, beauty becomes a force to which Paris is attracted instinctively and his choice, based on his character, will bring disaster

[465] Bartley (2009b) 105.

[466] Bartley (2009b) 107, especially on Macleod choosing in his edition the reading τὸ κάλλιον instead of τὴν καλλίονα, which signifies even more Paris' expertise on beauty as a concept, rather than on feminine beauty.

to him, his family and his city.[467] In the *Dearum Iudicium*, on the other hand, Zeus expresses a different reason why Paris should be the judge: it is because Paris is beautiful himself and well schooled in love that makes him an appropriate judge. Since Panope's account is indirect, we could assume that it is to some extent her own view and interpretation of the situation. Thus, Paris becomes φιλόκαλος and Galene comes to complete this thought taking almost for granted that he will pick Aphrodite. Again, to the Nereids the terms and conditions of the contest seem oversimplified compared to the actual situation as it has been formed for Paris. Lucian has managed the impossible: the Nereids speak of the events with a certain amount of naivety, while Lucian reminds the learned reader what s/he already knows through hints, exposing the untroubled attitude of the Nereids even more. At the same time, this attitude towards the Judgement of Paris demonstrates the element of purely visual criteria for the verdict.

The *Dearum Iudicium* (or *Judgement of the Goddesses*) is the only surviving text that represents the Judgement of Paris alone. Lucian elaborately recreates the events and the words spoken from Zeus's command to Hermes to Paris' final choice, but also does so in a way that constantly alludes to previous literary genres, traditions and texts. His criticism of Homer and the mythological tradition that he represents is achieved by maintaining and

[467] See on that Mestre and Gómez (2009) 93-4: 'in fact Lucian, as well as others in antiquity, makes use of the literary topos that love, beauty, hope or fear become tyrants to human beings as they become enslaved by these feelings.'

dragging the absurdity of the story to the limits through a dialogue that is presented as the detailed version of what really happened.

The dialogue opens with a short monologue by Zeus. In it, the father of the gods explains why Paris should be the judge and declares that he cannot be the judge himself as he loves all three of them equally, but also he knows he would be in trouble with the other two if he just picks one. The irony of the declaration is obvious: Zeus almighty himself cannot cope with the 'bad graces of the majority' (πάντως ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ταῖς πλείοσιν), but it is only natural for a mortal to be able to make such a decision. Zeus also appeals to the unsophisticated and naïve nature of Paris (ἀφελὴς καὶ ὄρειος), which has to do with his status as a shepherd at the time of the Judgement.[468] These features appear to make him an impartial judge, since he has never seen anything similar, but it is also hinted to the reader that you cannot possibly expect from a simple mortal to make the right choice in a decision that Zeus himself refused to take.[469] The attention on Paris' character at the time of the Judgement plays upon the

[468] See also *D.Iud.* 7 where Paris describes himself as a countryman (ἀγροῖκος) and a shepherd (βουκόλος), in contrast to those who are dainty (ἁβρῶν) and city-bred (ἀστικῶν), trying to convince Hermes that he is not worthy of the task assigned to him. In fact, he claims, he would be more suitable to judge two she-goats or heifers in terms of their beauty.

[469] Cf. Wilshere (2015) 65-6 who argues that the reference to Paris' rustic character is evoking a serious and deeper issue of Homeric scholarship that has to do with the athetization of *Il.* 24.23-30 by Aristarchus on grounds of inconsistency with *Il.* 3.39-57, where Hector indicates that Paris was brought up as a *kithara*-playing ἀστικός.

irrationality of the tradition in terms of the life choice that a shepherd is about to make.

This uninformed Paris – who, as a shepherd, is also unaware of the literary tradition around each goddess, or so it appears – is the one whom the goddesses are trying to supposedly protect, while they are sabotaging each other; Athena warns Paris to not let Aphrodite undress until she has put down her famous girdle, the one that Hera borrows in the *Iliad* for the *Dios apate*, otherwise she may bewitch him. Also, Athena brings up Aphrodite's over-adornment, claiming that she should try to win him over with her natural beauty (γυμνὸν τὸ κάλλος). The learned reader cannot avoid thinking of Callimachus and the praise of Athena's natural beauty, in contrast with Aphrodite's overdone beauty. Aphrodite on the other hand does not want Paris to be terrified by Athena and so makes her take off her helmet, the most prestigious and awe-evoking part of her attire, while mocking her on her most famous feature: her green glaring eyes, which she assumes (or hopes) might be criticised by Paris without the cover of her helmet.

The contrast between Athena and Aphrodite as portrayed in Lucian may be reminiscent of Callimachus, especially in terms of the different kinds of beauty, but it can be found elsewhere, as mentioned earlier at various points in the thesis. There was a wider tradition on the differences between the goddesses, but also on Paris' wrongful choice due to being a shepherd. Indeed, two epigrams *A.P.* 16.169 (anonymous and impossible to date) and *A.P.* 16.170 (by Hermodorus, 3rd century B.C.) referring to a comparison between the statue of Aphrodite in Cnidus and that of Athena in Athens reach the same

verdict: 'It was just like a neatherd for Paris to pass her by' (*A.P.* 16.169, 4: ὡς βούτης ὁ Πάρις τήνδε παρετρόχασεν) and 'Paris was really a bumpkin' (*A.P.* 16.170, 4: ὄντως βουκόλος ἦν ὁ Πάρις). Of course, in Lucian, Paris' character of a shepherd does not only have to do with choosing a certain lifestyle, since each goddess' bribe represents kind of a separate value of life, but it appears that it also has to do with Paris' supposedly uneducated background. Again, Lucian plays around the idea of who is educated enough to understand the literary references in a way that here renders education and knowledge as a protective mechanism. If Paris knew the tradition, would he perhaps have been more cautious in picking Aphrodite?

Although the epigrams mention specific artifacts, the reference to Paris inevitably creates a connection with the wider tradition of the two goddesses. In Hermodorus in particular, Athena is referred to as 'boldly brandishing her spear' (δορυθαρσέα Παλλάδα), which is very close to that terrifying image of Athena that Aphrodite wants to avoid in Lucian. It is also reminiscent of Athena's terrifying image as portrayed in Callimachus with the blinding of Tiresias. The mythological tradition or traditions of the goddesses are, therefore, incorporated in what superficially is just a discussion of these statues. Even when Evenus (first century B.C. or A.D.) is seeking to praise the beauty of the Cnidian Aphrodite in his two epigrams (*A.P.* 16.165 and 16.166), he uses aspects of the Judgement of Paris as evidence: in 16.165 Zeus's consort and Athena herself admit that: 'We are wrong in finding fault with Paris.' (Ἀδίκως τὸν Φρύγα μεμφόμεθα) and in 16.166 Praxiteles has the vote of Paris to attest his skill in depicting her beauty in

its full scale (μάρτυρα τῆς τέχνης ψῆφον ἔχων Πάριδος).[470] All these epigrams allow for the visual element of beauty and, accordingly, that of the Judgement of Paris to show by discussing specific statues, but ultimately they too fit in the wider tradition concerning the goddesses.

Although Aphrodite is the first to rush and declare her confidence to Zeus when he announces the judge, she also appears to be the first to start planning her way to victory, by asking Hermes whether Paris is married. Hera attacks Aphrodite, mentioning her affair with Anchises, but is only once mocked back by Aphrodite implicitly on her white arms, without any other major requests or accusations. As is the usual norm, Hera and Athena do not turn against one another. They appear once again together as the opposition to Aphrodite.

While Paris demonstrates the low profile of a shepherd, it does not take too long for him to show that, in fact, he is rather cunning and cowardly, albeit not well-informed or educated. Once Hermes declares that Paris cannot avoid the role appointed to him by Zeus (8), the innocent shepherd is very fast in attempting to take care of his safety (9); he asks Hermes to persuade the goddesses not to be angry with him on his decision and to blame only his sight for it. This request, however, proves Paris' unawareness of how the gods act; not only does he believe Hermes, who claims that the goddesses said they will not

[470] See also *A.P.* 16.172 by Alexander of Aetolia (third century B.C.). In the epigram the narrator suggests that Athena herself made a statue of Aphrodite to perfection, forgetting the Judgment of Paris. Again, the main idea is to show how perfect the statue is, but the comment is again based on the established rivalry between Athena and Aphrodite.

be angry after the Judgement (in spite of never hearing the goddesses say it themselves in the dialogue), but he also draws attention to his sight, the thing that he most certainly is in danger of losing according to tradition. If his sight is to blame, then what would stop the losers from taking it away?

Once he thinks he has established his safety, Paris becomes even more audacious. He dares to ask for the goddesses to appear naked in front of him in order to judge them (γυμνὰς ἰδεῖν βούλομαι), utterly oblivious to the terrible things that can happen to mortals if they gaze directly upon gods. Then, as mentioned above, he goes on to insult Athena about her gift, claiming that he will not make his decision on the basis of the gifts, a claim that he contradicts the next second, upon Aphrodite's offer. Having Aphrodite in front of him and before he announces his final verdict, Paris is fully revealed: not only has he fallen for Aphrodite's looks,[471] compliments and promises, but he actually asks for all sorts of guarantees from her. He wants to know the plan before declaring her the winner and actually asks her to promise him twice (he is pious enough to not require an oath from Aphrodite, although she offers to give him one).

The concept of nudity is not new to Lucian. There is already, among others, a tradition of representing the goddesses (and especially Aphrodite) nude in art. The impact of the Cnidian Aphrodite and the story that surrounds it[472] has affected various epigrammatists (see previous chapter) and Callimachus

[471] *D. Iud.* 10. Note how he asks Aphrodite to take off the girdle, but seems to have no problem with her perfumes and makeup.

[472] For the interest of Hellenistic poetry and art in viewing nudity (esp. that of Aphrodite) see: Zanker (2004) 42-4 and 144-8.

has already handled one aspect of mortals seeing naked goddesses, especially under the light of potentially destructive consequences in doing so. Rufinus (*c.* second century A.D.) in his two epigrams (*A.P.* 5.35 and 5.36) also uses nudity along with elements of the Judgement of Paris, but in doing so he offers an even more vulgar version of the Judgement. In his epigrams a man is called to be the judge among three women, who appear naked in front of him. In 5.35 he admires their buttocks, skin and pudenda, whereas in 5.36 he is called to judge which one of them has the best vagina. The judge/narrator compares himself with Paris in both cases: in the first, he says that if Paris was there he would not even want to look at the goddesses, since the girls were so perfect, while in the second, being aware of what happened to Paris, he awards the crown to all three of them. Both of these epigrams retrospectively challenge Paris' decision at the Judgement,[473] from a point where the *status quo* of the myth is as we know it from epic and the rest of the pre-existing literature. Lucian, on the other hand, reimagines the exact way in which this *status quo* has been established and in doing that he uses nudity as a pointer to Paris' true colours, but also as an indication and parody of the relationship between the Judgement of Paris and beauty; beauty that is based both on sexual attraction and on Aphrodite's well-known over-adornement In this context, Paris as φιλόκαλος is a specialist on nude beauty, with everything that this implies.

[473] Sistakou (2011) 199-200. She also discusses *A.P.* 12.207 by Strato of Sardis. In that, it is implied that Paris would have preferred Diocles' erect penis to the goddesses.

As Lucian attempts to represent the Judgement of Paris in as much detail as possible, he goes beyond Aphrodite's vague and conventional influence over Paris and his decision. Aphrodite paints with her words Helen's portrait in the most appealing way possible (*D.Iud.* 14), alluding both to her appearance (λευκὴ μέν, οἵαν εἰκὸς ἐκ κύκνου γεγενημένην / γυμνὰς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ παλαιστική), but also to her divine and supernatural descent, referring to her hatching from an egg (ἁπαλὴ δέ, ὡς ἐν ᾠῷ τραφεῖσα). Along with that, Aphrodite goes on to establish in the mind of Paris Helen's status as the most wanted woman in Greece by referring to her abduction by Theseus and to the many suitors that wanted her hand before she married Menelaus.

Two things require attention. First, Aphrodite needs to elaborate on the technicalities of the abduction to convince Paris, and in doing so undertakes the role of convincing Helen to follow him when he has reached Sparta. Paris' doubts about a married woman following him to Troy are similar to those echoed in Dio's *Trojan Discourse*; nevertheless, in Dio those arguments are used to prove the impossibility of the story, whereas in the imaginary version of Lucian Aphrodite fully undertakes her role as the mastermind of the plan. She clearly states (*D.Iud.* 15) that once Helen sees Paris, the rest – her falling in love with him and following him – are her affair (τοὐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐμὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ ἔργον). It is the first time in Lucian that Aphrodite's role in the abduction is not guessed at or implied. It is clearly stated, embracing the goddess' full potential as a mythological figure.

Second, and most important, is the fact that Aphrodite is the only one who manages to engage with Paris in a real conversation about her bribe. Her

technique is almost that of a professional orator: first she just mentions Helen, asking Paris if he knows about her, making him intrigued and curious to learn (13). Then she praises Helen and through claiming that every man wants her (14) presents her as a possession worthy of pride and envy. That way she sows the desire in his heart and mind. Paris himself says that he already desires Helen (15: ἐρῶ γε ἤδη τῆς Ἑλένης), although he has not seen her yet. The way he talks about her resembles Paris' obsession with Helen in Dio's *On Retirement*; however, in this case it is Aphrodite who has caused the obsession rather than Paris' own train of thought. Once the obsession is there, the rest is easy; she just has to elaborate on her secret weapons, Love and Desire, to which Paris also asks for the Graces and then Aphrodite also adds Passion and Hymen (16). Thus, Aphrodite proves that she has a sphere of influence wide enough for the abduction to be a success, but before that she has already shown something far more important: that Paris actually wants her bribe, while he turned down both those of Hera and Athena immediately. In that respect, Paris does not choose Aphrodite's gift *over* the other two, since he has already turned both of them down without having heard yet what Aphrodite has to offer.

Aphrodite's way of presenting her bribe to Paris is vital to his final decision. As philosophy and oratory dominate the Second Sophistic and Lucian is bred in this literary environment, he does something extraordinary: he has a purely mythological figure, like Aphrodite, presenting her arguments aiming at convincing Paris not only that she deserves the apple, but rather that what she is offering is irresistibly attractive. Whereas the other two goddesses present their victory at the competition as the condition for their bribes (Athena says: 'And

Paris, if you shall say that I am the fairest, I will make you a great warrior...', whereas Hera has, too, said earlier: 'Paris, give me the prize of beauty, and you shall be lord of all Asia'), Aphrodite plainly says: 'If you want her, I can make her your wife' (εἰ δὴ θέλοις, ἐγώ σοι καταπράξομαι τὸν γάμον). In a way, Aphrodite uses rhetorical techniques to support a gift that is representative, however, of a specific philosophy of life, too (and one that appears to be more superficial than the other two). The length of the dialogue actually offers Lucian room to develop arguments at length, to offer an alternative version of philosophical dialogues in a satirical light.[474] While Hera and Athena use the bribes to convince Paris, Aphrodite primarily uses words to do so, revealing the capacity and power of speech, which was so beloved in the Second Sophistic.

Lucian offers an appealing, satiric version of what might have happened during the Judgement of Paris; he does that in a way that is intended to be funny, but not disrespectful to the goddesses *per se*; it is a pre-existing story, which he reconstructs in a parody which targets more the flaws of humanity and the trends of his time, like fascination with nudity and Homer's representation of the gods, rather than the goddesses themselves.[475] For Lucian's humour to make sense, one needs to know the pre-existing literary tradition, as the world presented in

[474] Bartley (2005) 360: 'In the longer dialogues it was possible to echo (and parody) the longer development of argument between two speakers that is typical of the discourse of Plato and his successors'. See also Hopkinson (2008) 7 on the dialogues being a combination of Platonic and comic elements.

[475] Dickie (2010) 351: 'Lucian must not have been considered as dangerously irreligious, based on his appointment to a position of high authority in the *concilium*.'

this dialogue is formed exactly on the basis of this tradition and all this in a clearly Aristophanic way of mocking the Olympians.[476] The goddesses appear petty and competitive, but again that is something proven through the original story anyway. There is nothing respectable in fighting over a golden apple and the title of the most beautiful, but, since they did it anyway, it is to be expected of them to plan their victory ahead and sabotage and be spiteful to each other, as it is expected for the losers to be angry after the contest. The criticism of the gods, as they are portrayed in Homer, is not just evoking Aristophanes of course, but also, at least to some extent Xenophanes and his criticism of Homeric gods.[477]

Such a brutally anthropomorphic portrayal of the divine, however, does not mean that mortals are represented as faultless puppets; the example of Paris shows the exact opposite. Not only is Paris in the *Dearum Iudicium* portrayed as making a bad choice, but the dialogue also reveals all the motives, the reasons and the planning behind this decision. Paris is, perhaps more forcefully than in any other text, represented as a free-willed individual who was chosen by Zeus for certain reasons and confirmed each and every one of them in the course of the text. He thought he could outsmart and disrespect gods without consequences. In Lucian's religious system gods are not subject to fate, while humans are fully responsible for their actions.[478] This essentially means that they are all individuals who decide and act for themselves, without any external, almighty

[476] Hopkinson (2008) 8.

[477] Diels-Kranz 21 B11-12; Wilshere (2015) 62.

[478] Dickie (2010) 355.

influences. Aphrodite may have been planning Paris' persuasion, but she does so in a very mundane way: mainly by the use of words.

Bowie writes about Lucian that he 'betrays himself as a child of his time' because not only does he ridicule the tendency of his time, influenced by the sophistic movement, to imitate orators of the past and debate in speeches themes from the historic past, but also 'when he turns to satirical dialogue it is Plato and Old Comedy that he proclaims as his principal models'.[479] However, we have already seen that in the *Dearum Iudicium*, for example, Aphrodite takes up the role of an atypical orator, albeit in a dramatic environment that really does resemble the spirit of Old Comedy, but also of Platonic dialogue. The *Convivium* is a dialogue criticising the educated, but which appeals to the educated at the same time, while the dialogue between Panope and Galene offers a glimpse into a conversation between two divine figures, in an almost Homeric way, in the sense that the poet/author knows things that he could not have possibly known, but still reports upon them in detail with confidence. This is one of Dio's points of criticism about Homer; humans, poets or not, cannot claim that they can report upon gods' discussions with accuracy. Lucian not only does it, but he does so in as much detail as possible. So where does that leave us on Lucian and the Judgement of Paris?

Dialogue as a genre bears a dramatic essence that certainly connects it to theatre. A topic like the Judgement of Paris in particular is very suitable for comedy or satyr play, as we have seen more elaborately in chapter 3. Lucian does

[479] Bowie (1970) 9.

indeed use some conventions of the genre in his Judgement dialogues, for example gods and goddesses are not portrayed under any light of grandeur, while their dialogues with humans are more inappropriate than expected. However, Lucian's deep knowledge of the previous literature makes his work inevitably more complicated than this.

Comedy and dialogue, despite their theatrical connection, are essentially very different genres. One is mostly serious and philosophically significant, whereas the other one normally mocks the self-seriousness of the philosophers.[480] This does not mean, of course, that humour cannot be found in dialogues before Lucian;[481] however, Lucian's dialogues are free from any constraints that would limit his content to 'rational, self-conscious language' and to only to realistic conversations.[482] Lucian's technique of the dialogue goes beyond humour and extends to the supernatural, creating an overall different literary environment in which the Judgement of Paris can develop and flourish.

It would be short-sighted to assume that Lucian's influences were limited to comedy (or satyr play) and to philosophical dialogue. His dialogues also draw material from Homeric epic, from the *Homeric Hymns* and even visual art.[483] And Lucian has the ability to detect it in all of the above. Homer, for example, is by no means humourless; his dialogues and some scenes among

[480] Branham (1989) 42.

[481] Branham (1989) 69-74 discussing the mocking of the sophists in Plato's *Euthydemus*.

[482] Branham (1989) 81.

[483] Hall (1981) 31-2; Bartley (2005) 359. See also Hopkinson (2008) 7 on Lucian exploiting further earlier genres, including Theocritus, New Comedy, the ancient novel and Xenophon.

gods bear a frivolousness about them,[484] which significantly contradict the pain and the destruction that has been happening in the mortal world. The dialogue between Panope and Galene echoes this same lightness, whereas the *Judgement of the Goddesses* takes the ideas and the spirit of the *Dios apate*, for example, and by incorporating elements of artistic tradition, comedy and philosophical dialogue, too, manages to reinvent the Judgement of Paris. As his dialogues stop serving as 'smoothly cultured advocacy or jovial praise', they contradict and attack the pretentions of his contemporary world, including the idealisation of the classical past.[485]It is not just about knowing the material and praising it, it is about knowing the material so well that you can criticise and parody it. Ultimately, Lucian can find humour everywhere and uses that to filter his reality and ideas through classical literary techniques. This is one of the elements that make him and his work on the Judgement of Paris unique.

Latin Literature

Under the Roman Empire and while Greek writers mould the Judgement of Paris into philosophy and oratory, but also into imagination and fun, the Latin writers develop alternative attitudes towards the myth. Statius in his *Achilleid* refers to it in Odysseus' speech to Achilles in book 2 (49-59), in which he narrates all the events that led to the war. The reference is impressively

[484] E.g. *Iliad* 1.599-600: all the gods laugh uncontrollably as Hephaistus is bustling around the palace. See further Bell (2007) 100-1 on the gods' suffering being inconsequential due to their immortality.

[485] Branham (1989) 82; Hopkinson (2008) 6.

concise, while the three lines that connect the scene of the Judgement with the narration of the abduction provide in just three abrupt sentences the transition between the results of the Judgement to the rape of Helen (58-9: 'Anger convulses the losers. The arbiter seeks his fatal reward. Amyclae, easy prey, is shown to the ravisher.') The Judgement finds its traditional place as a cause of the Trojan war and an essential component to its past.

No other Latin writer gave more attention to the Judgement of Paris than Ovid in his *Heroides.* The Judgement of Paris features in 3 of the 21 letters that constitute the work: from Oenone to Paris (5.33-40), from Paris to Helen (16.53-88) and from Helen to Paris (17.115-38 and 237-46). The context, as expected from elegiac poetry, is deeply personal in all of these letters. Ovid's mastery of the mythological material is undeniable and under the light of his knowledge he attempts to imagine how each of the characters might have felt and experienced the same series of events.

Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* (10.30-4), which was supposedly composed after the *The Golden Ass*, now lost, provides one of the most puzzling references to the Judgement of Paris: the protagonist, Lucius, who has, by mistake, been transformed into an ass, is watching a mime performance of the Judgement at a theatre. The description entails a variety of details and symbolisms that can be found in artistic representations of the myth (Athena wears a helmet, Aphrodite is almost naked, the goddesses have escorts symbolic

or their bribes, et al.) and is followed by a lengthy comment on corruption of judgement in general, thus appealing to the ethical implications of the myth.[486]

It is appealing to suggest, based on Apuleius' text, that the Judgement of Paris was suitable for and gained popularity in the genre of pantomime; however, it must be noted that the pantomime of the Judgement, as described here, does not match what is considered normal for Graeco-Roman pantomime. As May argues, Apuleius stresses the artificiality of the performance in question, a fact that contradicts the usual aim of realism that pantomime used to have.[487] The Judgement of Paris might have been a chosen theme for pantomime, but not more so than any other myth.

The Judgement of Paris appears to have retained some of its popularity in the Latin texts of the Imperial period. However, the ways in which it is handled differs significantly from the Greek side of things, which is only natural as different genres emerge and gain popularity in each language. Nevertheless, Apuleius' reference to the Judgement in the context of a pantomime performance could indicate that the myth remained more popular than we think, but in different genres than expected. Whatever the case, the Judgement of Paris raised some interest and attracted Latin poets, too, to reinvent its presentation and meaning.

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[486] Apuleius combines here elements of Plato's *Apology* and Plautus' *Pseudolus*, but also he 'has fully exploited the sumptuous spectacle of obscene popular entertainment that outraged the moralists of the time, while attempting to hide behind the philosopher's cloak' (Sandy (1997) 250).

[487] May (2008) 356-8.

Conclusions

If a single conclusion had to be drawn from this thesis, it would have to be that the Judgement of Paris is a story with many faces and, thus, many artistic possibilities. The myth was present throughout so many centuries and genres that it inevitably changed and developed. This development, however, was not so much in its form; the main narrative of the myth itself remained more or less the same. Its transformation was relevant to the exploitation of the various themes upon which the myth draws and plays.

In regards to the artistic representations of the Judgement of Paris, attention has been drawn to the earliest depiction, before stereotypical motifs of representation were established. Then, moving on to the fifth and fourth centuries, when the myth met its most popular phase in art, various established motifs were discussed along with more detailed representations that hinted more about the bribes and the contest's outcome.

In the next chapter, I discussed the Judgement of Paris in early literature. Great focus was given to the role of the Judgement in the *Iliad*, especially regarding the story circulating in the time of Homer, but being of non-heroic nature, thus inappropriate for a full account in the *Iliad.* Despite the fragmentary state of the rest of the poems where the Judgement of Paris featured or might have featured, it appears that the myth was circulating widely and its literary potential was already realised. The discussion of the omission of the Judgement by Herodotus has demonstrated that the supernatural, divine-oriented and

folktale character of the story make it also unfit for more realistic attempts of finding the causes of the war, which in this case Herodotus sees as a forerunner to the Persian wars.

As far as drama is concerned, it appears that the Judgement was exploited by the genre to its full potential. The myth appears to have been eschewed in tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles as inappropriate to high literature, but also due to the effect that it could potentially have in the overall literary effect of these plays. However, Sophocles, being fond of the Trojan tradition, revealed and exploited new aspects of the myth in satyr play, as the myth's narrative is fully compatible with this literary environment. Euripides, on the other hand, inserted the Judgement in his tragedies in a variety of ways and contexts, to debate divine intervention and human responsibility, influenced probably by his contemporary sophistic and oratory tradition. The centre of attention is especially placed on Helen and her share of the blame, as discourses by Gorgias and Isocrates on Helen also demonstrate. It appears, however, that the Judgement of Paris was not enough to exonerate Helen of any blame and, thus, Euripides and Isocrates also use further arguments to support her innocence: the *eidolon* tradition in the *Helen*, and her high-regarded position as daughter of Zeus and Paris' strategic choice at the beauty contest in Isocrates.

In comedy, the discussion of Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* has showed that the Judgement, with its satyrical characteristics, makes a satyr chorus highly fit for the play, but also that, based on Paris' responsibility for the war as the contest's judge and his lustful nature, the story can serve as a political satire analogy.

In Hellenistic literature the erotic and feminine nature of the Judgement of Paris emerges more prominently. The visual aspect of the beauty contest aids its use in epigrams with themes of nudity and art (especially the statue of the Cnidian Aphrodite), while Callimachus further enhances these elements by focusing on the preparation of the goddesses before the Judgement. Here, Aphrodite's lustful nature is connected to her over-adornment and excess vanity, while Athena's masculine and virgin character are honoured. The antithesis between the two goddesses resembles the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* and its narrative structure.

In Imperial Greek literature, the Judgement of Paris is treated as mythological material inextricably connected to the world of Homer and also well known to the *pepaideumenoi* of the time. Under this scope, the story is exploited in a philosophical environment in the case of Dio Chrysostom or in comic dialogues in the case of Lucian. In both cases, since the Judgement is common knowledge for the targeted audience, the writers attempt to offer an alternative view of the story, while demonstrating their own deep understanding of it. In this period the Judgement meets its full philosophical and humourous potential. After Dio and Lucian, the Judgement seems to lose some of its popularity in the Greek world and thus, with the exception of a few epigrams, is not encountered again in Greek literature until the *Rape of Helen* by Colluthus in the sixth century A.D.

All in all, the myth of the Judgement of Paris has shown its high adaptability and its thematic variance throughout the centuries. The myth's folktale character, its role as the beginning of evil, its symbolic nature regarding

the moral implications of the three bribes, as well as its relation to themes of beauty, visuality and morality are all integrated in the story and artists and writers interchange these, shifting the focus from one to another depending on their inspiration, the trends of their time and the genre in which they are writing. The Judgement of Paris is not a simple story; its folktale character makes it familiar and amusing, while its role as the beginning of the Trojan war makes it deeply philosophical regarding the role of the divine and human responsibility. Its context of a beauty contest reveals its connection with aesthetics and femininity, while its element of life choices stresses its symbolic nature in terms of honourable decisions and male character.

I hope that this thesis has shown that the beauty of the Judgement of Paris lies with the occasionally contrasting themes that the myth raises and the ways writers and artists have chosen to exploit them. Although the role of the Judgement as part of the Trojan war's past is undeniable, this thesis has shown that the story is much more than just this.

Appendix 1: Figures



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

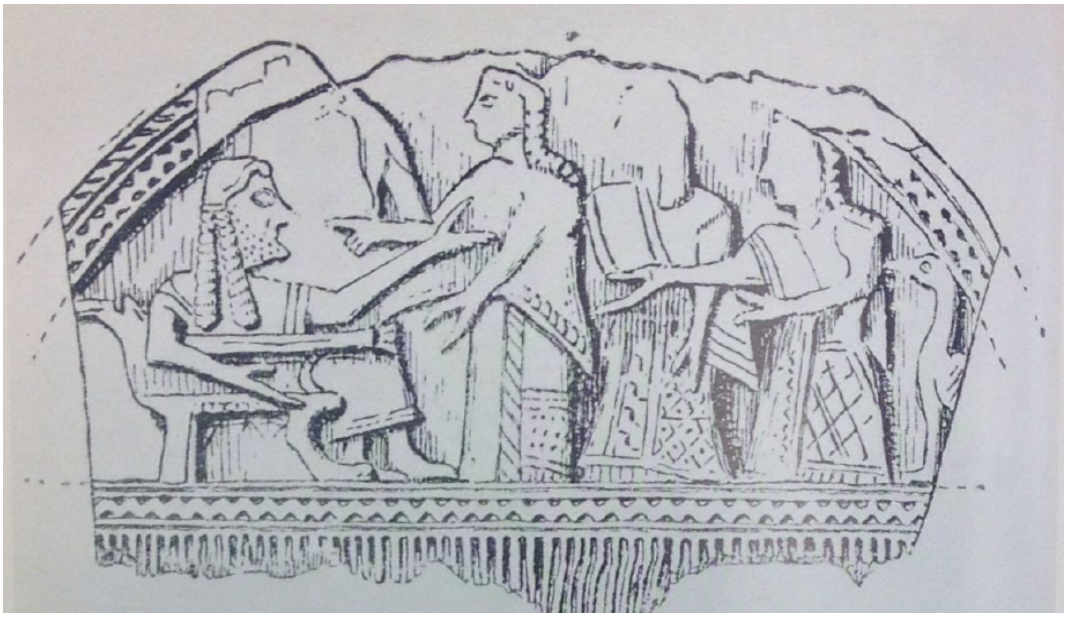


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19

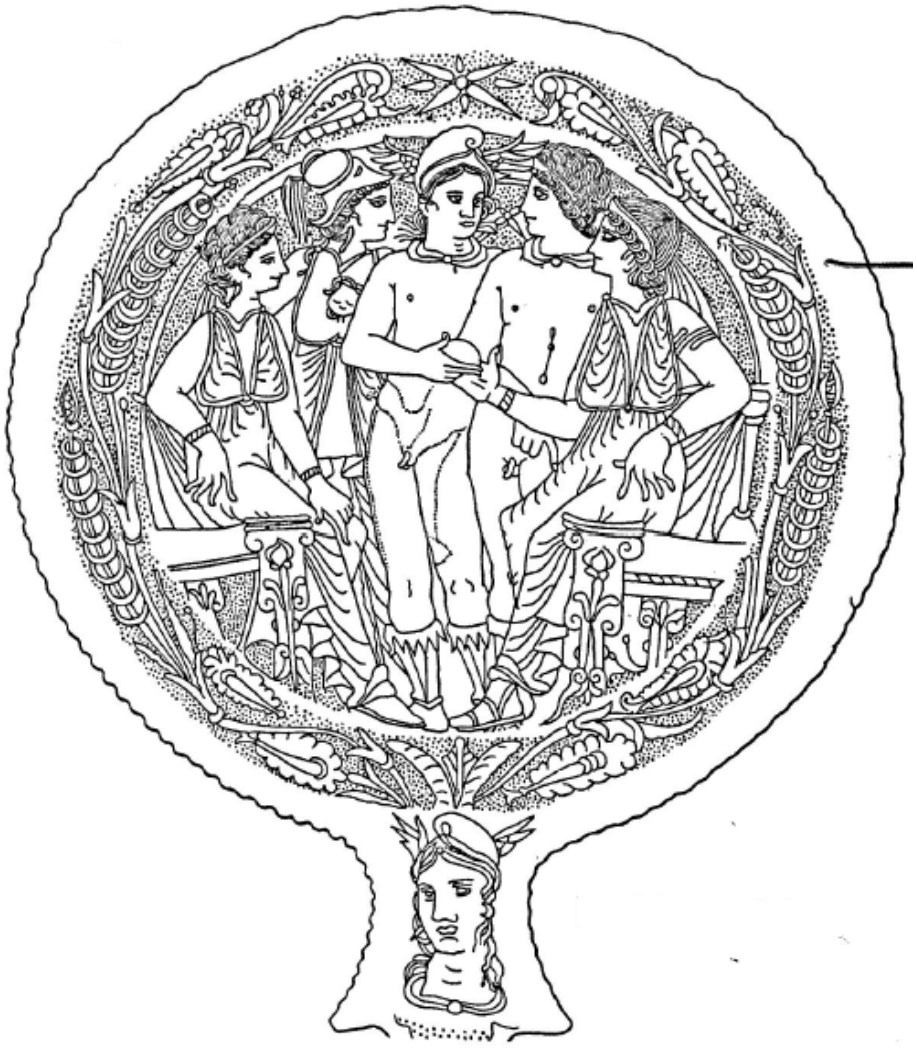


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Fig 19: Bronze mirror. Paris, Louvre Br 1734 (Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae

Fig. 20: Drawing of bronze mirror. Paris, Louvre Br 1734 (Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae

Appendix 2: Epigrams

5.35 RUFINUS (erotic) (1st c. A.D.)

εἰς πόρνας, ἀναίσχυντον καὶ σαπρὸν καὶ ὅλον γέμον ἀναίδειαν

Πυγὰς αὐτὸς ἔκρινα τριῶν· εἵλοντο γὰρ αὐταὶ
  δείξασαι γυμνὴν ἀστεροπὴν μελέων.
καὶ ῥ᾽ ἡ μὲν τροχαλοῖς σφραγιζομένη γελασίνοις
  λευκῇ ἀπὸ γλουτῶν ἤνθεεν εὐαφίῃ·
τῆς δὲ διαιρομένης φοινίσσετο χιονέη σὰρξ
  πορφυρέοιο ῥόδου μᾶλλον ἐρυθροτέρη·
ἡ δὲ γαληνιόωσα χαράσσετο κύματι κωφῷ,
  αὐτομάτῃ τρυφερῷ χρωτὶ σαλευομένη.
εἰ ταύτας ὁ κριτὴς ὁ θεῶν ἐθεήσατο πυγάς,
  οὐκέτ᾽ ἂν οὐδ᾽ ἐσιδεῖν ἤθελε τὰς προτέρας.

On prostitutes: a poem offensive, vile, and utterly full of shamelessness

I judged the bottoms of three women; for they themselves chose
me and displayed to me the naked splendon of their limbs.
Rounded dimples marked the first, her buttocks glowing with
white softness; the second's snowy flesh blushed where her legs
parted, redder than a crimson rose; the third was like a calm sea
furrowed by a silent wave, her delicate flesh jiggling involuntarily.
If the judge of the goddesses had seen them, he would have
Refused to look again at the previous ones.

5.36 RUFINUS (erotic) (1st c. A.D.)

ὅμοιον, ἀναίσχυντον καὶ σαπρότατον

Ἤρισαν ἀλλήλαις Ῥοδόπη Μελίτη Ῥοδόκλεια,
  τῶν τρισσῶν τίς ἔχει κρείσσονα μηριόνην,
καί με κριτὴν εἵλοντο· καὶ ὡς θεαὶ αἱ περίβλεπτοι
  ἔστησαν γυμναί, νέκταρι λειβόμεναι.
καὶ Ῥοδόπης μὲν ἔλαμπε μέσος μηρῶν πολύτιμος
  οἷα ῥοδὼν πολιῷ σχιζόμενος ζεφύρῳ·
τῆς δὲ Ῥοδοκλείης ὑάλῳ ἴσος ὑγρομέτωπος

οἷα καὶ ἐν νηῷ πρωτογλυφὲς ξόανον.
ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἃ πέπονθε Πάρις διὰ τὴν κρίσιν εἰδώς,
τὰς τρεῖς ἀθανάτας εὐθὺ συνεστεφάνουν.

Similar to the previous poem, offensive and extremely vile

Rhodope, Melite, and Rhodoclea competed to see which of the three had the best pussy, and chose me as judge. Like the much-admired goddess they stood, naked, dripping with nectar. The treasure between Rhodope's thighs gleamed like a rose bush cleft by a gentle zephyr; Rhodoclea's was like glass, its wet surface like a temple statue newly carved. But clearly, since I knew what happened to Paris of his judgement, I straightaway awarded the crown to all three immortals. But clearly, since I knew what happened to Paris because of his judgement, I straightaway awarded the crown to all three immortals.

5.222 AGATHIAS (erotic) (6th c. A.D.)

εἰς Ἀριάδνην τραγῳδὸν καὶ κιθαριστρίδα

Εἴ ποτε μὲν κιθάρης ἐπαφήσατο πλῆκτρον ἑλοῦσα
κούρη, Τερψιχόρης ἀντεμέλιζε μίτοις·
εἴ ποτε δὲ τραγικῷ ῥοιξήματι ῥήξατο φωνήν,
αὐτῆς Μελπομένης βόμβον ἀπεπλάσατο.
εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀγλαΐης κρίσις ἵστατο, μᾶλλον ἂν αὐτὴ
Κύπρις ἐνικήθη, κἀνεδίκαζε Πάρις.
σιγᾷ ἐφ᾽ ἡμείων, ἵνα μὴ Διόνυσος ἀκούσας
τῶν Ἀριαδνείων ζῆλον ἔχοι λεχέων.

On Ariadne, a tragic actor and lyre player

Whenever the girl took the plectrum and struck her harp, her Music was the echo of Terpsichore's strings; whenever her voice Broke forth into tragic strain, she reproduced the hum of Melpomene herself. And if there were a contest for beauty, Cypris

Herself would more likely lose to her, and Paris would overturn his decision. But hush! Let us keep it to ourselves, lest Dionysus overhear and long for this Ariadne's bed too.

6.48 ANONYMOUS (dedicatory) (?Antipater of Thessalonica, 1st c. B.C. or A.D.)

Κερκίδα τὴν φιλοεργὸν Ἀθηναίῃ θέτο Βιττὼ
ἄνθεμα, λιμηρῆς ἄρμενον ἐργασίης,
πάντας ἀποστύξασα γυνὴ τότε τοὺς ἐν ἐρίθοις
μόχθους καὶ στυγερὰς φροντίδας ἱστοπόνων·
εἶπε δ' Ἀθηναίῃ· «Τῶν Κύπριδος ἄψομαι ἔργων,
τὴν Πάριδος κατὰ σοῦ ψῆφον ἐνεγκαμένη.»

Bitto dedicated to Athene her industrious loom-comb, the implement of her scanty livelihood, for then she conceived a hatred for all toil among workfolk, and for the weaver's wretched cares. To Athene she said, "I will take to the works of Cypris, voting like Paris against thee."

9.77 ANTIPATER OF THESSALONICA (1st c. B.C. or A.D.)

Πριομένα κάλλει Γανυμήδεος εἶπε ποθ' Ἥρα,
Θυμοβόρον ζάλου κέντρον ἔχουσα νόῳ·
«Ἄρσεν πῦρ ἔτεκεν Τροία Διΐ· τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ πῦρ
πέμψω ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ, πῆμα φέροντα Πάριν·
ἥξει δ' Ἰλιάδαις οὐκ ἀετός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θοίναν
γῦπες, ὅταν Δαναοὶ σκῦλα φέρωσι πόνων.»

Hera, tortured by the beauty of Ganymede, and with the soul-consuming sting of jealously in her heart, once spoke thus: "Troy gave birth to a male flame for Zeus; therefore, I will send a flame to fall on Troy, Paris the bringer of woe. No eagle shall come again to the Trojans, but vultures to the feast, the day that the Danai gather the spoils of their labour."

9.154 AGATHIAS SCHOLASTICUS (Declamatory/Descriptive: On Troy) (6th c. A.D.)

Ἰλήκοις, πολιοῦχε. σὲ μὲν χρυσαυγεῖ νηῷ,
  ὡς θέμις, ἁ τλάμων Ἴλιος ἠγασάμην·
ἀλλὰ σύ με προλέλοιπας ἐλώριον· ἀντὶ δὲ μήλου
  πᾶσαν ἀποδρέψω τείχεος ἀγλαΐην.
ἄρκιον ἦν θνάσκειν τὸν βουκόλον· εἰ γὰρ ἄθεσμος
  ἔπλετο, τᾶς πάτρας οὐκ ἀλίτημα τόδε.

Have mercy on me, Athena, protectress of the city. I,
wretched Ilion, as was meet, worshipped thee in thy temple
resplendent with gold. But thou hast abandoned me to the
spoilers, and all for the sake of an apple has stripped all the glory
from my walls. Better had it been for the cowherd, Paris, to
perish, for if he broke the law, it was not his country's crime.

9.576 NICARCHUS (Declamatory/Descriptive: On a Statue of Athena holding an Apple. Aphrodite speaks) (?1st c. A.D.)

Παρθένε Τριτογένεια, τί την Κύπριν ἄρτι με λυπεῖς,
  ἁρπάξασα δ' ἐμὸν δῶρον ἔχεις παλάμῃ;
μέμνησαι τὸ πάροιθεν ἐν Ἰδαίοις σκοπέλοισιν
  ὡς Πάρις οὐ σὲ καλήν, ἀλλ' ἔμ' ἐδογμάτισεν.
σὸν δόρυ καὶ σάκος ἐστίν· ἐμὸν δὲ τὸ μῆλον
    ὑπάρχει·
ἀρκεῖ τῷ μήλῳ κεῖνος ὁ πρὶν πόλεμος.

Trito-born maiden, why dost thou vex me now by grasping in
thy hand my prize of which thou hast robbed me. Thou
rememberest how formerly, amid the rocks of Ida, Paris
pronounced me fairest, not thee. Thine are the spear and shield,
but mine is the apple. For the apple that old war was surely
enough.

9.633 DAMOCHARIS GRAMMATICUS (6th c. A.D.)

Εἰς λουτρόν

Ἥρη καὶ Παφίη καὶ Παλλάδι τοῦτο λοετρὸν
  ὥς ποτε τὸ χρυσοῦν ἤρεσε μῆλον ἔχειν·
καὶ τάχα τῆς μορφῆς κρίσις ἔσσεται οὐ Πάρις αὐταῖς,
  εἰκὼν δ᾽ ἀργυφέοις νάμασι δεικνυμένη.

This was the bath of Hera, Cypris, and Pallas, when they were
Eager to get the golden apple. And perhaps now Paris will not be
Their judge, but their image reflected in the silver flood.

9.637 ANONYMOUS (? 6th c. A.D.)

Ἐνθάδε λουσαμένη δέμας ἄμβροτον αὐτίκα Κύπρις
δεῖξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ ἀέθλιον ἥρπασε μῆλον.

After bathing her divine limbs here, Cypris straightway
showed herself to Alexander, and carried off the prize of the apple.

12.207 STRATO (*Musa Puerilis*) (2nd c. A.D.)

Ἐχθὲς λουόμενος Διοκλῆς ἀνενήνοχε σαύραν
  ἐκ τῆς ἐμβάσεως τὴν Ἀναδυομένην.
Ταύτην εἴ τις ἔδειξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τότ᾽ ἐν Ἴδῃ,
  τὰς τρεῖς ἂν ταύτης προκατέκρινε θεάς.

Yesterday Diocles in the bath brought up a lizard from the
Tub, "Aphrodite rising from the waves."
If someone had shown it to Paris then in Ida, he would have
Pronounced the three goddesses to be less fair than it.

16.114 COSMAS (?6th c. A.D.)

Εἰς Πύρρον μέλλοντα σφάξαι τὴν Πολυξένην

Πύρρος ἐγώ· σπεύδω δὲ πατρὸς χάριν·ἡ δὲ κυνῶπις
  Παλλάδα κικλήσκει, γνωτὸν ἔχουσα Πάριν.

On Pyrrhus about to butcher Polyxena

I am Pyrrhus, and am urgent for my father's sake; but she, the shameless girl, calls on Pallas, though her brother be Paris.

[16.144 ARABICUS SCHOLASTICUS]

Εἰς Ἀταλάντην καὶ Ἱππομένην

Ἔδνα γάμων ἔρριπτες, ἢ ἀμβολίην ταχυτῆτος,
τοῦτο γέρας κούρῃ χρύσεον, Ἱππόμενες;
ἄμφω μῆλον ἄνυσσεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρθένον ὁρμῆς
εἶργεν, καὶ ζυγίης σύμβολον ἦν Παφίης.

On Atalanta and Hippomenes

Hast thou thrown this golden gift to the maiden, Hippomenes, as a wedding present, or to delay her fleet feet? The Apple accomplished both, since it both delayed the girl in her course and was a token of Aphrodite, who links in wedlock.

16.165 EVENUS (1st c. B.C. or A.D.)

Παλλὰς καὶ Κρονίδαο συνευνέτις εἶπον, ἰδοῦσαι
τὴν Κνιδίην· «Ἀδίκως τὸν Φρύγα μεμφόμεθα.»

On the Cnidian Aphrodite

Pallas and the consort of Zeus said, when they saw the Cnidian, "We are wrong in finding fault with Paris."

16.166 EVENUS (1st c. B.C. or A.D.)

Πρόσθε μὲν Ἰδαίοισιν ἐν οὔρεσιν αὐτὸς ὁ βούτας
Δέρξατο τὰν κάλλευς πρῶτ' ἀπενεγκαμέναν·
Πραξιτέλης Κνιδίοις δὲ πανωπήεσσαν ἔθηκεν,
μάρτυρα τῆς τέχνης ψῆφον ἔχων Πάριδος.

On the same

The neatherd himself saw of old on the mountains of Ida her who gained the prize of beauty, but Praxiteles has set her in full view of the Cnidians, having the vote of Paris to attest his skill.

16.168 ANONYMOUS

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

Γυμνὴν εἶδε Πάρις με, καὶ Ἀγχίσης, καὶ Ἄδωνις·
τοὺς τρεῖς οἶδα μόνους· Πραξιτέλης δὲ πόθεν;

On the Cnidian Aphrodite

Paris, Anchises, and Adonis saw me naked. Those are all I know of, but how did Praxiteles contrive it?

16.169 ANONYMOUS

Εἰς τὸ αὐτό, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀθηνᾶν

Ἀφρογενοῦς Παφίης ζάθεον περιδέρκεο κάλλος,
καὶ λέξεις· Αἰνῶ τὸν Φρύγα τῆς κρίσεως.
Ἀτθίδα δερκόμενος πάλι Παλλάδα, τοῦτο βοήσεις,
ὡς βούτης ὁ Πάρις τήνδε παρετρόχασεν.

On the Same and on the Athena in Athens

Gaze from every side at the divine beauty of the foam-born Paphian and you will say, "I applaud the Phrygian's judgement." Again when you look at the Attic Pallas you will cry out, "It was just like a neatherd for Paris to pass her by."

16.170 HERMODORUS (3rd c. B.C.)

Εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ

Τὰν Κνιδίαν Κυθέρειαν ἰδών, ξένε, τοῦτό κεν εἴποις·
«Αὐτὰ καὶ θνατῶν ἄρχε καὶ ἀθανάτων.»
τὰν δ' ἐνὶ Κεκροπίδαις δορυθαρσέα Παλλάδα λεύσσων,
αὐδάσεις· «Ὄντως βουκόλος ἦν ὁ Πάρις.»

On the Same

When you see, stranger, the Cnidian Cytherea, you would say this, "Rule alone over mortals and immortals," but when you look at Pallas in the city of Cecrops boldly brandishing her spear you will exclaim, "Paris was really a bumpkin."

16.172 ALEXANDER OF AETOLIA (3rd. c. B.C.)

Αὐτά που τὰν Κύπριν ἀπηκριβώσατο Παλλάς,
τᾶς ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου λαθομένα κρίσιος.

On a Statue of Aphrodite

Pallas herself, I think, wrought Aphrodite to perfection, forgetting the judgement of Paris.

16.216 PARMENION (1st c. BC. or A.D.)

Εἰς ἄγαλμα Ἥρας

Ὠργεῖος Πολύκλειτος, ὁ καὶ
μόνος ὄμμασιν Ἥρην
ἀθρήσας καὶ ὅσην εἶδε τυπωσάμενος,
θνητοῖς κάλλος ἔδειξεν, ὅσον
θέμις· αἱ δ' ὑπὸ κόλποις
ἄγνωστοι μορφαὶ Ζηνὶ φυλασσόμεθα.

On a Statue of Hera

Polycleitus of Argos, who alone saw Hera with his eyes, and

Moulded what he say of her, revealed her beauty to mortals as far as was lawful; but we, the unknown forms beneath her dress's folds, are reserved for Zeus.

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