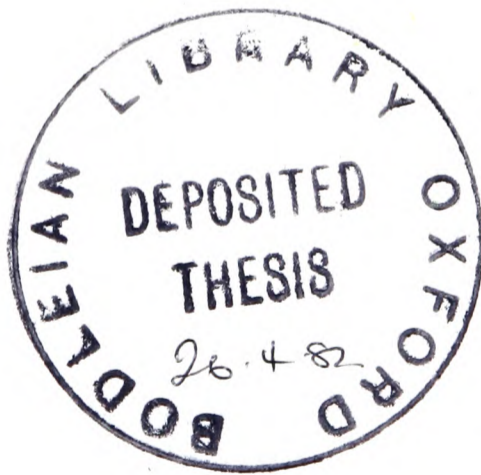


A STUDY OF
THE STYLE AND ICONOGRAPHY OF
ETRUSCAN ENGRAVED GEMS
VOLUME I.

submitted as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at
the University of Oxford, Michaelmas Term 1981 [ie 1982] MT.



by

R U T H G L Y N N

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ABSTRACT

"A Study of the Style and Iconography of Etruscan Engraved Gems", by Ruth Glynn, of Linacre College, Oxford, and submitted as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Michaelmas Term, 1981.

This thesis examines the development of the art of gem-engraving in Etruria between the years from ca 520 to ca 470 BC. It is divided into two parts, the first of which is an analysis of the style of the intaglios, and the second an analysis of the iconography. In Part One attributions to individual hands or groups are suggested, and conventional names supplied; the relationships of the engravers both to each other and to the late archaic Greek schools are examined. In Part Two the iconography of the intaglios is examined both internally and against the wider background of Etruscan and Greek art; where relevant, comparison is also made with the literary tradition; this study concerns itself only with the human figure, and the chapters are arranged around cycles of myth and the individual figure types.

PREFACE

During the four years of research on this thesis, there have been many people both within Oxford and from outside, who have contributed in some way towards its completion.

Financial assistance to make the necessary visits to museums in Paris, Florence and Rome, Boston and New York, has been generously provided by the Meyerstein and Craven Funds of Oxford University. The final two years of study were made possible by the award of the Ellaina Macnamara Memorial Scholarship for 1979 - 1980, and by the award of a T. Whitcombe Greene Scholarship by the Craven Committee for 1979 - 1981; the Craven Committee generously extended this Scholarship for an extra term whilst I wrote up the thesis.

I am indebted to many curators and museum assistants for granting me facilities to study their collections of gems, and allowing me to photograph and, sometimes, take impressions. The following have been helpful in this respect:

Michael Vickers, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Veronica Tatton-Brown and Judith Swaddling, the British Museum, London; the staff at the Cabinet des Médailles and at the Louvre in Paris; the staff of the Museo Nazionale, Rome, and of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, in the Vatican City; Piera Bocci, the Museo Archeologico, Florence; Cornelius Vermeule and Mary Comstock, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Dietrich von Bothmer and Max Anderson, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Brian Shefton, the University Museum, Newcastle. In addition: Marie-Louise Vollenweider, for sending me a full set of casts and photographs of the Etruscan gems in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; the German Institute in Rome, for allowing me free access to their casts of intaglios and to their

photographic archives.

The visits to these museums produced many hundreds of negatives - I am grateful to both Robert L. Wilkins and to Nicholas Pollard, of the Photographic Department at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, for teaching me how to photograph and print gems, and especially for helping out when I have required a lot of photographs at short notice. The vast numbers of photographs of gems taken by John Boardman and by Robert L. Wilkins have been freely available to me. I am most grateful to John Boardman for his generosity in this respect, and also for letting me work with his own plasticine impressions and plaster casts, as well as the extensive collection of similar material in the Cast Gallery of the Ashmolean Museum. Without these resources, and those of the Ashmolean Library, I would not have been able to write this thesis.

I owe much to Donna Kurtz for giving up some of her time to teach me how to distinguish the bones and muscles of the human body, and particularly for allowing me to have a look at her forthcoming work on the Berlin Painter and to quote extensively from its Anatomical Glossary in Appendix One here.

The work already done on ancient gems by John Boardman directed me to this subject: his interest, warm encouragement and guidance throughout have resulted in my thorough enjoyment in doing research on some of the most beautiful objects preserved from the ancient world. It has been a privilege and an inspiration to have studied with him.

I would also like to thank Caroline Stapleton for photocopying the thesis, and Judy Harris who has given some help in this respect.

All drawings are my own, and I was responsible for the printing of the photographs and the typing of the final draft.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is divided into two parts, the first of which presents the stylistic analysis, and the second the iconographic; both deal principally with the fifty-year period from ca 520 to ca 470 (all dates are BC). The use of the term "Etruscan" follows that employed in previous studies of the subject, that is, it refers to those gems which were cut in Etruria for the Etruscan market, irrespective of the nationality of the engravers (see G. M. A. Richter, 'Greeks in Etruria', Annuario 8-10 (1950) 79 - 83; J. Boardman, Archaic Greek Gems (1968) 112, 173 - 177, Engraved Gems (1968) 13 - 17, Intaglios and Rings (1975) 37 - 38; P. Zazoff, 'Zur ältesten Glyptik Etruriens', JdI 81 (1966) 63 - 78, Etruskische Skarabäen (1968) 1ff). These early intaglios are strongly linked to the late archaic Greek engravers and groups, whilst the cutting and the form of the scarabs firmly places them in the West.

Stylistic analysis of engraved gems is perhaps one of the most neglected aspects of classical art - a fact which is especially surprising nowadays, when research on attributions in vase-painting, for example, is so well supported. Whilst Furtwängler in his monumental work Die Antiken Gemmen (1900) noted stylistic similarities between Phoenician gems, Greek and Etruscan (although not always successfully distinguishing the last two from each other), as well as Roman, and Beazley made a few further observations in Lewes House Gems (1920), it was not until the 1960s that there was any concerted attempt to classify ancient gems into stylistic groups. Various museum and sales catalogues had of course been published. Boardman was the first to establish a comprehensive classification of Greek Gems in Archaic Greek Gems,

and Etruscan gems have been discussed by him passim there, and also in his other publications. Richter's research on gems produced catalogues and a few short articles, but she offered little new by way of stylistic analysis. Zazoff's Etruskische Skarabäen promised much for the study of gem-engraving in Etruria, but, although he made more particular associations, some of these are, I think, questionable, and the majority of Etruscan gems remain in the broad and unhelpful categories of "Archaischer Stil", "Strenger Stil", etc. Since the publication of Etruskische Skarabäen, a little more has been contributed, particularly by Zwierlein-Diehl in the splendid publications by the German museums, and by Mlle. Vollenweider for the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva; Maaskant-Kleibrink had a few words to say about the Etruscan series in her catalogue of the gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet in the Hague. In spite of the recent interest in the Etruscan series, however, only one engraver has been identified and given a conventional name: the Master of the Boston Dionysos. This thesis identifies other individual engravers and groups within the period specified above (which covers Zazoff's "Archaischer" and "Strenger Stil"). An absolute chronology is not possible and probably never will be: the relative one suggested here was established via links with late archaic Greek studios, through the internal relationships between engravers, and through the study of the iconography, with specific reference to Attic vase-painting, which was the single most influential source during this period. Few of the gems have secure contexts, and what there are do not prove as helpful as might be expected and merely provide a limited number of termini ante quem. Attested proveniences are another rarity (and may in any case be suspect), and are of no use in suggesting the locations of engravers or workshops - they simply

identify the major art centres of the Etruscan world, and besides, engravers were the most mobile of artists.

The difficulty in analysing style on engraved gems has perhaps been the factor most responsible for the previous and current application of the wide categories referred to above with respect to Etruscan gems:

In the first place it is not easy to examine physically such tiny works of art. This, however, is not an insurmountable problem and myopia is not necessarily the sine qua non of the student of ancient gems. Although close examination of the original stones is highly desirable for stylistic analysis, good photographic records of both original and plaster impression are equally important, and the optimum reproduction is at four times life. Since many of the impressions of the intaglios are known from poor reproductions at life-size in old publications, I have illustrated as many pieces as possible so that the reader can without difficulty appreciate the stylistic minutiae. I have seen and handled the gems in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the Cabinet des Médailles and the Louvre in Paris, the British Museum, London, the Museo Archeologico, Florence, the Museo Nazionale and the Vatican, Rome, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Collections in the German Museums of Berlin, Munich, Hannover and Hamburg, Cassel, Göttingen and Braunschweig, and that of the Kunst-historische Museum, Vienna, and in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, are all well published. When I have seen neither the original nor an impression of an intaglio, this is noted in the main Catalogue at the end of the relevant entry.

In the second place, the technique of intaglio itself results in the development of general styles, proper of course to

their periods. Average and poor engravers tend to represent the human form in very much the same way, and even execrable quality is no criterion for identifying artists or groups - there is no Worst Painter nor Leafless Group here - and there are those engravers whose work is of such distinction and quality that it transcends the koine. It has been the aim of this thesis to work through the Etruscan material of the Archaic period, and rescue these finer studies from the anonymity of the existing wide classifications. I have suggested attributions to individual engravers or to groups, giving them conventional names since none of the artists signed their works. The Masters isolated in this thesis are few, and the Groups relatively small, because I preferred to err on the side of caution and not produce long lists of loosely associated gems simply to tidy up the evidence. The relative closeness of the intaglios within these Groups both to the Master after whom they are named and to each other can vary, and their similarities and differences are always made explicit in the text. It is not possible to employ the subtle distinctions of 'related to', 'manner of', etc, which Beazley used for attributions in vase-painting, because the medium of intaglio does not allow for such fine margins. Where I feel sure that the hand which engraved gem a was also responsible for b and c, this is made clear, and detailed points of comparison are offered; where reasonable doubt exists, it is expressed. Intaglios which are close to or resemble in style the work of a Master are placed in the wider category of 'Group', following Boardman's use of this term in Archaic Greek Gems.

The principles of attribution employed here are based on those of Beazley, and ultimately, therefore, on the Morellian - the analysis of the "treatment of form" - the observation of the

delineation of the human frame, for which an artist develops a formula peculiar to himself and expressive of his conception of the body. Beazley stressed the importance of a painter's system of lines, "inspired in some measure by observation of nature, influenced and in part determined by tradition, and communicable or prescribable to others" (Citharoedus, 84). The medium under examination here, however, precludes wholesale application of Morellian principles since, for the Italian, the forms of the hands and of the ears, and of the use of colour, were the most important guides in identifying particular painters. On the gems there is obviously no colour guide, and the hands and ears are the least reliable points of reference. The "master" and "minor" lines observed in red-figure vase-painting are absent from gems, and the subtleties of the brush cannot be matched in the same degree by the drill, even on the most outstanding works. Nevertheless, as Beazley observed (Lewes House Gems, 22), the art of low relief or intaglio in whatever material occupies an intermediate place between the two arts of drawing and sculpture, partaking almost more of the first than the second. The explanation for this is that in intaglio there is still much emphasis on the contour of the figure - that is, its relationship to the background - and the inner details are more or less 'drawn' as well as modelled with the drill.

Although the comparison of such details as head shape, proportions of the figure, composition (the distribution of the figure in the field) and subject matter - the last two being Beazley's criteria of "movement" and "theme" - has played not an insignificant part in suggesting attributions here, the analysis of the rendering of anatomical features has proved crucial. Generally speaking, this aspect has in the past been glossed over or discussed in very

broad terms. I found it simpler to refer to a bone or muscle by its correct name, rather than invent a descriptive term of my own which, at the very least might have been ambiguous, and at worst medically quite wrong. For a full explanation of all terms used, reference should be made to Appendix I, the Glossary of Anatomical Terms, which relies heavily on that in D. C. Kurtz's forthcoming book, The Berlin Painter (1982), a study which has been an invaluable guide to this stylistic analysis. Unnecessary technicalities are avoided and layman's terms are retained where there is no possibility of confusion or error (the 'knee-cap' rather than the patella, the 'cheek-bone' rather than the zygomatic bone). The smaller scale of the figures on the gems compared with those on vases results in a condensing of some features, and this has allowed for a shorter list of anatomical terms than will appear in Kurtz's publication. The effect of technique on the rendering of anatomical details varies according to the expertise of the individual engraver: on mediocre and poor works, for example, the divisions of rectus abdominis are shown as blobs, clearly separate from each other and enclosed by a thick ridge representing the rib-cage, hands are reduced to stumps and feet will be simply blocked out; on the finer works, by contrast, the use of the drill fails to dictate that these details should be so rendered or thus standardized, and the divisions of rectus abdominis are more naturally shaped, their edges blurred in subtle relief, the rib-cage is of a shape closer to that found in nature, and the extremities will be carefully detailed. The bones and muscles observed by the engravers are those which, respectively, are subcutaneous or strongly affect the surface relief, and those which are superficial (that is, lying nearest the surface of the body). Some details, ears, for

example, and dress (not many figures are clothed), are largely doomed to an established pattern or rendering, and are therefore unreliable points of reference in suggesting attributions.

The decoration of the scarabs has not proved as important a guide in determining engravers and groups as I thought it might. The difference between homeland Greek scarabs and those cut in the West have been outlined elsewhere (Boardman, Archaic Greek Gems, 13 - 16), and are easily appreciated. No detailed typology of Etruscan scarabs will be suggested here, because none was detected. On no occasion did the similarity between the carving of two scarabs of itself suggest an attribution, although when the style of the intaglios has associated two pieces, the decoration of their backs has produced no surprises. Where the backs of gems peculiar to a Master or a Group are known to me in sufficient quantity and detail to be compared profitably with one another, drawings of the scarabs are provided and these can be found at the end of Volume 2, after the illustrations. These drawings are not uniform in scale.

There are five sections on style and most of these have sub-divisions. The chronological and stylistic relationships between the Masters and Groups are discussed at the beginning of each section. Attributed gems have in addition to their main catalogue number a 'style' number, which is distinct from the other number in that it is preceded by an (upper case) S and it is never underlined; these 'style' numbers run consecutively through Part 1, and take priority over the main catalogue numbers only in Part 1. Both in Parts 1 and 2 illustrated intaglios are picked out by an asterisk. All descriptions refer to the intaglios in impression, unless otherwise stated; the settings of the gems are not discussed.

Part 2 contains the iconographic analysis, where the gems

are referred to by their main catalogue numbers, which are always underlined, and, if an intaglio has been attributed in Part 1, the 'style' number is given in brackets after the main catalogue number.

The principal examination of the iconography is internal - how one intaglio relates to others carrying the same motif - but the relationships of the motifs on the gems to those in other branches of Etruscan and Greek art, and to literature, are also taken into account. The problems of interpretation often encountered in Etruscan art - whether the differences from the better documented source of Athenian iconography are to be regarded as mistakes (the Etruscan artist having misunderstood the model), or as deliberate adaptations of them to suit their own myths, or as illustrative of different versions of the same basic story - are not as commonly met on the gems belonging to the period treated in detail in this study. There are two reasons for this: first, there is considerably less room on a gem for a motif to be garbled than there is on, say, a vase; secondly and more importantly, the early engravers were not indigenous artists, but immigrant Greeks, as will be illustrated in the stylistic analysis. The oddities which do occur on some intaglios could be due as much to the influence of the very poorly documented Ionian iconography as to the supposed misunderstanding or re-working of mainland Greek iconography. What is in fact being witnessed is not local artists' translation or adaptation of Greek myth, but the response of immigrant Greek artists to the Etruscan market.

This study examines representations of myth scenes and of the single figure, deity, hero or anonymous male or female; animals, monsters and semi-monsters (except giants) are excluded. The representations are grouped into blocks of myth (Theban, Trojan,

and so on), or figure type (warrior, athlete, winged figure), and summaries of each are given in the introductory paragraphs to the relevant sections.

Inscriptions are much more common in this series of engraved gems than they are on the Greek, and, unlike those, never refer to the artist or the owner of the gem, but either refer directly to the motif or name one or, on one occasion, two deities not represented on the intaglio. In this last case, it seems reasonable to assume that the inscription was dedicatory, or that the deity/deities named had a particular relevance for the purchaser of the stone. The inscriptions are written in the Etruscan alphabet, and often bestow an heroic identity on an otherwise anonymous figure: athletes are identified as Tydeus, and arming warriors as Achilles. I have kept throughout to the Greek versions of all names of deities and heroes since this seemed less arbitrary than choosing one of the many versions provided by the engravers for individuals (Herakles, for example, can be written as Hercle, Hercules, Herecele, Herkle, Herecles, Herχle, Heracle). The inscriptions are given here as they ^{appear} in impression, which is for the most part retrograde.

P A R T O N E

The Stylistic Analysis

The earliest engraver identifiable in the West is named after the masterpiece in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which has the back carved as a figure of the god Dionysos. To this engraver are attributed seven gems and there are a few others closely related. In 1963 Zazoff made a study of four of the gems, establishing the attribution to a single hand¹; a fifth, mentioned in this first publication yet inexplicably omitted from Etruskische Skarabäen, was published later by Boardman, who gave the engraver his conventional name and listed the complete oeuvre, including a further attribution of his own and one made by Mlle. Vollenweider². The association of these pieces to the one hand does not require further justification here, but the addition of the 'new' works allows for a reassessment of the Master's stylistic development and its chronological implications.

There is no evidence for the engraving of semi-precious stones in Italy earlier than the works of the Master of the Boston Dionysos, whose engraving appears as a fully developed art form, which, in this medium above all others, can only be explained in terms of an artist arriving from somewhere which had an already established tradition and then setting up shop in his adopted home. Whereas any man, given the necessary raw material, could fashion a vase and, by trial and error progress from early crude essays to technically more competent and attractive creations, this is simply not possible with respect to the engraving of stones of the hardness of cornelians and chalcedonies. Some kind of training is necessary in order to acquire even the most basic skills of drilling and cutting³. The Master of the Boston Dionysos' intaglios are immature

stylistically early on, not technically: had he been an indigenous artist who decided to take up gem-engraving without any previous knowledge of the working of semi-precious stones - which would have been the case in sixth century Italy - then his first attempts would have been crude beyond compare. This Master's style, though individual enough, clearly belongs to that current in the sixth century Ionic phase of Etruscan art as revealed in metal-work, vase-painting and reliefs, and on the painted walls of tombs⁴. This strong east Greek flavour in western art is attributable not simply to the influence of imported goods, but to the presence of artists emigrating during the so-called Ionian diaspora. The Master cannot, however, be viewed as the sole root of gem-engraving in Italy: at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries there are fresh immigrant engravers whose style is unrelated to his, and, a little later, engravers whose work is inspired by the best in the late archaic Greek island schools.

The Master's work belongs in the last quarter of the sixth century. Beazley dated the name-piece in the third quarter of the sixth century, which Zazoff followed, dating most of the scarabs he had attributed to ca 530. Boardman suggested a lower chronology, dating the earliest intaglio between ca 520 - 510, and this is the one accepted here, since the higher dating leaves too large a gap between this workshop and those of the immediately succeeding engravers. Although the influence of the Master has been identified in some intaglios of the next generation⁵, he has not so far been credited with any pupils. It will be illustrated here that he had one companion early in his career, and that there are other pieces related to his middle and late phases, and attributable to other hands.

The following gems have been attributed to the Master
of the Boston Dionysos:

- S1 Malibu, California; cornelian
the Arming of Achilles: Hephaistos, Thetis and Achilles
56, figs. 1,2, A1
- S2 Rome, Villa Giulia; burnt cornelian
draped youth with branch
468, fig.3
- S3 Paris, Louvre, Bj 1193; cornelian
woman, holding wreath and flower
470, fig.4, A2
- S4 Rome, Vatican, 13 174; cornelian
the Arming of Achilles: Thetis and Achilles
57, fig.5, A3
- S5 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, F74; agate
youth with wreath
469, figs.6,7, A4
- S6 Boston, MFA, 21.1197; cornelian pseudoscarab (Dionysos)
Herakles and old man, Athena and goddess
255, fig.8
- S7 Florence, Museo Archeologico, 15 260; cornelian
Achilles, arming
58, figs.9,10, A5

These seven intaglios are representative of the Master's style from its earliest phase to the very ripe, and the development is so great from the shy execution of S1 to the full blown study on S7, that at least ten years must separate the two works. So far as his iconographic preferences are concerned, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from a sample of work small compared with the numbers available in vase-painting, for example, yet the Master does seem to have favoured Achilles, who appears on gems of each phase in his career. This may be contrasted with the preference for individual studies of deities noted on most other late archaic Etruscan intaglios⁶. Small stones are standard, and the carving of

the scarab backs becomes increasingly detailed.

The earliest intaglio, S1 (figs.1,2), in Malibu, is compositionally simple and iconographically unique, depicting Hephaistos himself handing over the new set of armour to Achilles, with Thetis in attendance. This work stands the most obviously apart from the others, but not so much so as to suggest another hand: incipient here are some of the stylistic idiosyncracies (for example, the unnatural proportions of the body) which become marked later on. The dot border is not common on true Greek work and was much more popular on western intaglios of the late sixth and early fifth centuries; the cross-hatched exergue was unusual in both spheres, and goes back via Greek gems to the Phoenician studios⁷. Influence from the same source is also responsible for the multi-figure composition of three figures paratactically placed, a scheme found in addition on some classes of metal cartouche rings, current in the west at this time⁸. Quite a few of the early Etruscan intaglios exhibit this feature, whereas Greek engravers generally avoided such crowded devices.

The Master's fondness for linear detail, that feature of his style so well illustrated in his later works, is only tentatively expressed on the Malibu intaglio, where round shapes are much more in evidence (the shield, the bulging calves and the bobbly toes of the smith-god, Thetis' breasts). The goddess is shown with frontal torso, and head and legs in profile, whilst Achilles is seen in bold profile which is surprisingly successful considering the early date of the piece; Hephaistos' torso is concealed behind the shield. All three figures have a large head, short body and thick legs; the feet are thin, stringy, and firmly planted on the ground. In organizing his composition the artist has made no concession to the

oval shape of the field, which he has deliberately made almost rectangular by the addition of the broad exergue, a feature which lessens the disparity in the heights of the figures. The Master in fact never allows the shape of the intaglio to influence the setting of his figures.

The draped youth on the burnt cornelian in the Villa Giulia, S2 (fig.3), approaches more nearly the distinctive style of the Master, and it is clear that there is some time lapse between the Malibu scarab and this study, which is representative of his early middle phase. The rendering of the himation is a little more advanced than that of Thetis on S1*, but the most noticeable development is in the style of the head and in the filling out of the limbs and feet. The gaunt faces of the Malibu figures are ^{here} more rectangular, with shallow planes around the prominent features of eye, base of the nose, and chin; the profile is quite straight and the cheek broad. The right shoulder is raised higher than the left, indicating that it is the nearer - this is an observation emphasized and exaggerated on intaglios attributed to the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes and so belonging in the last decade of the sixth century. The border is of dots, and, as this is a simple one-figure composition, the heavy exergue of S1* is reduced to a single line.

Whilst both S1* and S2* are small scarabs, the Louvre gem, S3 (fig.4, A2), is a midget by comparison. The device is of a woman holding a wreath and a flower, and damage to the intaglio has unfortunately removed much of her head. She is heavier and rounder than either Thetis on S1* or the youth on S2* - the Master is now fashioning his figures with greater ease and technical skill. She has the characteristic shoulder formation, the feet

are still small, and odd details, such as the spiralling stem of the flower, prefigure the engraver's later interest in linear cutting, which eventually becomes so exaggerated as to approach mannerism. Her dress clings around the thigh, and the free end of the himation at the back curves away from the body like a wing. The himation is similarly represented on the Vatican intaglio, S4 (fig.5, A3), another study of the presentation of arms to Achilles, on this occasion by Thetis alone. On the Vatican stone the Master's style is ripe: limbs have filled out considerably, and the artist has begun to indulge in his love of linear detail both on the clothes and the armour as well as on the arms and legs, where one thinks of veins rather than the surface relief of bones and muscles. These heavy figures demand a solid base, and so the engraver reverts to the old Phoenician cross-hatched exergue of S1*. Facial features and hair-style are now those distinctive to the Master and very closely matched on S5* - S7*, with their bold, aggressive heads. The Oxford youth, S5 (figs.6,7), should be contemporary with S4*, possibly slightly later: note the solid block of the skull and heavy lower jaw, the exaggerated proportions of the body and the excess of linear detail on the arms and legs; the transition from frontal chest and abdomen (neither bone nor muscle in this area is indicated) to profile legs has been glossed over, and the genitals are only lightly indicated. Zazoff placed this intaglio before the Vatican stone perhaps because the single figure composition is less cluttered and therefore looks more primitive; he also suggested that the Oxford youth may have been clothed, observing "die Rollung einer Volute" on the thighs⁹, which I cannot make out. The dot border and single groundline of S2* is repeated.

The Master reaches his most mature phase on the Boston and Florence gems, S6 (fig.8) and S7 (figs.9,10, A5), respectively. The pseudoscarab S6* may be a shade earlier than the Florence intaglio S7* since the build of the figures is slighter, although this could be accounted for by the more cramped conditions of the multi-figure group, and there cannot in any case be much difference in date between the two studies. Whereas the multi-figure group on the Malibu intaglio was a formal arrangement of quite stiff figures, the assembly on S6* is restless with movement. The goddesses gesticulate and Herakles pushes his way forwards, forcing himself upon his ill-matched adversary. The engraving is a tour-de-force of linear detail and bold dotting, especially on the faces and hair, the massive limbs of the hero, and the chitons and himatia of the goddesses. The edges of the himatia are represented either by zig-zag folds (on the women) or by straight lines (on the old man, and thus recalling the earlier studies). Whilst the rough, large features peculiar to the Master's heads suit Herakles admirably, they sit unhappily on female shoulders and, with respect to the goddess on the right, jar with the delicate treatment of her right hand and the flower she holds in it. The gesture of Athena's right hand, with one finger raised and the rest of the fist closed, is the one usually employed when attention is being drawn to something (and best exemplified by the Pioneer Swallow vase)¹⁰.

The thick-set build of Herakles is repeated on Achilles on S7*, the Master's most meticulously detailed intaglio, where his fondness for dotting, though still apparent, is superseded by an extravagance of straight, curving and spiralling lines, wonderfully indulged in on the armour. The hard lines describing the leather cuirass, the greaves and the helmet, are extended to the

limbs and the face so that a cold line contours the cheek like a mask. The fingers of his right hand have been carefully individualized; Zazoff suggested that he might be holding a quiver, which he is not and which would in any case be inappropriate if the identification of the warrior as Achilles is correct¹¹. The three-stemmed plant in front is a decorative space-filler - it seems that the engraver was loathe to leave any spaces - and it recalls the spiral held by the Louvre woman, S3*. The upright spear reasserts the vertical in the composition, otherwise eroded by the plethora of subsidiary detail.

The scarabs of all seven gems are carefully cut and often minutely detailed (see fig.A); the plinths are plain, which is standard on early beetles in this series. The Boston pseudoscarab S6* has the finest carved back of any scarab, and represents Dionysos with rhyton and vine branch. I quote Beazley's description from Lewes House Gems¹²:

No vertical border. The god is running in archaic posture to the left: his head is frontal: in his right hand a drinking horn, in his left a big vine branch with clusters, leaves and tendrils, which passes above his head and hangs down as far as his right heel. Ionic chiton, with hatched borders at sleeves and ankles: mantle over both shoulders. Long even striations for the pleat-like folds: in the mantle, every other pleat is hatched. The outline of the hair above the forehead is a series of arcs convex to the face. The spade beard and the long moustache are hatched vertically. Goggle eyes: hatched eyebrows.

Strong compared the style of carving of the back with the series of South Italian ambers in the British Museum, London, and related pieces elsewhere. He went so far as to suggest that this gem and another pseudoscarab with a Dionysiac head carved on the back are actually South Italian "very probably Campanian"¹³. The other pseudoscarab is also in the British Museum, and has engraved on the intaglio a youth holding a lyre and a flower (fig.27). Boardman attributed the gem to his Sphinx and Youth Group I, and it is

compared below with the name-piece of the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes (fig.26)¹⁴. Strong reached his conclusion of Campanian workmanship for these gems after comparing the draperies and the forehead hair and goggle eyes of Dionysos with the relevant features on the ambers. Although the treatment of the folds of Dionysos' chiton and of folds on the ambers is similar, one wonders how differently they could have been carved, and, further, this style of bulky dress is found on numerous sixth century Etruscan bronze statuettes, on figures on Caeretan hydriai, and on other monuments which cannot be called South Italian let alone specified as Campanian. The ambers are themselves in a style peculiar to the material and quite unlike anything else produced in South Italy at the time. If any stylistic similarities between the ambers and engraved gems do exist, it is not with these pseudoscarabs, but with the name-piece of the Master of the London Satyr, a superb Greek engraver of the second half of the sixth century¹⁵; compare especially the rendering of the abdominal musculature of the satyr on the gem with the satyr (?) on the finest amber in London¹⁶. So far as the similarity between Dionysos' goggle eyes and those on the ambers is concerned, all frontal faces possess staring eyes and this can hardly be classified as a distinctive stylistic feature. And as for the hair, Dionysos' is scalloped, and that on the ambers is straight. One final objection to Strong's attribution is that the style of the intaglios belonging to the pseudoscarabs does not approach anything certainly South Italian, and I do not believe that a separate hand was responsible for the carving of the backs in these two instances. In conclusion, all that can be safely said is that certain elements in the design of the pseudoscarab S6* and of the ambers illustrate a common style in carving in the

West during the late sixth century.

It was noted above that the Master of the Boston Dionysos had at least one companion early in his career: this is an engraver whose work lacks the power of the first Master's and whose style remains static throughout his career. He is named after iconographically the most interesting subject, that of Jason being swallowed by the serpent on a small cornelian in Leningrad, S 8¹⁰ (fig.14⁶). His style is also related to the late archaic Greek Sphinx and Youth Group I, which has affinities with the east Greek world. These associations enable a relative chronology to be suggested, and it seems likely that the Master of the Leningrad Jason was at work in the 510s, perhaps later, but not into the fifth century. There is one grave context for a gem attributed to his hand, the banded agate in Ferrara, S12 (fig.18), but this is not as useful as one might suppose, since the latest object found in the grave - an Attic vase of ca 460¹⁷ - provides only a terminus ante quem. The other objects in the grave are not known to me. Zazoff described the Ferrara gem as "archaisch" and assigned it a date of ca 480, having arbitrarily allowed a twenty year gap between its execution and that of the Attic vase. If the attribution of the Ferrara intaglio to the Master of the Leningrad Jason is accepted, then a higher date must be assigned to it, and it is suggested here that it should be in the last decade of the sixth century. There is no particular difficulty in reconciling such a high date for the gem with the lower date of the vase, since valuables such as jewellery could easily have been treasured as heirlooms and kept for more than one generation.

The style of the Master of the Leningrad Jason is

derived from the earliest work of the Master of the Boston Dionysos, the cornelian in Malibu, S1*. His hand can be best described as slight, and he emerges as an artist of little original inspiration and not much technical expertise. His figures are small, with tiny heads and faces, they are expressive in gesture and hasty in movement. Five gems may be attributed to his hand:

- S8 whereabouts and material unknown¹⁸
 Hera (?), Athena and Artemis, in procession
 383bis, fig.14
- S9 Copenhagen, National Museum, 8296; cornelian
 Athena
 367, fig.15
- S10 Leningrad, Hermitage; cornelian
 Jason, being swallowed by the serpent
 53, fig.16
- S11 once Schaafhausen; cornelian
 Dionysos
 385, fig.17
- S12 Ferrara, Museo Archeologico, 2949; banded agate
 warrior and woman (Menelaos and Helen?)
 185, fig.18

The intaglio closest to S1* is the lost gem S8 (fig.14). Compare with the Malibu intaglio, the shape of the heads, the rendering of the chitons, and Athena's gesture with that of Thetis. Also the general build and proportions of the figures. The shape of head observed here - small with an almost pointed crown - is also found on Greek intaglios which have east Greek associations: compare especially the head of a nymph on a black and red jasper scarab (with an elaborate beetle) belonging to the Plump Satyr Group¹⁹, and also the head of the woman making off to the left on an Etruscan gold cartouche ring of the third quarter of the sixth century²⁰. Figures on some Greco-Phoenician intaglios illustrate a similar type²¹, and it is very closely matched on

the following gem:

S13 once Southesk, A37; rock crystal
youth with wreath, leading horse
272, Southesk Catalogue pl.I.A37

The style of this lovely intaglio is exceedingly close to the Master of the Boston Dionysos, and less so to the Master of the Leningrad Jason. It stands between S1* and S2*. Observe the shape of the head again, and the treatment of the facial features: see how the youth's profile has the 'Pontic' look of Thetis on S1* and yet is a hybrid between that and the flatter version of the Master's later heads, where the expanse of cheek is even broader than here. Compare the youth's coiffure - the long hair swept back from the forehead and falling in a thick lock down his back. The Southesk catalogue described the youth as bearded, which he is not, and Zazoff made a similar error in his description of S5*. The heavy blob is, however, the standard chin in the Master of the Boston Dionysos' works and may be contrasted with intentional beards of Hephaistos, S1*, and the old man on S6*. It is no surprise to find the same kind of chin on a piece so closely related to that Master's style. The formation of the youth's profile chest begs comparison with Achilles' on S1* and the goddesses' on S8*; its awkward shape brings to mind the peculiar treatment of profile shoulder and chest illustrated on late sixth century Clazomenian pottery, where horses and horsemen were also often represented. The youth's legs are skinnier than any of the Master of the Boston Dionysos' figures, and closer to those of the Master of the Leningrad Jason's. The wreath in his right hand reminds us of those held on S3* and S5*. The horse is a fine beast, if a little over-long in the body and wooden in movement. The back of the gem is described in the catalogue

as "unusually minute and careful. This scarab, of pure rock crystal, shows every sign of Greek workmanship, though most probably it was found in Etruria." The device is set within a dot border on a cross-hatched exergue, details repeated again on a pseudoscarab in New York, which features a rather famous horse on its intaglio:

S14 New York, MMA, 32.11.7; cornelian pseudoscarab (satyr head)
the Greeks emerging from the Wooden Horse

83, fig.11

The tiny figures (there are seven hoplites and the Horse) preclude any detailed analysis of the style, but it is clear that it belongs within the sphere of influence of the Master of the Boston Dionysos and his less able colleague the Master of the Leningrad Jason. The decorated exergues of S13 and S14* are found on some of the Leningrad Master's intaglios, but not on his earliest study, S8*, which invited this stylistic excursus. The composition on the lost intaglio, S8*, suffers for not having an exergue: it has resulted in a noticeable difference in the respective heights of the three goddesses which gives Athena, at the centre of the composition, a prominence which is probably meaningless; there is a lack of symmetry and the eye wanders off in the direction of the procession.

The small, jaunty figures on S8* compare best with S1* and the other studies mentioned above principally for their head type and general build. The relationship of this engraver to late archaic Greek gems is further illustrated by comparing his first work S8* with the following intaglios, which are close to each other in style:

§a Private; once London, Ionides; onyx scaraboid²²
cock with girl's head

fig.19

§b Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale; cornelian²³
winged and bearded man, whose legs are replaced by a cock's
body and tail
AG pl.viii.25

§c Munich, A1363; cornelian²⁴
centaur with branch
fig.20

§a (fig.19) and §b were attributed to the Greek Sphinx and Youth Group I, whilst §c (fig.20) was associated with the Greek Dry Style. The head on §a* is similar to those of S8*, whilst the head and features of the Mischwesen on §b repeat exactly those of S8* and others of the Master of the Leningrad Jason's figures; the centaur on §c* is rather loosely associated but its general relationship to the others is clear.

The small-headed, short-necked figures on S8* find their closest companion in the Athena on a cornelian in Copenhagen, S9 (fig.15). Compare Athena's head, long flowing hair, the set and build of her arms, the dress and aegis, and finally, the feet. Both S8* and S9* set the device within a dot border. Zazoff dated the charming Copenhagen study, S9*, to his "spätetruskischer Stil" of the second century²⁵. Even if this intaglio were not attributable to an individual hand, the size and proportions of the figure, the rendering of the chiton and aegis, the border design and the smallness of the gem, all these details ^{would} indicate a late archaic date.

The name-piece of the Master, S10 (fig.16), sits easily beside S8* and S9*. The head and hair are exactly the same, and the border is again of dots. Dionysos on S11 (fig.17) and the warrior and woman on the Ferrara intaglio, S12 (fig.18) go better together than they do with the other three already attributed to the Master. Dionysos' hair is divided into three beaded locks, which may be compared with the same detail on S8* and S9*; his

facial features are blobbier than any of the others, and are a result of over-zealous use of a fine drill: compare the woman's face on S12* and contrast that of her warrior companion, whose angular lower jaw is not matched on any of the other intaglios, but which might indicate that he was bearded. On Dionysos the left knee-cap is indicated as a dot, a detail not otherwise observed in the figures in this group. Both S11* and S12* have dot borders, and exergues filled with alternate diagonal lines.

As only the back of S12* is known to me, no comparisons of the decoration of the scarabs can be offered.

Two further intaglios may be compared with the Master of the Leningrad Jason, but are not by his hand and may be classified as belonging to the Group of the Leningrad Jason:

S15 London, British Museum, 675; burnt and damaged cornelian
two youths, in conversation
471, fig.21, A7

The head and body of the naked youth on the right compare well with those of the Leningrad Master, though he is a little fatter. The draped youth is fuller in the face and his stance, with one leg frontal one profile, indicates a date of ca 500 or a little after. Zazoff assigned this gem to his "spätetruskischer Freier Stil"²⁶. As with S9*, however, the style of the engraving, the pose of the figures and the type of border, as well as the small size of the stone, all these details place it in the late archaic period. Consider also the elaboration and exquisite carving of the back (fig. A7), usual on finer works in the late archaic period and quite exceptional after the end of the first quarter of the fifth century.

The second intaglio offered for comparison is not as close as S15* is to the Master:

S16 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Chapelle 77; banded agate
Artemis and the Stag

381, fig.158, A8

The border and filled exergue of S11* and S12* is repeated here.

Head and shoulders more or less match those of the Master's figures, but from the waist down, Artemis is much heavier in build (cf S15*), and the rendering of her chiton is rather in advance of that seen so far. The scarab is plainer than any of the others.

Three gems are appended at the end of this section and should be compared with the later works by the Master of the Boston Dionysos. They owe nothing to the Master of the Leningrad Jason.

S17 Boston, MFA, 27.674; cornelian²⁷
Herakles and a horse (Diomedes?)
262, fig.12

S18 Boston, MFA, 27.668; banded agate
Herakles and Apollo: the Struggle for the Tripod
237, fig.13

S19 Boston, MFA, 27.719; banded agate pseudoscarab (siren)
warrior
138, fig.133

On S17 (fig.12) the Master of the Boston Dionysos' influence is discernible in the muscular and thick-set build of Herakles. Compare especially the linear patterning on the calves, and the large, sprawling feet; compare the spirals of the thongs suspending the quiver with the flower stems on S3* and S7*. The proportions of the body are not the same as those on S1* - S7*, for the head is significantly smaller and therefore truer to nature; some attention is given to the muscles of the abdomen, and the four components of rectus abdominis are clearly marked - these features are not observed on any of the Boston Master's figures, and again indicate a date not much before ca 500. The description of the scarab suggests that it was a careful and elaborate piece of carving²⁸.

The sturdy little hoplite on S19 (fig.131) resembles Herakles on S17*, but is less close to the Boston Master. The style S18 (fig.13) is rather more individual than either S17* or S19*, yet the stylistic debt to the Boston Master is still evident.

The heads of Herakles and Apollo are small with poky features, and the chests and abdomens diminutive in size compared with the extraordinarily long and broad legs, carved in flat relief; the feet are very long and tapering. The style is weaker than that of the Master of the Boston Dionysos and lacks the finesse of S17*. The figures are more like toys than credible human beings. The device has a dot border interrupted by a ground strip of alternate hatched lines, and is continued beneath this as a single line - a reminiscence of the Greco-Phoenician fashion. The beetle is more elaborately detailed than any of those by the Master of the Boston Dionysos (fig. A6).

These three intaglios may be said to belong to the Boston Group.

II The GROUP of the COPENHAGEN HERMES

Whilst the early style of the Master of the Boston Dionysos was the inspirational source for the Master of the Leningrad Jason, his middle and later style was that not only for the three gems discussed in the last sub-section but also for a larger group of late archaic intaglios, which do not go much beyond ca 500. This group is named after the delightful study of Hermes as the Master of the Animals, on a cornelian in Copenhagen, S28 (fig.26). As the term 'group' suggests, this is a loose confederacy, and it identifies itself through a common type of figure - big-headed, heavy-shouldered, with short torsos and short limbs. There are perhaps two or three engravers responsible for the intaglios attributed to this Group, and where I have thought that two gems are by the same hand, and a third by another, this is made clear in the text. The fact that many of the figures are draped means that there are fewer reliable points of reference for stylistic analysis: clothing tends to be represented in very much the same way on gems because smallness of scale does not allow for much individuality in the rendering of folds, which in vase-painting and sculpture are useful and informative guides. The devices are mainly individual studies of gods and goddesses, and there are several pseudoscarabs in the Group. Links with gems in the late archaic Greek groups are again strong.

S20 Leningrad, Hermitage, Ж 677; agate
Athena

363, fig.22

S21 Geneva, Mus. d'Art et d'Hist., once Duval 7195;
white and dark brown banded agate
Athena

364, Zazoff, pl.10.34

- S22 whereabouts unknown; cornelian
Dionysos
386, AG pl.xvi.16
- S23 whereabouts and material unknown
Herakles and woman
242, AG III 208 fig.134
- S24 whereabouts and material unknown
warrior
137, fig.23
- S25 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, de Luynes 266; cornelian
Herakles
232, fig.24
- S26 London, British Museum, 474; cornelian
Herakles and Triton
256, fig.25
- S27 Newcastle, University Museum; cornelian
Athena
379, unpublished
- S28 Copenhagen, National Museum, 2267; cornelian pseudoscarab
Hermes
384, fig.26
- S29 London, British Museum, 633; cornelian
seated draped youth, with walking-stick
199, fig.28
- S30 whereabouts unknown, once Fossati; cornelian
giant
411, fig.29

The physical type outlined above is well illustrated on the first intaglio in Leningrad, depicting Athena, S20 (fig.22). Note how the humped shoulders and unnatural proportions of the body recall the later style of the Master of the Boston Dionysos. The head is about one fifth body height; the eye is represented by a large dot, and neither the brow nor the lids are indicated; the nose is short and straight and the wing of the nose sits immediately beneath the eye; the mouth is small and the chin juts forward; the neck is virtually non-existent. The heavy

shoulders dominate the physique: note how the nearer shoulder is very deeply cut and results in a hunch-backed look; the arms, too, are heavy, and the clenched hands represented by dots. The right leg, visible through the skirt, is poorly managed, and the feet are long with thick heels and a blob for the toes. The border is hatched and there is an exergue of alternate diagonal lines. The study in Geneva, S21, is a replica of this intaglio, though the shoulders are flatter and the arms thinner. Compared with the Master of the Boston Dionysos' studies, both these intaglios are dull in quality of engraving and motif.

The tiny lost study of Dionysos, S22, should be compared with the Leningrad Athena, S20* for the shoulders, arms and legs. The head is, however, a little different: though the eye remains a prominent feature, the nose is barely indicated and three lines edge the rather flat face. Compare the heads of the Master of the Leningrad Jason's figures.

The intaglio illustrating Herakles leading a woman by the hand, S23, may belong here, although careful analysis is not possible since records of the gem survive only in unreliable drawings.

The warrior on S24 (fig.23) and the Herakles on S25 (fig.24) illustrate a fleshier type of figure. The aggressive hoplite, S24*, may be compared with the Athena S20* for the head, lack of neck, lumpy shoulders and heavy arms; he is bearded. The legs are more powerfully constructed than the Athena's, and the feet are described in greater detail (cf S31 (fig.30) and S32 (fig.101) below). Herakles on S25* is executed in a more relaxed style and bears only a general relationship to the others; the fleshy build of his lower limbs has an east Greek look and

this, together with the rendering of the feet, recalls the style of the Greek Plump and Slim Satyr Groups²⁹. Zazoff attributed this gem to his "später Strenger Stil" and detected in the style incipient a globolo³⁰ - but this fleshy 'running' Herakles is pure late archaic of ca 500. The tiny cornelian in London, S26 (fig.25) also belongs in this stylistic area.

One of the finest studies in this Group is of a winged Athena, on an unpublished cornelian in the University Museum at Newcastle, S27. The Athena has much in common with the plumper figures of S24* and S25*, and is at the same time closely linked to the name-piece, S28 (fig.26), by virtue of the rendering of the facial features. Compare especially the proximity of the eye to the wing of the nose, and the harsh line running from this to the jutting chin; compare the treatment of the mouth and the ear. Her pose, with one leg frontal and one profile is more advanced than any of the others in this Group, and places the intaglio at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries at the earliest. The treatment of the lower limbs should be compared with that on an athlete, scraping his leg with a strigil, in a private collection (212). On both the Athena and the athlete, the engraver has avoided the problem of how to represent a frontal foot by reducing this extremity to a round stump.

The stylistic relationship between the Geneva Athena, S21, and the Copenhagen Hermes, S28 (fig.26), was observed by Zazoff³¹, who also associated the intaglio in Boston, S33 (fig. 31: see below) of a woman with a branch, and the cornelian S11 (fig.16), which was attributed above to the Master of the Lenin-grad Jason. The Hermes, S28*, is the most attractive intaglio in the Group, and presents the god as a dapper little figure,

retaining the frontal torso and profile legs of the majority of the Group. He is less stiffly posed and lighter in build than the Leningrad Athena, S20*. The stag in the god's left hand has been successfully represented, even if summarily treated: dots for the joints and hooves, and the antlers are cut in shallow relief. The hatched border of close-set slanting strokes is a dominant feature; the siren on the back is carefully executed, and the head and legs of the scarab, and the plinth, are retained. The style of this intaglio and of the carving of the relief figure on the back compares very favourably with a less meticulously cut cornelian attributed to the Greek Sphinx and Youth Group I, which has as its device a youth in the 'Knielauf' pose, holding a lyre and a flower (fig.27), and on the back a siren, with the head and legs of the scarab, and the plinth retained, as on S28*^{31bis}. The youth on the Greek intaglio has a very heavy nose and bulbous eye. Compare the treatment of his legs with those of the hoplite on S24*, and compare the imposing hatched border of slanting lines with that on S28*. The style of the Greek intaglio is 'impressionistic' - that is, the cutting is characterized by sketchy strokes, and the contours are uneven: contrast the clear definition of contour and the smoother finish of the Copenhagen Hermes, S28*.

The tiny study of the seated, draped youth in London, S29 (fig.28), and the bemused serpent-legged giant on S30 (fig.29) should both find a place within this Group.

There are five further intaglios which may be considered here but they bear only a general relationship to the Group:

S31 Florence, Museo Archeologico, 15 258;
 cornelian pseudoscarab (frontal sphinx)
 Ajax and Achilles

63, fig.30

- S32 London, British Museum, 476;
burnt cornelian pseudoscarab (satyr head)
Ajax and Achilles
66, fig.101
- S33 Boston, MFA, 98.735; cornelian pseudoscarab (satyr head)
woman with a branch
472, fig.31
- S34 whereabouts and material unknown (once Munich)
giant
409, AG lxiii.14, Lippold, pl.75.5
- S35 Göttingen, Univ., G 13; cornelian
warrior
122, fig.32

The head of Ajax on S31 (fig.30) compares best with that of the Newcastle Athena, S27, whilst the legs and feet compare with those of the warrior on S24*; the dominant hatched border is that of the Copenhagen Hermes, S28*, and the Greek intaglio of youth and lyre (fig.27). The limbs of the dead Achilles have been very poorly managed. The London pseudoscarab S32 (fig.101) has been thought "possibly west Greek"³², and it does illustrate the 'impressionistic' style noted above on the Greek youth. Note again the close-set slanted lines of the hatched border. The Boston intaglio of a woman with a branch, S33 (fig.31), is indeed related to the Copenhagen Hermes S28*, as Zazoff thought, but perhaps not as closely as he suggested. I do not think that it is by the same hand: the proportions of the woman are truer to nature³³, and the facial features, especially the nose, are much more sharply defined than those of Hermes; though the border to the intaglio is again that of close-set slanted lines, it is set well back from the figure and she has plenty of space in which to move, whilst Hermes is a little cramped. The woman's head is closest to that of the giant on S34, which should be attributed to the same engraver. The Göttingen warrior, S35 (fig.32), may also

be by the same engraver as S33* and S34, though it is clearly earlier than either of them. Compare with S33*, the head and face, the arms and hand, the contours of the lower limbs and the feet; the border does not crowd the figure here either. Zazoff³⁴ assigned the Göttingen gem to his "Strenger Stil", and links it stylistically with 306 and 307, both of which are late fifth century. The warrior is pure late archaic. A study of Zeus in Rome, 380 (fig.159), owes something to the style of the Boston woman, S33*, but he is much more heavily built.

The intaglios discussed in this section form a neat, attractive group, sufficiently coherent stylistically to be attributed to one hand. The engraver takes his name from the fine study of Herakles and Kyknos in the British Museum, S36 (figs.33,34), and he will be referred to as the Kyknos Master for short. His style is unconnected with the previous engravers and groups, and it does not easily relate to any of the late archaic Greek groups. He was probably not at work much if at all before ca 490 and cannot go beyond ca 480. There is a preference for compositions of two figures or more, the scenes are usually mythological and heavily influenced by the iconography of late archaic Attic vase-painting; inscriptions in the Etruscan alphabet are common, and many of the devices are set within dot borders and on decorated exergues. The scarab backs are meticulously carved and detailed (fig.B) and there is one very fine pseudoscarab of a squatting negro (fig.40). The Kyknos Master's figures are characterized by their distinctive facial features, and their doll-like proportions - short, triangular torsos, and heavy buttocks and legs. These charming figures cannot compete in nobility or heroic beauty with the youths of the Berlin and Lewes House Masters, for example, yet they possess a grace and dignity of their own.

S36 London, British Museum, 621; burnt cornelian
Herakles and Kyknos

𐌃𐌆𐌑𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌑𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆

284, figs.33,34, B1

S37 whereabouts unknown (once Bologna); cornelian
warrior, departing

𐌃𐌆𐌑𐌆𐌆𐌆 𐌆𐌑𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆

181, fig.35

- S38 Leningrad, Hermitage, № 870; cornelian
seated, draped youth
☉
191, fig.36
- S39 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, 1804^a; banded agate
youth, leaning on stick and fastening sandal
☉
179, fig.37, B2
- S40 London, British Museum, 652;
cornelian pseudoscarab (negro, squatting)
Kapaneus
7, figs.38-40
- S41 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, de Luynes 283;
banded sardonyx
fight: two warriors over one fallen
186, figs.41,42, B3
- S42 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, de Luynes 282;
banded sardonyx
four heroes in council: the 'Seven-against-Thebes'
3, figs.43,90, B4
- S43 whereabouts unknown (once Tarquinia); material uncertain
Athena, with the severed arm of a giant
427, fig.44

The burnt cornelian in London, S36 (figs.33,34) is the Kyknos Master's chef-d'oeuvre, and illustrates most fully his system of forms in describing the human body. The crown of Herakles' head is spherical, the hair is short and ridged, and terminates in a row of pellets (the engraver's translation of scroll curls) interrupted by the hook of the ear; the eye is lidded and very large - cf Herakles *γοργυπτός* of late archaic Athenian red-figure vases; the nose is long and pointed (the intaglio is damaged at the base of the nose), and the lips are small and thin; the cheekbone is emphatic. Kyknos' facial features differ only in that they are more individualized: he wears a worried, fearful expression. On both figures the principal muscle of the neck is barely suggested, the clavicles are short, curved lines, and on Kyknos' left side,

trapezius is indicated; the shoulders are well shaped and the pectorals are full ovals (the nipples are not indicated); the muscles of the arms, especially of Kyknos' right arm, are accurately described, and the region of the elbow is a heavy mass; clenched hands are stumpy in the dorsal view, whilst the fingers and the thumbs are individualized in the palmar. The triangular torso is very short from the shoulder to the waist; four round bulges of equal size describe rectus abdominis above the navel, and below, on Herakles only, there is a suggestion of the linea alba, and the navel is shown as a tiny dot; the extended side of the rib-cage is shown as a gentle ridge, whilst on the flexed side this ridge is omitted altogether; the ribs are thin lines, and the genitals, shown on Herakles only, are sketchily indicated. The buttocks are round and heavy, and the depression over the greater trochanter is observed; the components of quadriceps in both the medial and the lateral aspects are lightly differentiated; knee-caps are blobs, whilst dots indicate the patellar ligaments and the malleoli; the principal muscles of the calf, both gastrocnemius and soleus, are full bulges in the medial and the lateral aspects. The mass of the foot is triangular, and the toes are shown as a line in the medial aspect and as dots in the lateral. Note the strong, curving contours of both figures. The composition is well balanced in a field more rectangular than oval because of the addition of the exergue, filled with alternately diagonal hatched triangles.

The figures on the cornelian once in Bologna, S37 (fig. 35) offer many points of comparison with the London gem. Although the iconography is simply that of a warrior departing, the engraver has labelled the seated youth as VTVZE (Odysseus) and the

standing warrior as *ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ* (Achilles). Compare with the London intaglio, the shape of the head, the rendering of the hair, ear and facial features of 'Odysseus'; the head of 'Achilles' is obscured by the helmet, which has telescoped the features into a smaller area within a round frame; on both of the Bologna heads, the cheek-bone is a harsh line which lends the faces rather bemused expressions, a detail to be observed in others of this Master's works. Compare also the rendering of the clavicles of both figures, and note a hint of the principal muscle of the neck on 'Odysseus', on whom the engraver has indicated trapezius on the right side (cf Kyknos). The torsos, arms and legs are not quite so powerfully constructed as the London figures', but the system of forms describing them is the same; note in addition the detailing of the hands. As on S36* the border is of dots, and the exergue is replaced here by a ground strip decorated with pairs of vertical lines.

The seated 'Odysseus' serves to introduce the next cornelian, S38 (fig.36), which has as its device a draped youth, seated with head in hand: the youth is inscribed *ΘΗΣΕΥΣ* (Theseus), although the iconography is that of the so-called 'mourning Achilles'. Compare with the London and once Bologna figures, S36* and S37*, the shape of the face, the facial features, and the feet; compare the rendering of the shoulders, chest and abdomen with that of 'Odysseus' on S38*. The border is hatched here, and the exergue plain.

The light banded agate in Paris, S39 (fig.37), of a youth leaning on a knotted walking-stick and fastening his right sandal (the other sandal is suspended in the field beneath his right foot), also identifies the figure as 'Theseus', clumsily

mis-spelt and untidily engraved $\circ | \S E$. Although the head is a little flatter than any of the above, this is because of its proximity to the dot border, and the facial features, torso and legs, all match the renderings on S36* - S38*. Compare also the left arm and the hand on the walking-stick with that of the Leningrad 'Theseus' S38*, and of both 'Achilles' and 'Odysseus' on S37*. The figure here is taller than the others because there is no exergue and the artist has stretched out the lower limbs.

Kapaneus on the pseudoscarab in London, S40 (figs. 38 - 40), finds his closest companion in 'Achilles' on S37*: the heads are identical, and the twist in the torso produces the same wasp-like waist. Compare also the lower abdomen, genitals and thighs. For the slightly fleshier lower legs and the 'softer' feet, refer to the Paris sandal-binder, S39*, and for the view of the shield, to S36*. The carved figure on the back, of a sleeping, squatting negro, with an aryballos over one arm, is not easy to relate to the style of the Master's intaglios, partly because of the difficulty in comparing relief with intaglio, and partly because the figure is that of a negro, whose features are accordingly distorted and whose frontal squatting pose is not found on any of the other studies in this group. The pose of the negro led Zazoff to compare the study with the splendid lyre-playing satyr on a chalcedony scaraboid in New York, 441 (figs. ^{170, 171}169, 170)³⁵. Similarity in pose, however, is not sufficient reason for making attributions, and the style of the New York intaglio is quite unlike that of the London Kapaneus, S40*, or any of the others here attributed to the Kyknos Master.

The next two gems to be considered are both in Paris, are of striped sardonyx and carry multi-figure compositions. The

first, S41 (figs.41,42) describes a fight, not recognizably mythological, set within a framework identical to that of S37*. Compare the helmets with that of 'Achilles' on S37* and Kapaneus on S40*; the torsos and the legs of the striding and the falling warriors may be compared with any of those so far discussed; the warrior on the right presents a frontal view, rather timidly attempted and not completely successful (he looks very cramped and the frontal foot is awkwardly posed). The falling warrior wears his hair in the longer 'zazzera' fashion and so different from the others, but it is the style worn by Athena on S43*, whose facial features are also closest to this figure's. The second Paris intaglio, S42 (figs.43,90), preserved in its exquisite ancient setting, supposedly illustrates four of the 'Seven-against-Thebes'. Although there is one more figure here than on S41*, none looks as cramped as the frontal warrior on that intaglio: the proximity of the two standing youths is not inappropriate because they look as if they are in conversation, and the two figures seated in the foreground complement each other. In spite of the smallness of the figures and the fact that one of them is completely draped, two partially, and the fourth wears armour, the stylistic formula found on S36* to S41* can still be detected in the shapes of the heads, helmets, torsos and legs; compare also the arm and hand of the seated, partially draped youth on the left and holding a spear, with that of 'Odysseus' on S37*. The dot border and patterned exergue repeats that of S36*.

The eighth intaglio to be attributed to the Kyknos Master, S43 (fig.44), is a very fine study of a winged Athena, wielding the dismembered arm of a giant. It was once in Tarquinia Museum, but is sadly now lost. The material of the gem has

been described as cornelian, onyx and agate, and in the original publication as "uno scarabeo greco....di stile arcaico avanzato e d'esecuzione finissima"³⁶. The dainty elegance of this Athena, emphasized by the lightness of her tread and the effect the pointed tops of the wings have of lifting her up, is a quality which ill suits the context of the gigantomachy and yet, this very paradox exemplifies one of the notable characteristics of the Master's work - the doll-like appearance of his figures whatever their identity or context. The similarity of her hair-style and features to the falling warrior on S41* has already been commented on above. The basic proportions of all the other figures are repeated here - the short torso (note the small prominent breasts), the shape of the legs beneath her skirt, the triangular feet; for the 'spring' of the shoulders, compare 'Achilles' on S37*. The folds and zig-zag borders of the himation are more detailed than those on S37*, S38* and S42*, and here contrast with the finer, broader pleats of the chiton and the plain surface of the aegis. The following intaglio may be compared with this Athena:

S44 Orvieto, Faina;
 onyx pseudoscarab (winged woman, lifting skirt)
 youth between two horses; a fly
271, AGG 163 fig.3; Zazoff, pl.8 no.19

The general similarity to the Master's works is clear, but as I have neither handled the gem nor seen an impression of the intaglio, I would prefer to put it in the wider category of the Kyknos Group. The back is as fine a piece of carving as the negro on S40*.

The intaglios S36* - S43* show the Kyknos Master to have been an engraver with an individual and delicate style, even if he does not rank among the greatest working in the west at this time. There is, however, a very fine and famous intaglio which

is related in style to his work, and which may well be by his hand:

S45 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, de Luynes 276; cornelian
Aeneas with Anchises

84, figs. 45, 46, B5

Iconographically and compositionally it chimes well with the gems already attributed to the Kyknos Master, and the scarab back is minutely detailed, the intaglio carefully engraved. The heads of Aeneas and Anchises, the markings of the ears, the shape and size of the torso, the renderings of the legs, all these details find parallels on the Master's intaglios. The faces are a little different in that they lack the distinctive cheek-bone, but they may be compared with the flatter faces on S42*. The most significant differences are the rendering of the arms and hands, and the size and set of the shoulders: these are small, weak and feebly represented; the hands too (except Aeneas' right hand holding the spear) are summarily treated. Anchises' himation falls in freer folds than any hitherto seen in the Master's work. The perfectly cut hatched border intrudes on the design. This analysis suggests that the Paris gem, if not certainly by the Master, at least belongs within the Kyknos Group.

One final intaglio recommends itself for inclusion in the Kyknos Group. Detailed analysis of the gem is difficult because the original was lost in the Florentine floods of 1966, and the only published photograph of the cast is not clear:

S46 lost, once Chiusi and Florence, Museo Archeologico;
cornelian
Eos and Memnon

'TINIAS' 'TV DAN'

85, NSc 1931, 204 fig.7

The publication of the gem, which was found in the necropolis

at Chiusi, includes an unusually thorough description of the intaglio and of the scarab back, which seems to have been as elaborately carved as those by the Kyknos Master. So far as one can judge, there is a similarity in the figure type, and Eos may be compared with Athena, S43*, for the prominent breasts and the rendering of the chiton and himation. Eos' head and body are reduced in size, perhaps because the engraver has had to fit her into a rather short field (the motif is set horizontally and there is a thick exergue). The description of the figures could be applied to any of those by the Kyknos Master:

(il) volto, col mento e le guance fortemente marcati, coi lineamenti caratteristici dell'arte arcaica, dai grossi bulbi ovali degli occhi, dalle spesse labbra quasi sorridenti e la dritta ed energica linea del naso... 37

The body of Memnon, which would have offered many valuable points for comparison, is too unclear in the published photograph to be of any use in this analysis. The dot border and the exergue filled with alternate diagonally hatched triangles repeat those of S36* and S42*, and the intaglio is also inscribed in the same rough manner as on S36*, though here of course, the names do not refer to the subject.

Four gems comprise this small group, which can be understood as an offshoot of the Kyknos Group. The style is derived from that of the Kyknos Master, and there is the same preference for compositions of more than one figure, the subjects are usually mythological and set on decorated exergues; one is inscribed; the backs are elaborately cut, and there are two pseudoscarabs. The style is not, however, sufficiently close to that of the Kyknos Master to allow these intaglios to be placed within the Kyknos Group, nor are they sufficiently close to each other to be attributed to one hand. The figures have small heads, thin arms, short trunks, fleshy legs and small feet; they have a tendency to look stiffly posed.

S47 London, British Museum, 651;
 cornelian pseudoscarab (winged woman)
 arming: Thetis and Achilles, or Achilles and Patroklos (?)
 59, figs.47,48

S48 whereabouts unknown (once Canino); cornelian
 warrior, departing
 180, fig.49

S49 Boston, MFA, 21 1198; cornelian
 two winged men, leading youth
 408bis, fig.50

S50 Leningrad, Hermitage, HC 676;
 cornelian pseudoscarab (siren)
 Ajax and Achilles
 ΛΑΪΙΑ ΑΨΕΛΕ
 62, fig.100

The intaglio in London, S47 (figs.47,48), which gives its name to the Group, is an attractive two-figure composition iconographically derived from, or representing Thetis giving new arms to Achilles, though the protagonists seem to be male, and might be Achilles with

Patroklos. The heads are round and the ears are clearly marked; the eyes, the bases and the wings of the noses, all are represented by dots; the cheeks are full and the line of the lower jaw curves gently. These faces can reasonably be described as cute. Both figures are in profile and look rather round-shouldered; the arms and hands are weak and thin, and this exaggerates the heaviness of the lower limbs. Note the simple feet, and the malleolus indicated medially on the warrior. Close-set hatched lines form the border, and the exergue is filled with alternately diagonal hatched triangles. Zazoff linked this intaglio with S37* and S42* and 196; 196 is not "Strenger Stil" as he suggests, but, as Mile. Vollenweider observed, "plutôt archaïsante qu'archaïque"³⁸.

The lost cornelian S48 (fig.49) of a warrior departing is sufficiently close to the London intaglio S47* to be attributed to the same hand, the Master of London 651. Compare the heads, the facial features and expressions, the legs and the feet; the arms are fuller and all the malleoli are indicated; the genitals on the departing warrior should be compared with those of the warrior on S47*. The border is of small dots, and the exergue is similar to that on S47*.

The Boston intaglio, S49 (fig.50), repeats the border and exergue of S48*. Although the figures very much resemble those of the Master of London 651, the facial features are a little different and the upper limbs and torsos more powerfully constructed - one is reminded of the style of the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes. The meatiest figures are, however, provided by the splendid pseudoscarab in Leningrad, S50 (fig.100). The limbs particularly are much heavier than hitherto observed. Ajax' face is a more

mature version of those on S47*; the four blobs indicating rectus abdominis on the decoration of the cuirass may be compared with the actual representation of these muscles on the naked youth on S49*, whilst the description of Ajax' undergarments and genitals should be compared with those of the warriors on S47* and S48*. Hatched border and cross-hatched exergue. The inscriptions are untidily cut and may be compared with those on S46, and on the famous Berlin intaglio, 1 (fig.91).

Just as the gems by the Kyknos Master are unconnected stylistically with the previous workshops, so are the studies contemporary with them and attributed to the Master of the London Athlete and the London Group. The strong Greek flavour of the name-piece, S51 (fig.51), already observed elsewhere³⁹, is less evident in the other intaglios associated with it; this flavour is, however, continued in the Group of the Florence Herakles and Deianeira, which owes much to the style of the Master of the London Athlete. In contrast to the multi-figure tableaux favoured by the Kyknos Master, this Master's preference is - in good late archaic Greek tradition - for single-figure studies of youths in a variety of competently managed twisting and falling poses. There are four gems attributed to one hand, S51* - S54*, and three very closely associated, S55* - S57*. Representations of the dying Kapaneus from the Theban cycle of myth predominate, and from the Trojan cycle, Ajax, and Hypnos and Thanatos with Memnon, both motifs make an appearance. All the figures are solidly built and confidently executed.

S51 London, British Museum, 490; chalcedony scaraboid athlete

215, fig.51

S52 London, British Museum, 627; cornelian Kapaneus

24, figs.52,53, C1

S53 Boston, MFA, 27.717; cornelian (damaged) Ajax, about to commit suicide

69, fig.54, C2

S54 Hannover, Kestner Museum, 1844; burnt cornelian Kapaneus

18, fig.55, C3

The Master of the London Athlete's figures are broad-headed and of stocky build, with round shoulders and swelling pectorals. His system of forms in describing anatomical structures and facial features can be best appreciated on the London athlete, S51 (fig.51), which, if not his most careful study, is certainly the earliest and should find a date ca 490. The young athlete stands with head and right leg in profile, chest and left leg frontal; the back of his left hand rests cheekily on his hip, giving him a rather arrogant air; in his right hand he holds a strigil. On the left his columbus alabastron and sponge-bag rest on a little stand, and these are balanced on the other side by a diskos suspended in its bag from a hook. The athlete's head is about one fifth body size, and is round, and deep from the base of the nose to the ear; his hair is dressed in the bobbed 'zazzera' fashion, the ends swelling into a thick mass at the back of the head and around the face; this line of the hair is broken by the emphatic semi-circle representing the ear; the line of the lower jaw and of the fringe makes a curved frame for the features. The facial features are, like the detailing of the rest of the body, cut with bold strokes and there is no evidence of any use of a fine drill. The dot of the eye (there are no lids) is set in a hollow between the cheek-bone and the brow; the brow swings into the thick ridge of the nose, which has a heavy base. The cheek is hollow, the chin round, and the thick and slightly parted lips extend beyond the small wing of the nose; the lower jaw is heavy. The principal muscle of the neck is represented by a single ridge from below the ear to the jugular depression. The shoulders are wide, with full muscles, and the pectorals are well developed (the nipples are indicated); the curving contours of the arms

further suggest the physical strength of the athlete; the tips of the elbows are indicated, and note the careful observation of the flexion at the wrist on the left arm; the left hand is meticulously detailed whilst the right gripping the strigil is, excepting the thumb, reduced to a stump. The modelling of the anatomical structures is heavier than on homeland Greek work, but it is not as stylized as on some of the Etruscan intaglios. The components of rectus abdominis are shown as four small bulges, enclosed by the inverted u-shaped ridge of the rib-cage; the difference in the levels of the rib-cage on the right and left sides, and in the size of the flanks, indicates the ponderation of the body. The genitals are represented by two blobs for the scrotum, and a short line arising out of a dot for the penis. On the frontal leg the thigh is in fairly uniform relief, whereas on the profile leg a thick ridge running down from the hip and swelling into a bulge above the knee-cap describes one of the components of quadriceps. The knee-caps are blobs, and on both lower legs the subcutaneous anterior border of the tibia is clearly shown. The two principal muscles of the calf, gastrocnemius and soleus, are well defined and, on the profile leg, bound medially by a deep furrow; on the frontal leg, note the observation of gastrocnemius medially and laterally. The malleoli are lightly indicated on the frontal leg and set level; the feet are simply blocked out, with minor detailing on the profile leg.

The upright stance of the athlete where the emphasis is on frontality, is rare on a single figure study in this series, in which leaning and bending youths are normally employed to fill the oval field. This figure is perfectly balanced, the bulk of the composition constructed within a rigid vertical panel. This

transparent chalcedony very probably started off as a scarab, since there is scarcely any 'dome' on the back to indicate that it was a true scaraboid.

The system of forms used by the engraver of S51* is found again on another London intaglio, the cornelian S52 (figs. 52,53), which has the ill-fated Kapaneus as its motif. The proportion of head to body is now a little more than one fifth and therefore closer to nature. Compare with the London athlete: the shape of the head, the coiffure and the line of the hair interrupted by the semi-circular ear, the heavy facial features and the indication of the principal muscle of the neck (incorrectly observed). Compare the build and set of the shoulders and pectorals (the nipples are observed, and the clavicles are lightly marked), and on the right arm, the tip of the elbow and especially the relationship of the hand to the arms which copies the more affected gesture of the athlete. The flexion and extension of the flanks is again observed, and the genitals are similarly represented. The pose of this Kapaneus, sinking down onto his knees, provides a different view of the lower limbs, yet the broad ridge noted on the athlete's profile leg is repeated. Although the lower legs are for the most part concealed behind the thighs, the engraver has still managed to show gastrocnemius. Compare the profile foot of Kapaneus with that of the athlete; Kapaneus displays additionally the plantar view of a foot, carefully detailed and with the toes shown as dots of varying sizes. As on S51* thick strokes are responsible for most of the cutting - even for the thunderbolt which strikes the hero in the neck.

The abdominal muscles are differently rendered: above the navel the components of rectus abdominis are shown as two

muscles of more or less rectangular shape, topped by two rounder bulges different in size. This sketchier rendering of the abdominal musculature is repeated on the study of Ajax committing suicide, movingly portrayed on a cornelian in Boston, S53 (fig. 54), and on the second Kapaneus, in Hannover, S54 (fig. 55). The Boston Ajax offers many points of comparison with S51* and S52*. Observe the shape of the head and the treatment of the hair (the scroll curls across the forehead are additional details), the semi-circular face, the prominence of the cheek-bone and the delineation of the brow and nose lines. The facial features are more individualized: the profile eye is set within heavy lids, and he has a thick moustache and beard which give him a wild, dishevelled look, totally in keeping with Ajax' frenzied mood; this detailing, however, does not obscure the characteristics described above as common to S51* and S52*. Compare with the athlete S51* the observation of the principal muscle of the neck, and with Kapaneus S52*, the clavicles; trapezius is an additional detail; compare the shoulders and pectorals (the nipples are set at the corners). The muscles of the arms rise in even higher relief than on S51* and S52*, and the ribs are shown as light strokes on the extended side. The bulge of the flanks in relation to the position of the figure is again correctly observed; the genitals are lumpier. The profile leg matches that of the athlete S51*, with the extra detail of the patellar ligament, a feature also to be found on the other leg where, additionally, two components of quadriceps bulge above the knee-cap - further testimony to the engraver's attention to detail on this intaglio; gastrocnemius swells on either side of the tibia, and the malleoli are level; the toes are represented by four dots. The total success

of this splendid study is marred by the awkward position and unsatisfactory rendering of the left arm and hand. Ajax has scarcely a spare millimetre of room in which to move: similarly Kapaneus on S52*, but not so the athlete on S51* who, in spite of his gymnast's impedimenta, is not stifled within the hatched border.

The similarity in the treatment of the abdominal structures on the second Kapaneus, S54 (fig.55), with that on the London study S52* and on Ajax, was noted above. Compare also the head and the hair, the facial features (the nose is more slender), the chest (the nipples are indicated), the shoulders, arms and hands, and the genitals. The legs are both in profile. The components of quadriceps are scarcely indicated, and consequently the thighs look very smooth; the knee-caps are not emphatic, and the patellar ligaments, the bones and the muscles of the lower legs, all these are rather glossed over. Note in the lateral aspect, the dot describing the head of the fibula. The malleoli are dots, set very close to the anterior profile of the leg; the feet are simply blocked out. Compare the interior of this shield with that of the London Kapaneus, S52*. The device is set within the hatched border common to the three other intaglios attributed to the Master of the London Athlete.

Zazoff placed the London Kapaneus S52* in his "früher Freier Stil"⁴⁰, and the Hannover intaglio S54* firmly in his "Freier Stil" of the second half of the fifth century⁴¹. The above detailed analysis of the interconnections of S51* - S54* shows that one hand was responsible for the four intaglios and that that artist must belong to the first quarter of the fifth century. I would suggest that these intaglios should be dated

between ca 490 and ca 480.

The influence of the Master of the London Athlete is discernible in three intaglios which are exceedingly close to his work:

S55 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, de Luynes 271; cornelian
Kapaneus

13, figs.56,57, C4

S56 Boston, MFA, 21.1200; cornelian (top of back is worn)
Hypnos and Thanatos with the body of Memnon

91, fig.58, C5

S57 London, British Museum, 626; cornelian
Kapaneus

30, figs.59,60, C6

The stylistic relationship of these to the Master of the London Athlete is indisputable, and the study of Kapaneus in Paris, S55 (figs.56,57), is the closest. The head is very similar to that recognized as peculiar to the Master, though it is a little shorter from front to back and therefore less round; the nose is of the slimmer type noted on S54*. Compare with the Hannover Kapaneus S54*: the shoulders and the pectorals (the nipples are indicated), the arms - especially the right upper arm - and the hands. The treatment of the genitals is like that on all the others, and particularly that on the London Kapaneus S52*. The lower limbs are plumper than those of S51* - S53*, yet like those of S54*; note the blob describing the head of the fibula on the right lower leg, and compare it with the same feature on the Hannover Kapaneus S54*; the knee-caps and patellar ligaments should be compared with those on the Boston Ajax S53*. The Paris Kapaneus is separated from the others because of the different rendering of the abdominal musculature: four round blobs indicate the divisions of rectus abdominis above the navel, and the distinctly marked

arch of the rib-cage is interrupted at the centre by a dot (the engraver's translation of the vase-painter's 'pectoral triangle'). The extension and flexion of the torso is again indicated by varying the levels of the two sides of the rib-cage, and the sizes of the flanks.

The Master of the London Athlete's system of forms in describing the human body has been repeated on S55*, except in the region of the abdomen. The stylistic distance, therefore, between this intaglio and S51* - S54* is not great, and it may be explicable in terms of the Paris gem's representing another phase of the same engraver's career: I am not certain that S55* is by another hand. Similar reservations apply to the Boston cornelian, S56 (fig.58), which carries a fine representation of Hypnos and Thanatos carrying the body of Memnon. Here, the system of the forms employed on the Paris Kapaneus S55* is repeated almost in entirety on the corpse of Memnon, and the same engraver is responsible for both these studies. If the Paris gem is attributable to the Master of the London Athlete, then the Boston cornelian should also be added to the list: it would be representative of the same phase in the artist's career as the Paris gem. The anatomical details of all three figures on S56* are less like those of the youths on S51* - S54*, but the differences are minor and could be explained by the smaller scale required by the multi-figure composition. It remains to justify the attribution of the Boston intaglio to the hand that cut the Paris Kapaneus, S55*, and its association to the London Master's intaglios.

The similarity in the treatment of Memnon's hair to that of Ajax on S53* has already been remarked on by Beazley⁴²; compare also that of Kapaneus on the Paris cornelian S55*. The

naked body of Memnon offers more points for comparison of details than either the draped figure of Thanatos or the youthful naked Hypnos. Compare with the Paris Kapaneus S55*, the head, hair and the rendering of the whole torso (the dot of the 'pectoral triangle' is missing, and the genitals are smaller); for the tip of the right elbow, refer back to the London athlete, S51*, and for the fingers, to Ajax, S53*. In the lower limbs, compare the observation of quadriceps in the profile leg with that of S51* and that of S53*. The knee-cap and the patellar ligaments are observed in the profile leg but not in the frontal, where the tibia is rendered as a 'sharp' thin ridge. The profile foot is slight and bony, the frontal foot lacks any detail and is cut in very shallow relief; the malleoli are dots, set level. On Hypnos and Thanatos, compare the rendering of the lower limbs and the facial features with those of S54* and S55*.

The fourth study of Kapaneus and the final intaglio to be discussed in this section, S57 (figs.59,60), stands apart from S51* - S56*: the difference can be readily appreciated by placing it alongside the Boston Ajax, S53 (fig.54). The treatment of the head, hair and facial features, strongly recalls that of the Master of the London Athlete's name-piece S51*, but the shoulders are narrower and the arms and hands comparatively limp and thin. The lower limbs look more or less like those of S51* - S56*, yet are skinnier. The blobs and swelling lines describing the abdominal muscles and the rib-cage, the genitals and the flanks, are much more pronounced. Note the dot indicating the head of the fibula on the flexed right leg, and compare it with that on S54* and S55*. On balance, therefore, the cornelian S57* should not be detached completely from the others in this section, but I am

less sure that this is by the author of S51* - S54* than I am that S55* and S56* are. S57* then, is attributed to the London Group.

The similarity between the backs of the gems S52 - S57 can be appreciated by referring to fig.C; attention is drawn to the greater elaboration of the scarab on S57*.

The previous Master finds a worthy companion in the Master of the Florence Herakles and Deianeira, named after the unique and lovely representation of the subject on a striped sardonyx in the Museo Archeologico, S60 (fig.63): he will be referred to as the Florence Master for short. The Greek flavour of this Master's intaglios and of the works attributed to the Florence Group, was noted above. There are three gems by the Master himself, and two closely related both to them and to the work of the Master of the London Athlete. The evidence suggests that the London and Florence Masters were exact contemporaries and closer to each other stylistically in their earlier works (S51* and S58*, respectively); the complexity of the relationship between the two Masters - their contemporaneity suggests that they did not enjoy a teacher/pupil association - is illustrated below in determining the attribution of the two gems finally given to the Florence Group, S61* and S62*.

- S58 whereabouts unknown (once Thorwaldsen); cornelian winged woman with branch; Nike (?)
391, figs.61,62
- S59 once New York, MMA, 25.78.95⁴³; cornelian warrior
121, Annuario N.S. viii - x (1950) 82f, fig.4
- S60 Florence, Museo Archeologico, 15 257; striped sardonyx Herakles and Deianeira
 ∨ A ∩ ∨ T
251, fig.63, D1
- S61 Boston, MFA, 98.732; cornelian warrior: Tydeus (?)
37, fig.64, D2
- S62 Switzerland, Bollmann; black glass or obsidian satyr at lionhead spout, cup: Silenos (?)
443, fig.65

This engraver's relationship to the London Master is well illustrated by the cornelian once in the Thorwaldsen Collection, S58 (figs.61,62), which shows a winged female carrying a leafy sprig - Nike to a Greek, perhaps only an anonymous daemon to an Etruscan. She is an exuberant figure, as solidly constructed as the London Athlete S51*, and with the same physical presence. The facial features demonstrate that she belongs to a different, though closely related, family: the face lacks the semi-circular frame of hair, and her profile is less beaky (the nose is shorter); the wing of the nose and the corner of the mouth are aligned with one another, whereas the London athlete's lips extended deeper into his cheek; her mouth is full and pouting, and she has a heavy chin; the lower jaw curves gently upwards, and the ear is hidden by the thick hair; the cheek-bone is subtly differentiated from the fleshy part of the cheek - contrast the harsher planes on the London athlete. Her hair is dressed in the 'zazzera' fashion popular in the first quarter of the fifth century, and here pellets across the forehead describe what on a free-standing sculpture would have been scroll curls; a thin fillet encircles her head. The neck is short, the shoulders, arms and hands heavy (compare the build of late archaic Attic korai, especially Antenor's masterpiece from the Acropolis⁴⁴). The torso is short and only the right breast is indicated. The skirt of her chiton clings to her sturdy legs; both the lateral and the medial malleolus is indicated, and the feet are short with high insteps. The pleats and folds in her dress are cut with precision, and the pellets at the tops of her wings as well as the feathers are meticulously described. The device is surrounded by a neat dot border.

The sister to this winged figure is the Deianeira on the striped sardonyx in Florence, S60 (fig.63). Compare the head, face, arms and feet, and the rendering of the chiton and himation. The face is more delicate and the lips are parted as if in a smile; the principal muscle of the neck has been observed. The two figures are sufficiently similar to suggest that the same hand was responsible for them both. Zazoff associated the Florence intaglio with the cornelian in Paris of Aeneas carrying old Anchises on his shoulder (S45, 84, figs.45,46)⁴⁵, a gem which he considered of superior quality. The similarity between the two intaglios is, however, superficial, and only the arrangement of the two figures is comparable: detailed stylistic analysis will not support their attribution to the same engraver. The Paris intaglio is a slighter piece, and is here attributed to the Group of the London Herakles and Kyknos.

The Master's treatment of the naked, crouching Herakles on S60* is adequate testimony to his skill. Note how the delicate features of Deianeira have been subtly altered to create the fair but certainly masculine face of the hero: the brow is heavier, the jaw-line firmer, the nose larger at the base, and the eye wider. Contrast this head with that of the London athlete, S51*, and understand that the two could not be by the same hand. The rendering of the rest of the figure shows that this engraver had a better (ie more advanced) understanding of the male body. The principal muscle of the neck is indicated, and there is a hint of trapezius on the right side; the clavicles are shown as thick curved ridges (the one on the right terminates in a dot); shoulders, arms and hands are powerfully constructed, and compare well with the same features on the winged goddess, S58*. The broad pectorals

are shifted into a three-quarter view, and the nipples are displaced accordingly; the abdomen is also shown in three-quarter view, but it has not been foreshortened in the true sense - the muscles have simply been shifted to one side; on Herakles' right side the rib-cage is represented by a very thick ridge, whilst on the other side it is much reduced; the ribs are lightly suggested, and the components of rectus abdominis have been shifted upwards in a rather unnatural manner; a bulge indicates the flanks, and the genitals are carefully described and shown in profile. In the lateral aspect of the lower limb, the depression over the greater trochanter is observed, and the posterior muscle of the thigh as well as the peroneals in the lower leg are indicated by lines; one of the peroneals terminates in the lateral malleolus. In the medial aspect of the thigh, two of the components of quadriceps are observed bulging prominently in the region of the knee; the knee-cap is a blob, and the patellar ligament is shown as a slight bulge at the superior extremity of the tibia; gastrocnemius swells out above soleus, and the malleolus is observed. The relief of the foot is rather flat, and the toes beyond the great toe are shown as a small arch.

The head and delicate features of Herakles are best matched on the warrior once in New York, S59, whose simple pose, leaning over to one side to pick up his helmet, and with one leg frontal one profile, suggests that it is earlier than the Florence masterpiece and therefore contemporary with the winged goddess, S58*. The warrior is lighter in build than Herakles, and the treatment of the bones and muscles in the abdominal region is more rigid. The legs are like those of Herakles, and note the correct

relative disposition of the malleoli on the frontal leg (ie the medial is set lower than the lateral); the toes on the frontal foot are three dots. The device is set within a thick dot border.

The cornelian in Boston, S61 (fig.64), of Tydeus (?) struck by a spear is included here because of the close similarity in the description of the genitals and of the lower limbs to those of Herakles on S60*. From the hips up, however, he could belong to the Group of the Master of the London Athlete, and a roving eye can discern several links with one or other intaglio in that Group: the trunk of the body and the arms and hands, for example, match those of the final Kapaneus in London, S57*. The intaglio cannot, therefore, be attributed unreservedly to this Group, but I sense that it belongs better here than with the works of the London Master.

A similar problem accompanies the attribution of the superb intaglio, S62 (fig.65), which illustrates one of the finest studies of a satyr on any monument. Like the Boston gem, the difficulty arises out of the similarity in the lower limbs to the Florence Master's figures, whilst the torso and arms belong to the London Group. The head is not easy to compare with either group because the face has the characteristic distortions of a satyr. Note, however, how the treatment of the sparse hair terminating in blobs, and the subtle planing of the cheek, recalls the head of Herakles, and the dominant semi-circular shape of the London Master's faces is lacking. The placing of the principal muscle of the neck compares best with that of the Kapaneus in London, S52*, by the London Master, whilst the description of the clavicles recalls first and foremost those of Herakles; the hint of trapezius on the satyr's right could indicate the hand

of either engraver. The shoulders, arms, chest, rib-cage, abdominal muscles and genitals, match those on the Kapaneus in Paris, S55*, by the London Master. The lower limbs are more sketchily engraved than any of those by the London Master, and compare better with those of the Florence Herakles, especially in the profile view. This intaglio seems, on balance, to stand equally between the two engravers, yet I think that it is more likely that this fresh and spontaneous satyr is the creation of the engraver who produced the dancing goddess of S58* and thought up the novel and charming two-figure group of Herakles and Deianeira on S60*.

The famous study in Berlin of an athlete inscribed $\exists \tau \vee \tau$ (Tydeus) scraping his leg with a strigil is the name-piece of the Berlin Master, who is one of the most distinguished engravers working in the West during the first quarter of the fifth century. The inspirational source of the Master's style can be traced not to the earlier Masters and groups identified in this thesis, but directly back to the finest Greek engravers - to the islanders Epimenes and the Semon Master, and the gems associated with them.⁴⁶ This important stylistic link is even stronger in the work of the Lewes House Master, who is arguably the most talented engraver of the late archaic period. To illustrate the island connexion with respect to the Berlin Master, a cornelian from the de Clerq Collection (fig.73), which Boardman described as bearing a "general relationship to the style of Epimenes and the Semon Master"⁴⁷, is introduced for comparison. The device on the Greek intaglio is of a youth with a shield stooping over to pick up his helmet - a subject popular on Greek and western intaglios during this period. Observe the treatment of the abdominal musculature, especially the relationship of the components of rectus abdominis above the navel to the ridge describing the rib-cage, the marking of the linea alba, and the narrow hips and waist; note the finely rendered bones and muscles of the lower limbs, and the elegant feet. Now turn to the Berlin athlete (fig.66). The treatment of the corresponding features is very close, but not sufficiently so to indicate that the same hand could have engraved both youths: the contour of the Berlin figure is much more angular, even jagged, contrasting with the softer

contour of the Greek youth, whose pose is less affected and less mannered.

The Berlin Master's figures are lean, their limbs and torsos elongated in a manner which brings to mind El Greco's bony humans of many centuries later. His heads are broad across the top and from the base of the nose to the ear, and the fringe and lower jaw lines make a semi-circular frame for the features; the facial features are described in meticulous detail: large, profile eyes, long straight 'aristocratic' noses, thin lips and slightly pointed chins.

There are, initially, just two intaglios attributed to the Berlin Master:

S63 Berlin, FG 195; cornelian (cut)
athlete, scraping leg with strigil

Ξ Τ V T

213, fig.66

S64 London, British Museum, 623; cornelian
Perseus, slaying the Gorgon Medusa

467, figs.68,69, E1

The study of 'Tydeus', S63 (fig.66), has been extensively described and discussed since it first came to light and was, judging from the number of copies made, as famous in antiquity as it is today⁴⁸. The striking beauty of the youth and the undeniable quality of the engraving has, however, had the unfortunate result of encouraging scholars to wax excessively lyrical in its praise, and it has to that extent been rather 'overdone'. King, for example, thought that the gem held "the same place among other engraved gems that Homer (did) among the poets", and that no collection could "boast of possessing another monument, in the way of engraving, equally valuable". So far as execution is concerned, the engraver cannot be faulted, for he has complete mastery of

his tools, and a keen eye for a good composition. Yet for all that, one feels that it is too polished, too consciously thought out, and for these reasons one could describe it as 'mannered'. The athlete is mechanically constructed and unnaturally posed⁴⁹, a stiff puppet who lacks the flesh and blood of the Florence Herakles, S60 (fig.63), for example; he seems simply to have been created as a decorative device and has no soul.

The following analysis describes the system of forms observed on this figure:

The head is correctly proportioned to the body (about one seventh the height) but not to the shoulders (it should fit twice into their width); the skull is deep from the front to the crown, and the hair is described by ridged lines, terminating in a single row of scroll curls around the face and a double row at the back; the hair-line is interrupted by the hook of the ear. The facial features are meticulously detailed: the thin brow sits heavily over the profile lidded eye, giving the impression of a frown; the nose-line, separate from the brow, is a fine ridge swelling gradually to a dot at the base; the wing of the nose is set a little way back from this and a good distance away from the eye; the lips are represented by dots with short tails; the cheek-bone is emphatic and the cheek hollow, lending the face a gaunt look. The principal muscle of the neck is indicated by a shallow ridge which runs from just below the ear-lobe to the jugular depression; the clavicles are represented as gently curved lines dipping towards the jugular depression (and there are no blob terminals: contrast the satyr S62 (fig.65)); trapezius is marked on the athlete's right, and the neck looks as if it has been mechanically slotted into the space between the small

shoulders; the pectorals are broad and flat (the nipples are indicated) and the engraver has observed how the stretching of the right arm away from the body has affected the shape of this muscle and behind, cf latissimus dorsi, resulting in a deep hollow for the arm-pit. The surface relief of the musculature in the arms is only lightly indicated, and the tip of the elbow is observed on the left arm only; the left hand is rather formally posed, and the right, grasping the strigil, is shown as a clenched mass with a short line for the thumb. The components of rectus abdominis above the navel are described by two oblong bulges surmounted by two round ones, and below the navel divided by the linea alba; the thick ridges of the rib-cage are long and short according to the extension and flexion of the torso, and they do not meet beneath the sternum; the ribs are indicated as short lines; the dot beneath the upper edges of the rib-cage could represent either a misplaced 'pectoral triangle' or is the stylization of the interspace between the two superior divisions of rectus abdominis. The bulge of the flank on the left is abnormally prominent and emphasizes the narrowness of the waist and hips. The legs are long, lean and bony, the muscles of quadriceps taut and stretched; the shape of the knee-cap has been carefully observed, and the patellar ligaments are shown as tiny dots beneath; in the profile lower leg the tibia, and the muscles gastrocnemius and soleus, all are observed but are not rendered in high relief; on the frontal leg, gastrocnemius alone is indicated, as a thick bulge; the lateral lower malleolus is set lower than the medial, and the foot is simply blocked out, with four dots describing the toes; the profile foot is long and thin, and a semi-circular line above the great toe indicates the toes

beyond (compare the formula on Epimenean gems⁵⁰).

A fragmentary cornelian in Paris, 214 (fig.67), is the closest copy of S63*. The differences between the two are few and minor: the head is shorter from forehead to chin, and the fringe as well as the hair at the back of the head is dressed in a double row of scroll curls; the lips are thicker and curve upwards in an incipient smile; in the abdominal region, the dot beneath the superior borders of the rib-cage is omitted. Damage to the intaglio has removed the flanks and the left thigh; the legs are perhaps shorter and stockier than those of S63*.

The striking cornelian in the British Museum, S64 (figs. 68,69), of Perseus dispatching Medusa, has already been compared with the Berlin athlete S63* by Zwierlein-Diehl⁵¹, whilst Zazoff compared it with his numbers 46 - 48⁵²; Zwierlein-Diehl also associated a study of the dying Kapaneus in London, which is here attributed to the London Group, S57 (figs.59,60).

Unlike the Master's name-piece S63*, the London intaglio S64* does not seem to be a deliberate show-piece, advertizing the artist's knowledge of and competence in describing human anatomy. It is executed in a more relaxed, sketchy style, and the contours of Perseus are less eccentric than those of the athlete: the pose, though largely repeating that of the previous study, looks more spontaneous. Compare with S63* the following details on Perseus: the shape of the head and face, and the facial features (the eye is open wider, the lips are more parted - expressive of Perseus' effort; he looks at Medusa, though logically of course he should be looking away, and this iconographic inaccuracy is indicative of this engraver's primary concern for a good composition⁵³); compare the rendering of the abdominal muscles, of the flanks and

of the genitals; the finger-like projections otherwise interpreted as the ribs on these intaglios, here could represent the interdigitations of serratus anterior with external oblique, and (another) additional feature is the view of latissimus dorsi on the right. The legs match those of 'Tydeus' but, as it was noted above, are executed in a sketchier style. The arms are curiously badly managed - the left arm is a distinct failure (the engraver may have been trying to show a foreshortened view).

There are obviously fewer points of reference for stylistic comparison on Medusa, since she is female and clothed. Her facial features are highly individualized: the sharp triangular nose is set at an angle to her forehead; the eye is large and popping, and the v-shaped mouth open like a beak in reaction to the slice of Perseus' sword. Neither her ear nor that of Perseus is indicated. She has heavy shoulders and arms, recalling the Florence Master's women, S58* and S60*. The torso and legs (from the hips to the knees only) are frontal, and her pose recalls that of a Medusa by the Pan Painter, and also of the same painter's unhappy Aktaion⁵⁴.

An exquisite intaglio in America stands exceedingly close to these two gems:

S65 Boston, MFA, 27.720; bleached agate (white and sky blue)
youth, picking up helmet

∃ √ | ∨ A

126, fig.70, E2

The contour of the figure is again softer than that of S63*, and he is a little more heavily built; the limbs are described in greater detail than on S64*, and he leans over onto the natural side. Many details associate this intaglio with the two studies already attributed to the Berlin Master. The facial features are

almost identical to those of the athlete S63*, except for the nose which is shorter, and compares better with that of Perseus'; the set of the head in narrow shoulders and the gently arching clavicles are as on the athlete, and the rendering of the upper and the lower abdomen, of the flanks and of the genitals, repeats the system identified on the other two intaglios so far discussed. The surface reliefs of the bones and muscles in the lower limbs are observed in greater detail, but basically repeat those of S63* and S64*. In the frontal foot, the engraver has observed that the medial and lateral malleoli should be set on different levels, but he has put the lateral one higher, and it should be the other way round; note how the youth steps in front of the ground-strip, and compare the same detail on the London cornelian S64*. The mantle is of a delicate material which stretches in a flat expanse behind the youth, throwing into greater relief the patterns of the abdominal musculature; the zig-zag folds of the stuff gathered up in his left hand fall unnaturally. Compare the detailed treatment of the helmet with that on the Greek intaglio (fig.75³), and the rendering of the left hand and the hair with the Florence Master's winged goddess, S58*.

A study of Kapaneus in New York may also be considered here. It is the most detailed study in this section and has some stylistic links with the Florence Master.

S66 New York, MMA, 48.11.1; cornelian (broken)
Kapaneus

3 N 1 A 2

25, figs.71,72, E3

Compare with the Berlin athlete S63*, the shape of the head, the rendering of the hair and the ear, the facial features, the set of the head on the shoulders, and the description of the abdom-

inal musculature (note especially the misplaced dot of the 'pectoral triangle'). The arms and legs are more powerfully constructed than those of the athlete or of Perseus, and match more closely those of the Boston 'Achilles', S65*: it is in this respect that the New York Kapaneus recalls the work of the Florence Master. The complicated pose of the legs is well managed, though the artist has indicated both malleoli in the posterior view of the right leg; in the profile leg the relief of quadriceps has been subtly observed; the feet, one plantar one profile, are meticulously detailed. The genitals are much more detailed than on any of the other figures in this section, but they do not differ significantly from them in their make-up. The inscription is as neatly cut as is that on S63* and that on S65*; the border of dot in square is very rare.

The relationship of this splendid intaglio to the Berlin Master is clear, and the differences observed - particularly in the heavier build of the youth - are not great: this intaglio may represent the Master at his most careful, a special commission, perhaps. It has more in common with the Boston 'Achilles', S65*, and it is, therefore, with some slight reservation that both these excellent gems are attributed to the Berlin Master. The carving of the backs of S64* - S66* may be compared in fig.E: all are carefully worked.

The high quality of engraving illustrated by the works attributed to the Florence and Berlin Masters is excelled in the intaglios cut by the next engraver. The artist takes his name from the unique representation of an athlete pouring sand on his thigh, which used to be in the Lewes House Collection and which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. This Master is certainly the author of three works, and possibly a fourth; there are a small number of intaglios related to his style which are to be placed in the Lewes House Group. The relationship of the Lewes House Master to the Greek engravers Epimenes and the Semon Master was noted above, and his system of forms has, therefore, some similarities with the Berlin Master's. The Greek intaglio from the de Clerq Collection, fig.73, and another from the same collection and stylistically related, fig.74⁵⁵, of an athlete and his pet dog, should both be compared with the Lewes House Master's works (figs. 77 - 83). The Greek connexion is further cemented by the attribution suggested here to the Master of a Greek gold ring in Paris: the shape of the ring, not unknown in the West, has strong Cypriot connexions, and this emphasizes the importance of the island tradition not only in late archaic Greek engraving, but also in these western studios. The Lewes House Master must have been familiar with the work of these islanders, and the head type of his figures owes much to the Semon Master himself. The Lewes House Master was probably at work in the middle years of the first quarter of the fifth century (some eyes are not fully profile), and in grace and beauty his youths bear comparison with those of his great contemporary

in Athenian vase-painting, the Berlin Painter. The Master's figures are slim and long-limbed, with delicate facial profiles and fine features.

S67 Boston, MFA, 21.1201; cornelian (broken)
athlete, pouring sand on his thigh
224, figs.77 - 79

S§ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, de Luynes 519;⁵⁹
gold ring
archer, squatting on rocks
figs.80,81

S68 Private; cornelian
Kapaneus
9, figs.82,83

It is not necessary to explain here why the Boston intaglio, S67 (figs.77 - 79), is the finest in this whole series: the work itself bears adequate testimony to the engraver's technical excellence and to his sensitivity both to his subject matter and to his composition. The device on the intaglio is taken from the Greek palaistra and describes a young athlete, crouched on one knee over a mound of sand (or powder⁶⁰), emptying handfuls over his thigh; he is totally absorbed in what he is doing. No part of the figure touches the neat dot border, and this gives the impression of clear space around him and one does not feel that the shape of the field has in any way dictated the crouching position that he has adopted. The damage to the stone runs (on the original) roughly from the top right through the youth's head, down the neck and sternum, and across in an almost straight line to the edge; much of the right side of the abdomen has been lost.

The athlete's head is flat across the top and curves down gently at the back; the hair is cropped and stippled, with a single row of close-set dots making an angular frame around the face. The profile from the forehead to the base of the nose

runs in a fairly straight line, dipping slightly at the base; note how neither the base nor the wing of the nose is represented by a blob or a dot, which has hitherto almost invariably been the case in other engravers' works; the brow is emphatic, and similarly the eyelids, which are just open at the inner corner so that the eye still looks frontal; the mouth is delicate and marked off from the cheek by a line from the wing of the nose to the chin; from cheek to lower jaw there is little differentiation in relief, and the chin, in higher relief, therefore looks heavy. The whole face, except the chin and the brow, is engraved in very shallow relief; the face is long, and narrow from the tip of the nose to the ear. The neck is also shallow cut, and the damage to the stone obscures whether or not the principal muscle was indicated; there is, however, a thick ridge down the posterior profile, which is illustrated in fig. 78. The clavicles are represented by delicate, undulating lines, and there is a hint of trapezius on the left side. Observe how the finely shaped pectorals (the nipples are not indicated) stretch into the shoulders, and how the shoulder muscles sit like epaulettes above. The bones and muscles of the arms are accurately observed: note the swelling biceps, the tips of the elbows, and, in the left arm, the correct description of the relationship of bone to muscle dictated by the lower arm's position. The hands are finely rendered. Although damage to the intaglio has removed much of the upper abdomen, sufficient remains to give a clear idea of the Master's system in describing these muscles. Rectus abdominis above the navel is divided into two pairs of oval bulges merging into one another vertically, and separated by the medial furrow; below the navel, the linea alba is indicated only part of the way down. The rib-cage is

shown as a short curving ridge on his right side (the left is lost) and the ribs are not indicated. The extension and the flexion of the flanks is observed, and the genitals are virtually non-existent: two thin slightly swelling lines for the scrotum, and a dot with a tail for the penis. The legs are long and lean: the surface relief of quadriceps in the profile leg is only hinted at, though the bulge over the knee is indicated, as is the fatty pad behind it; in the lower leg, the curvature of the tibia is observed, and, as well as gastrocnemius, soleus; the malleolus is drop-shaped, and separate from the tibia; the foot is delicately contoured, with the heel and the instep rendered in deeper relief; the toes are shown as a single line. On the frontal leg the components of quadriceps are subtly differentiated; the lower leg is hidden behind the thigh, and the artist has attempted a three-quarter view of the foot which, although not entirely accurate in the positioning of the malleolus, does not look too implausible; four dots describe the toes. The mound of sand is represented by a mass of dots which compliment the treatment of the athlete's hair, and the border design.

The twin brother to this superb youth is the archer on the bezel of the gold ring in Paris, S§ (figs.80,81), which has been described justifiably as "probably the finest figure study on any Greek metal ring of the Late Archaic period"⁶¹. Compare with the Boston athlete, S67*, the shape of the head, the facial features, the relationship of the head to the neck and to the shoulders, the form of the shoulder muscles and of the pectorals, the arms - especially the left arm and the twist of the hand holding the arrow - and all of the abdominal structures including the genitals. The legs are differently posed, but the similarity

to those of the athlete is obvious: the flattish relief of the thighs, the square knees, the curved tibia, and the differentiated muscles of the calf; the feet are more summarily treated. The combination of the stippled hair with the squatting pose gives the archer an aboriginal look.

The third suggested attribution to the Lewes House Master is another exquisitely cut intaglio, S68 (figs.82,83), which is in a private collection and depicts the dying Kapaneus, the motif so common on Etruscan gems yet nowhere more brilliantly described than here. In this stunningly dramatic study, Kapaneus' head is thrust down by the force of the burning blow from Zeus' thunderbolt and his body slumps in response, arms and legs wheeling round in zig-zags. This representation illustrates perfectly Euripides' description of the hero's fall:

ἤδη δ' ὑπερβαίνοντα γείσα τειχέων
 βάλλει κεραυνῶ Ζεὺς νιν. ἐκτύπησε δὲ
 χθών, ὥστε δεῖσαι πάντας· ἐκ δὲ κλιμάκων
 ἐσφενδονᾶτο χωρὶς ἀλλήλων μέλη,
 κόρμη μὲν εἰς Ὀλυρπον, αἶμα δ' εἰς χθόνα,
 χεῖρες δὲ καὶ κῶλ' ὡς κύκλωρ' Ἰξίονος
 εἰλίσσεται· εἰς γῆν δ' ἔρπυρος πίπτει νεκρός.

Phoen.1180-86

This Kapaneus is plumper than either the athlete on S67* or the archer on S5*, and may be a later work. Compare with these two works, the treatment of the head and the face - the eye is almost profile now and the mouth is fuller - and the line running from the wing of the nose to the chin, the arms and hands, the abdominal muscles and the genitals; the indication of the ribs is an additional feature on the right (the other side of the rib-cage is out of view because of the three-quarter twist

in the torso). The careful observation of bones and muscles on S67* and on S5* here finds its full flowering: the shoulders are broader and the arms and hands beautifully modelled; the three-quarter twist in the torso has affected the shape of the pectorals and the relative positions of the nipples. The legs are more fully modelled, especially the thighs: contrast the profile leg of the athlete with the left leg of Kapaneus, where the observation of the furrow of sartorius is an additional feature; on Kapaneus' right leg, the depression over the greater trochanter and the furrow between the vastus lateralis of quadriceps and the muscle at the back of the leg are both observed. Compare the medial aspect of the lower leg, especially for the shapes of the knee, tibia, muscles and malleolus, with that on S67*. The feet also compare well with those of the athlete. Kapaneus' chlamys sweeps behind him in broad simple folds; the cable and dot border is rare.

On these three works the system of forms employed is sufficiently similar to indicate that one hand must have been responsible. The Master's style is little affected by the medium in which he works: whether gold or the harder semi-precious cornelian is the chosen material, he cuts the same lines and moulds the same reliefs. Perhaps the metal intaglio is a little more harshly cut.

There is one intaglio very closely related to the three works attributed to the Lewes House Master:

S69 whereabouts unknown, cornelian
 warrior, sinking onto his knees
 10, fig.84

The pose of the warrior invites comparison with that of Kapaneus on S68*, and he wears a chlamys in a similar manner. Ignoring

just for the moment the head and face, compare the following details with the Lewes House Master's figures, especially Kapaneus: the size of the shoulders relative to the head and neck, the rendering of the arms, pectorals, the abdominal muscles and the rib-cage (particularly how, on the left side, the line of the rib-cage stops short and blends almost imperceptibly into the flank), and the treatment of the genitals. For the medial aspect of the leg, points of comparison are offered by S67* and S68*, and the components of quadriceps implicit on S67* and explicit on S68* are here represented in a manner transitional between the two; the knee has the same angular profile, whilst on the lower leg only the principal muscle of the calf, gastrocnemius, is indicated, and there is some confusion of details beneath this. The lateral view of the thigh is exactly that of Kapaneus; the knee is more angular than either Kapaneus' or the athlete's, and the knee-cap is marked as a dot; in the lower leg, gastrocnemius and the peroneals (not observed on Kapaneus) are indicated; the malleolus is the drop shape familiar from the Lewes House Master's other works, and the feet also compare well. There was, ostensibly, no border to the intaglio, though I suspect that the edges of the stone were trimmed: there is a tell-tale shallow mound in the lower left hand corner of the cast which suggests some paring away of the surface of the original; further, it is not very likely that the decorated ground-strip would finish in mid air without being attached to any border.

Thus far, the warrior seems to fit very neatly with the Lewes House Master's intaglios. In the rendering of the head, specifically the facial features, however, there are differences

and these differences relate the figure to the Berlin Master. The head itself is of a similar enough shape to those of the Lewes House Master, but the hair is dressed in the short, ridged style terminating in scroll curls and interrupted by the hook of the ear observed on the Berlin Master's name-piece, S63* and on the careful study of Kapaneus, S66*. The features are even more reminiscent of that Master: the emphatic cheek-bone, the broader width from the base of the nose to the ear, and the open mouth and thin lips which recall those of the London Perseus and the Medusa, S64* (compare also the ground-strip). The facial profile is harsher than Kapaneus' on S68* but not as pointed as the Berlin athlete's, S63*, and nearer to the Boston athlete's, S67*. The head, therefore, is a hybrid between the type identified as belonging to the Lewes House Master's figures and those of the Berlin Master; when the other details of the figure are taken into account, this lost intaglio does not comfortably find a place in the Berlin Group and it can be more plausibly related to the Lewes House Master. It is quite possible that the Lewes House Master was influenced by the Berlin Master's heads and that this intaglio is the only surviving testimony of that stage in the Master's style; nevertheless, it is perhaps safer to attribute the warrior to the Lewes House Group but as very close to the Master himself.

The next two intaglios to be considered are certainly not by the Lewes House Master, but they do have some affinities with his style and can be said to belong to the Lewes House Group.

S70 London, British Museum, 638; cornelian
archer, stringing bow

96, fig.85

S71 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, de Chapelle 81;
burnt cornelian
archer (?)
97, fig.86

The poses of the two figures afford easy comparisons with each other and, although the faces do not match particularly well, the treatment of the rest of the figures is close, and the two gems may be by the same hand. The proportions of head to body on both, and the soft profile of the face on the Paris intaglio, S71 (fig.86), compare with the Lewes House Master's works. Other details show some familiarity with his style and work - the set of the head and the shoulders, for example, and the build of the lower limbs - but the execution is throughout hastier, resulting in summary arms and, on S70 (fig.85), hands abbreviated out of existence. The greatest differences between these figures and the Master's lie in the region of the abdomen and in the representation of the genitals. The cutting of both borders, dotted on S70* and hatched on S71*, and of the exergues, is uneven.

The final gem to be considered here is far superior in quality to S70* and S71* and is comparable with that of the Lewes House Master:

S72 the Hague, RCC 1990; cornelian (broken)
warrior
∃ √ / ∨ A
115, fig.87

This intaglio is placed here because its stylistic inspiration is derived from the same Greek source as that of the Lewes House Master: comparison should again be made with the two Greek studies, figs.73,74, and also with the Lewes House Master's works. Compare with the Greek warrior, fig.73, the rendering of the head, neck and shoulders. The facial features recall those of Kapaneus,

S68*, though the face is deeper from the base of the nose to the ear. There is a general similarity in the rendering of the chest and torso, and the differences can be observed in the clearer marking of the clavicles and of trapezius, in the longer stretch from navel to genitals, and in the omission of the linea alba. The legs are even skinnier than those of the Boston athlete, S67*, and are extraordinarily long; the right leg is turned antero-laterally and the curvature in the tibia is observed; the right foot is also shown in three-quarter view; the frontal leg has been equally accurately described, with the tibia terminating in the medial malleolus, just as in nature; in the frontal foot, the instep is observed as two arching ridges, and the toes are dots. Note the proximity of the hatched border to the subject, and how the curvature of the shield follows that of the border, and contrast the space around the Lewes House Master's figures and the Greek intaglios; note the filling ornamentation of scabbard and the inclusion of a ground-line.

There are three gems all of high quality associated with this engraver who is named after the lost intaglio, S73*, and whose style is not very far removed from that of the Berlin Master. This Master's work is still of the first quarter of the fifth century, but it is not early in it. His figures are finely proportioned and have distinctive facial features.

S73 whereabouts unknown (once Tarquinia); agate athlete, and negro slave

∃ √ ∃ 1

226, fig.88

S74 Boston, MFA, 27.718; banded agate Herakles, filling amphora at lion-head spout

∃ √ > ∇ ∃ ∅

305, fig.89

S75 Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 1963.19868; cornelian (damaged)

seated, draped youth, leaning on walking-stick

193, fig.90

The close relationship of the lost intaglio, S73 (fig.88), to the study of Herakles in Boston, S74 (fig.89), was noted by Beazley, who thought that they resembled each other in style but did not attribute them to the same hand⁶². The addition here of the Geneva intaglio, S75 (fig.90), confirms the closer association of the other two.

The study of the athlete, given heroic status by the addition of the inscription ΠΕΛΕ (Peleus), reveals the following system of forms:

The shape of the head is best described as that of an inverted pudding-basin; the hair is dressed in the now familiar short, ridged style, with pellets describing the scroll curls

around the face and neck, and interrupted by the ear. The brow is lightly indicated, the eye frontal and lidded, the nose short and pointed, and the lips are full and pursed; the cheek-bone is little more than a thin line, and the chin is quite pointed and in higher relief than the rest of the face. The youth has a troubled, almost sour expression, which is characteristic of this Master's heads and the most distinctive feature of his style. The neck is shallow cut, and the principal muscle of the neck is not indicated. The profile view of the whole body has been successfully described. The muscles of the shoulders and the arms are shown as gentle bulges, and the lower arms are cut in shallow relief; the hands are carefully detailed. The back is long and its contour curved, dipping in at a sharp angle at the base of the spine - a feature which emphasizes the buttocks; latissimus dorsi fans out across the back. The ribs are represented by fine lines, the rib-cage by a short curved line, and, since the youth is in profile view, only two of the components of rectus abdominis are shown; the genitals are not indicated. The depression over the greater trochanter is hinted at. The components of quadriceps are not differentiated (and so the thighs look fat), but the furrow between that set of muscles and the posterior muscles of the thigh is observed; the knee-caps are represented by small dots, and the peroneals are indicated in the lateral aspect.

The tiny figure of the squatting negro attending this athlete is no less carefully described and there are no significant abbreviations of any anatomical features, except that the right lower arm has disappeared behind the hatched border. The negroid features have been well captured, and the stippling of the hair matches that on the sponge he holds out to his master.

Herakles on the Boston intaglio, S74 (fig.89), repeats the profile pose of the athlete, S73*, although he does not lean over quite so much and his legs are more flexed. Compare with the athlete, the head - especially the face - the shoulders and arms, the buttocks and legs. Additional features on Herakles are the tips of the elbows, the blob for the flanks, and the detailing of the genitals; the line of the rib-cage is more strongly marked, and the contour of the back is not so unusually curved.

The third study, in Geneva, S75 (fig.90), presents fewer points of comparison because the figure is differently posed and partially draped; the damage to the stone has removed the lowest third of the intaglio. However, the head and the facial features are unmistakably those of both the athlete, S73*, and Herakles, S74*, and this youth wears the same bitter expression. The frontal eye of the other two figures is profile now, which indicates that it is later than they are, but surely not so late as Zazoff suggested⁶³. The frontal view of the torso shows off the finely shaped shoulders; the clavicles are marked as two inverted lines terminating medially in dots; the pectorals are softly modelled, and the nipples are indicated. The arms are heavier, but note the tip of the elbow on the left arm, and compare it with the same detail on Herakles, S74*, and compare the smooth bulging relief of the lower arms with both the previous works. The rendering of the abdominal muscles is a credible frontal version of the profile Herakles. The part of the right leg which is visible and which has survived the damage (the left leg is completely lost) is perhaps thicker than those of the athlete and Herakles, but there are appear to be no other differences. The himation draped around his hips is divided into broad folds which cling to the right thigh.

The border is hatched, and it is likely that there was an exergue or groundline as on S73*. None of the Master's figures is crowded by the border design.

CONCLUSION

Between the years from ca 520 to ca 470, ten different engravers or groups have been identified; these are linked in varying degrees to the late archaic Greek schools of gem-engraving, with particular reference to the east Greek world and to the finest of the island engravers. These stylistic links illustrate how the art of gem-engraving became established in the West - it was through the presence of immigrant Greek artists, and it was from these and not through the inspiration of indigenous artists influenced by imports, that gem-engraving in Italy began.

There is not a continuous stylistic development from the earliest engraver, the Master of the Boston Dionysos, to the latest, the Master of the Tarquinia Athlete, and the evidence suggests fresh immigrants at the head of each of the groups. Internal groupings, however, do exist: the Master of the Leningrad Jason was contemporary with and inspired by the earlier work of the Master of the Boston Dionysos, whilst the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes comes out of the Boston Master's later style. The Master of the London Herakles and Kyknos owes nothing to the earlier workshops, but there is a small group, the Group of London 651, subsidiary to him. Greater interest in the human form is expressed in the work of the Master of the London Athlete, whose style is unrelated to that of the Kyknos Master with whom he was contemporary, yet closely associated with the gems attributed to the Florence Group. The style of the London and Florence Groups is not entirely divorced from that of the Berlin Master and Group, where direct influence from the Semon Master and Epimenes is evident. A similar pedigree can be suggested for the Lewes House Master, whose work excels that of all

the others identified here; this engraver was certainly Greek. The final engraver, the Master of the Tarquinia Athlete, works in a style derived from that of the Berlin Master.

The Greekness of some of these engravers' styles modifies itself in the Etruscan sphere, and there is some exaggeration and over-definition of anatomical details as well as mannerism in compositions of a nature which would not be encouraged on homeland Greek work. The settings (the borders and exergues) of the devices, and the treatment of the scarabs, are of the types preferred and retained in the West, as is the common practice of inscribing the intaglios.

After the first quarter of the fifth century Greek influence wanes noticeably, and the detailing of the human figure on the intaglios becomes a less important feature although the scarab back is still carefully carved. On mainland Greek work the reverse is true. Gradually, the Italian element comes to predominate in the style of Etruscan gems, and there is no further evidence of immigrant Greek engravers; by ca 470, however, the techniques of cutting semi-precious stones have been passed onto and learnt by native artists. The excellence attained in some of the earlier studies is never achieved in the later more Italian works. A similar development and shift of emphasis from the Greek to the Etruscan and Italian is also to be observed in the iconography, which is discussed in the chapters following.

P A R T T W O

The Iconographic Analysis

VI The THEBAN CYCLE

Episodes from this cycle of myth are among the most popular in this series of engraved gems, although they are rare in Greek art and totally absent from Greek gems⁶⁴. The representations fall into three categories: first, the multi-figure compositions of three or more heroes, usually described as the Council of the Seven against Thebes, although no more than five heroes are ever present; secondly, the single-figure studies of the dying Kapaneus and the dying Tydeus; and finally, Jason's encounter with the serpent that guarded the Golden Fleece.

i The 'Seven-against-Thebes'

The first five intaglios, 1 - 5, illustrate this motif which is found on perhaps the most famous of all Etruscan gems, the cornelian now in Berlin and once in the Stosch Collection, 1 (fig.91). The intaglio has been described and discussed in numerous publications since it came to light⁶⁵. The device has five figures, all identified by inscription, set within a dot border and on an exergue divided into several layers, the uppermost of which is hatched. In the foreground and seated are, from left to right, **ΠΑΡΘΗΝΟΠΑΙΟΣ** (Parthenopaios), **ΑΜΦΙΑΡΑΟΣ** (Amphiaraos), and **ΠΟΛΥΝΕΙΚΟΣ** (Polyneikes). Parthenopaios is dressed in a himation, clasps one knee and looks straight ahead; Amphiaraos wears a stippled himation which leaves his shoulders bare, and sits with head bowed, leaning for support on a spear; Polyneikes also wears a himation and faces towards

the other two, but with head in hand. Note the harsh contour of Polyneikes' left knee-cap and lower leg to the left of the iota and the alpha in Amphiaraos' name: these features were originally the corner and one leg of another stool. Standing behind Parthenopaios and looking down at him is $\text{ATIDE}\Sigma\text{E}$ (Adrastos), in bushy-plumed helmet and himation, carrying a small Boeotian shield and a spear; the engraver has given him only one leg. TVTE (Tydeus) stands behind Polyneikes, facing towards the centre of the composition and looking rather despondent; he wears helmet, breast-plate and greaves, and carries a spear. None of the heroes is bearded and the mood is one of brooding contemplation.

The second five-figure study, 2, omitted from Zazoff's catalogue, has been lost for many years and the only details of the representation are those in the written description in the original publication⁶⁶. It cannot have been a replica of the Berlin gem, 1*, because the attitudes of the figures were not the same, and they were differently inscribed:

"..sulla corneliola di Castellani Partenopeo alza la mano destra e mette la sinistra sul ginocchio destro; l'eroe chi siede nel mezzo, non abbassa la testa; Tideo elmato e barbato.."

The gathering is reduced to four on the striped sardonix in Paris, 3 (S42, figs.43,92), which has been attributed to the Kyknos Master, and sets the device vertically on the intaglio. None of the figures is inscribed and any attempt at identifying them on the basis of the first two intagios would be pure guesswork. Two of the youths are seated, the one on the left with a himation draped over his hips and thighs, and holding a spear, whilst his opposite number is almost completely enveloped in a stippled himation which he has drawn over his head; the first

youth looks straight ahead and the second looks up at the two figures standing behind him, and clasps his knee. The figure standing on the left is fully armed, and his companion is dressed only in a himation: they look at each other. Whereas the gaze of Adrastos and Polyneikes on 1* directed attention to the seated figures, the despondent attitude of two of whom gave the scene its depressing atmosphere, here, because the standing figures look at each other, and neither of the seated youths looks down, the atmosphere is much less brooding.

The two final representations are not of the first quarter of the fifth century, but are much later and are executed in the a globolo style. On the cornelian in London, 4, two figures are seated on rocks, head in hand; the one on the left holds a spear; between them stands a third youth holding a spear. The red jasper intaglio, 5, is similar in general format, but both of the seated figures hold a spear and neither sits in the dejected attitude of those on 4; the figure standing in the middle does not carry a spear. An a globolo cornelian in Göttingen, 6, which shows two youths seated on rocks with spears, may also be an extract from the same subject.

In the Introduction it was noted that many of the myth scenes on the gems of the first quarter of the fifth century are copied or adapted from representations on late archaic Attic vases, or, with respect to some of the single-figure studies, from Greek gems. There is not, however, one illustration on Greek vases or gems of a Council of the Seven who marched to Thebes, nor is there any mention of such a meeting in any of the not inconsiderable literary sources which tell of the Theban myth. Even in the early fifth century there was not agreement on the identities of

those who did march to Thebes⁶⁷. Nevertheless, a possible inspirational source for the scene on the Berlin and Paris gems has been suggested: the moments before the seven set off, when Amphiaraos, the gloomy figure seated at the centre of 1*, would justifiably be downcast in his prophetic knowledge that of all those who march against Thebes, Adrastos alone shall survive, and he is, therefore, reluctant to encourage his companions⁶⁸. The acceptance of this theory, however, rests solely on the iconographic evidence of the Berlin intaglio 1*, since it is only on that gem that the figure of the gloomy Amphiaraos is represented.

There are two suggested iconographic sources for the representation of the subject on these gems: first, that it was derived from the composition of a major wall-painting which described all seven of the chiefs in council, and secondly, that it is an adaptation from representations of the Mission to Achilles as illustrated on Attic vases.

It was Furtwängler who first thought that the Berlin intaglio 1* "auf ein größeres griechisches Gemälde zurückgehen, in dem schon etwas polygotischem Ethos stecke"⁶⁹. This view was followed by Zazoff, who suggested that the model may have been the painting by Onasias in the pronaos of the Temple of Athena, at Plataea⁷⁰. The reference to this painting in Pausanias (IX. 4. 2), however, is very vague and it does not support the identification of the scene as a Council⁷¹. Even if the Onasias could have served as a model, the painting should have been at least as famous in Greece as it appears to have been in the West, in which case one could reasonably expect it to have been reflected on Greek vases, and this is not so. This explanation of the origin of the motif has been taken up again recently, by Daumas, who

attempts to work back to an archetype, using the Etruscan gems as the most important evidence⁷². This method of re-creating the lost masterpieces of wall-painting in the early classical period is highly speculative even when working back from the evidence of Attic vases: it is significantly less convincing when dealing with such tiny objects as gems - and Etruscan ones at that. Furthermore, Daumas completely misuses the evidence provided by the gems, concluding on a minor point, for example, from the a globolo representations, 4 - 6, and a fourth century Etruscan mirror illustrating an extract of the supposed Council, on all of which the seated figures are on rocks, that the original wall-painting must also have shown the figures on rocks, and not on the stools as on 1 - 3. Such blatant disregard of the earlier evidence which, if these representations were inspired by a wall-painting, must reflect more closely their model than any later studies, is totally unacceptable. Having suggested a possible layout of the original composition and its psychological atmosphere, Daumas invalidates his whole argument in the concluding statement by posing the question to which he should have given most thought before attempting his analysis: "Il reste à expliquer comment cette iconographie a été diffusée dans le monde étrusque et pourquoi elle n'a pas laissé de traces dans l'art grec"⁷³.

The second suggested source of inspiration for the motif, that it is derived from representations of the Mission to Achilles on Attic vases, is much more likely to be the correct one, and it is the one accepted here. The similarity between the composition on 1* - 3* and the vase representations of the Mission was first noted by Robert, who said of the Berlin gem 1*, "auf den

ersten Blick wird der Leser erkannt haben, als die Gesandtschaft an Achilleus"⁷⁴. Indeed had the engravers of 1* and 2 not inscribed their figures, it would have been very difficult to argue that the context was Theban, and the scene would have been described as a version of the Mission to Achilles, garbled because these are Etruscan representations and cannot therefore be relied upon for iconographic accuracy. Robert did not doubt that the artist responsible for 1* had seen representations of the Mission on Attic vases (black-figure scarcely knew the theme, but it is quite popular in red-figure⁷⁵), misunderstood its content⁷⁶, and used it to illustrate a completely unrelated story. The iconographic similarity has also been remarked on by Friis-Johansen⁷⁷ and by Boardman⁷⁸. The theme of the Mission and its presentation both in literature and in art has been thoroughly examined by Döhle⁷⁹. The Athenian representations are not consistent in the details of the scene, and the arrangement and the identity of the heroes and advisers varies. It is not surprising then to discover that the engravers have re-arranged the figures and their dress⁸⁰. The smallness of the field on the gems has forced the engravers to economize on space, and so there are two planes and the protagonists are crowded together. The warlike tone of the Theban gathering is suggested by the arming of two of the figures on 1* and 2, and of one on 3*, whilst the non-military dress of the others indicates that all has not yet been decided.

The second interpretation of the origin of the scene is also supported by the evidence of two other motifs in this series, which are extracted from the multi-figure group, and which are primarily recognized in an Achillean context - the two-figure group of seated, draped youth and warrior (181, S37, fig.35; 180,

S48, fig.49, and see below pp.161-163), and the single-figure study of the seated, draped youth in the traditional 'Achilles mourning' pose (190 - 211, and see below pp.163-166).

The representations of individual Theban heroes are confined to Kapaneus and Tydeus, who are identified either by their context or by inscription. The intaglios of athletes and warriors inscribed with these two names are not considered here, but are discussed in section VIII, which is where iconographically they belong: the engravers' choice of identity for such standard figure types was fairly arbitrary and the identification of one arming warrior as Achilles and another as Kapaneus is not significant. On the other hand, representations of wounded and dying warriors when these are not specifically identified as either Kapaneus or Tydeus by inscription or context, are so influenced iconographically by illustrations of the two heroes, that it seemed logical to include them here.

The spectacular manner of Kapaneus' death appealed as much to Greek tragedians as to Etruscan engravers: Aischylos⁸¹, Euripides⁸², and Sophokles⁸³, all described it, as did Apollodoros⁸⁴. Kapaneus arrived at one of the gates to the city of Thebes and, seizing a ladder with which to scale the walls, proclaimed that not even the firebrand of Zeus could prevent him from succeeding in his purpose. The god, angered by this boast, punished Kapaneus by striking him with the very thunderbolt he had so proudly and carelessly scorned. The hero tumbles from the walls to his death. Illustrations of the hero crashing from the walls amidst broken pieces of ladder are rare before the Roman Republican period, and on the gems Kapaneus is usually identified by the thunderbolt which strikes in the region of the head and the neck; on some of the inscribed gems, the thunderbolt

is absent, and this suggests that some of the otherwise anonymous warriors falling in a Kapaneus-type pose could well have been intended as representations of the hero.

The iconography of both the dying Kapaneus and the dying Tydeus has been thoroughly examined by Krauskopf, who observed that no Greek prototypes existed for either figure and concluded, "daß der etruskische Besteller den Heros aus der griechischen Literatur, vermutlich der Thebais kannte" ⁸⁵. She noted that the manner of Kapaneus' death was described in the following ways: he may be struck by the bolt at the front or the back of the neck, or on the head, as he collapses with both legs in profile, or falls down on one or both knees. There is some variety in the position of the head and in the twist of the torso, as well as in the armour (though he is invariably carrying a shield); he may wear a chlamys. The iconography of the representations of Kapaneus, 7 - 36, do not divide up into rigid groups, and the categories noted here are loose.

Kapaneus is struck at the back of the head, and collapses with his legs flexed and in profile view, on 7 (S40, figs.38,39), 8 (fig.93), 9 (S68, figs.82,83), 11 and 12. He wears a helmet and has dropped his sword on 7*, by the Kyknos Master, whilst on 9*, by the Lewes House Master, he wears a chlamys and it is the spear that has fallen out of his grip and snapped; he also wears a chlamys on 11, but is weaponless, and on 12 he is still holding the spear. The sinking warrior on 10 (S69, fig.84), attributed to the Lewes House Group, need not represent Kapaneus because there is no thunderbolt and he is not inscribed; he wears a chlamys and holds onto his spear for support.

On 13 - 17 he collapses from a standing position, with

his head thrown back. There is no thunderbolt on 13 (S55, figs. 56, 57), 14, 15 (fig.94), or 17, whilst on 16 it is shown striking him at the front of the neck. He has let go of his sword on 13*, which belongs to the London Group, and on 14 and 16; the helmet he was wearing on 15* and 16 tumbles to the ground; on the fourth century study, 17, he wears a chlamys. He also falls from a standing position on 18 (S54, fig.55), by the London Master, and on 19 (fig.95), but on both of these his head is facing downwards; the bolt strikes the back of his neck on 18*, and is omitted on 19*. The late fifth century study, 20, may not represent the hero: the warrior, wearing a helmet and holding a machaira by the blade, seems to be falling, but there is no thunderbolt and he is not inscribed. I have not seen the "Übergang^sstil" intaglio, 21.

22 and 23 show Kapaneus in the old kneeling/running position and he is not obviously wounded. 22 has the inscription $\exists \text{N} \text{A} >$ (Kapaneus), and he is armed only with the shield, whilst on the a globolo intaglio, 23, he carries sword and scabbard as well.

Kapaneus is down on his knees, one or both thighs frontal, on 24 - 29. The bolt strikes him at the front of the neck on 24 (S52, figs.52,53), by the London Master, and is omitted on 25 (S66, figs.71,72), attributed to the Berlin Group, where he is inscribed $\exists \text{N} \text{A} >$ and a broken spear is an additional feature as on 29*; the bolt is also absent on 27, another $(\text{C}) \text{A} \text{N}$. The pose is more dramatically described on the late fifth century intaglio, 26, where Kapaneus is struck at the front of the neck by a narrow shaft, presumably an abbreviated version of the thunderbolt (but cf 37 - 39), and carries a spear in his right hand. On 28 he holds

a broken spear, and is empty-handed on 29.

He falls onto his back once, on 30 (S57, figs.59,60), a fine study attributed to the London Group, and the bolt hits the back of his head; he has dropped the sword.

The final six intaglios, 31 - 36, are all of the late fifth or early fourth centuries, and on these Kapaneus is standing nearly upright, his head in a variety of positions. 31 may include the ladder, and the bolt falls between his legs, whilst he makes a stabbing motion with the sword. On 32 and 33 the bolt strikes his shoulder, his helmet is on the point of falling off and he has already let go of the sword. There is no bolt on 34, though he stoops as if he has been hit, and has dropped his sword. On 35 he is struck at the back of the head and is carrying a door; on 36 he leans over to pick up a door.

One or other of the above poses is employed on 37 - 39, where the spear is instrumental in the wounding rather than an attribute, and Tydeus is the preferred identification here, if the engravers did intend these as representations of any specific hero. The shield is consistently carried here too. 37 (S61, fig.64), attributed to the Florence Group, sets the youth in the kneeling/running pose, and the spear pierces his shield (note the thong on the far side), the point emerging from his right flank. It was of course a wound in the belly that killed Tydeus⁸⁶. The youth on 38 (fig.96) suffers an injury similar to that of 37*; his head is thrown back and his legs crumble beneath him as on 24*. 39 is a much later study, of Zazoff's "Übergangstil", and the spear pierces his side; he carries a sword.

Certain representations of Tydeus' demise are are much less often represented, and the schemes proper to Kapaneus are

borrowed; sometimes the identification is assured only by inscription. The $\exists \tau \vee \tau$ (Tydeus) on 40 (41 is a copy of this intaglio) repeats the pose of Kapanews on 24*, whilst the dishevelled warrior on 42, still on his feet and holding his sword though his helmet has fallen off, looks more like a giant than a hero. The fourth century intaglios, 43 - 46 (he is inscribed on 43 and 46), show the spear piercing his shin, and he leans forward in pain as blood drips out. On 48 he is injured in the instep. The standing warrior on 47, and the crouching warriors on 49 - 52, are all probably anonymous.

The unusual motif of a serpent swallowing a youth is represented on two intaglios, 53 (S10, fig.16), the name-piece of the Master of the Leningrad Jason, and on 54 (fig.97), a cornelian of the second quarter of the fifth century. On an a globolo intaglio in Paris, 55, a youth stands in front of a snake, attacking it with a sword.

The Leningrad study, 53*, shows a twin-tailed serpent in the process of swallowing up a naked, unarmed youth, who gesticulates wildly in his distress. This representation may be compared with that on an island gem from Egypt, where a similarly defenceless man is being swallowed by a bearded serpent⁸⁷. The victim on the Boston intaglio, 54*, is better equipped to defend himself, being protected by a shield and brandishing a sword; he also wears a petasos. The serpent, single-tailed and bearded, has swallowed him as far as the hips.

The identity of the unfortunate youth as Jason is suggested by the iconography of certain representations of the hero on two other Etruscan monuments. The first is on a kyathos or simpulum of the early fifth century, where Jason, holding the Golden Fleece in his left hand, attempts to escape from the snake which has already seized his right leg⁸⁸; the second is in the exergue of an Etruscan mirror of the third quarter of the fifth century, where a youth inscribed ΘΕΙΟΣ ΖΩΝ, holding the Golden Fleece in his left hand and brandishing a sword in the other, fights off a serpent which has swallowed his left leg⁸⁹. On both 53* and 54* I read the serpent as swallowing rather disgorging his victim, since, if the latter description were intended, it

would be reasonable to expect him to be in the same comatose state as Douris' Jason on the famous Vatican tondo⁹⁰.

There are five representations of Jason and the 'dragon' in vase-painting, yet none of them except the Douris, seem to illustrate the same version of the myth as do the intaglios. Two of the vases are Attic: the Douris has already been mentioned, and there is a later study, by the Orchard Painter, in which a timorous Jason creeps up to seize the Fleece from the rock where it is guarded by a tiny serpent⁹¹. On a Paestan volute-krater, the snake is being drugged by Medea, whilst Jason steals the Fleece⁹². On an Apulian vase, the hero attacks with a sword, and Medea stands behind, box in hand⁹³. A volute-krater in Leningrad shows Jason attacking the serpent with a pair of spears⁹⁴.

The gems, mirror, simpulum and the Vatican cup all seem to illustrate the death of Jason, though there is nothing in extant literature which mentions the hero being swallowed or disgorged by the serpent in his quest for the Golden Fleece⁹⁵. The artistic evidence indicates that by the end of the fifth century there were three versions current of Jason's encounter with the snake that guarded the Fleece: he is killed by the serpent in his quest, he himself kills the sibilant guardian or, with Medea's connivance, succeeds in drugging it. The Fleece is not mentioned in Homer or Hesiod, and makes its first appearance in Mimnermos⁹⁶ and Simonides⁹⁷; Herodoros⁹⁸ and Pherekydes⁹⁹ both state that Jason killed the serpent. None of the sources describe how the hero was armed. The only person whom literature credits with being swallowed by a monster and surviving to tell the tale was of course Herakles, who killed the sea-monster sent in punishment by Poseidon to the Trojan shores because Laomedon had cheated

the god¹⁰⁰. There are several versions of that story, and the most elaborate relates how an armed Herakles leapt into the jaws of the ketos, remained in its belly, hacking and hewing for three days, and emerged at the end of the experience without a hair on his head; he had, however, succeeded in killing the ketos. The representations of that myth describe the monster as a ketos, a sea-dragon, and not a serpent, although on a late archaic Corinthian vase the creature does have a serpentine look¹⁰¹. It is not being suggested here that Herakles in the jaws of the ketos is the subject represented on the intaglios 53* and 54*, but certain details of that story could have influenced those of Jason's encounter with the serpent. A similar cross-fertilization could have influenced representations of the death of Opheltes, who was strangled by a snake¹⁰².

There are almost as many representations of episodes from the Trojan War as there were from the Theban Cycle, and the main source of influence is from Athenian vase-painting. In the late sixth and early fifth centuries the emphasis is on Achilles, Ajax, and Memnon, and there are some unexpected motifs as well. Just as scenes which, but for the addition of an inscription 'Capne' or 'Tute', could be understood as generic types were excluded from the previous section, so are those defined as Trojan by the identifying inscriptions 'Achle' and 'Utuze', for example, omitted from the discussions here ¹⁰³. The unique representation of Achilles and the Amazon queen Penthesilea is discussed in Appendix II, since I do not think that it is of fifth century date, but very much later.

i The Arming of Achilles

There are three intaglios, 56 - 58, all by the Master of the Boston Dionysos and therefore of the late sixth century, which carry this motif. The subject of the presentation of arms was very popular on sixth century Attic vases, and also on Etruscan monuments ¹⁰⁴. Although the three intaglios have the same author, each study is quite individual, and the earliest one, 56 (S1, figs.1,2), in Malibu, is iconographically the most interesting. The composition is a three-figure group with the smith-god Hephaistos, distinguished by his twisted feet and bobbly toes, at the centre; he is bearded, wears a chitoniskos and a cap, and carries the hoplite shield with a flying bird as its

blazon which he is about to present to Achilles; the shield obscures his torso. Facing him on the left is Achilles, bending over to clip on the left greave, and already wearing a Corinthian helmet and a breastplate; his undergarment falls in broad folds. Between Hephaistos and Achilles stands a pair of upright spears, although the hero did not need to be supplied with a new spear, since he still had the original mighty one made from an ash on Mt. Pelion and given by Chiron to Peleus and which none but he could wield¹⁰⁵. On the right and in a subordinate position stands Thetis, raising her hand - probably in admiration of the wondrous armour rather than in greeting. She is dressed in a chiton and a himation, and may have been wearing a head-scarf.

This representation is a conflation of two different episodes in the second arming of Achilles: Thetis' visit to Hephaistos to collect the armour, and Thetis, often accompanied by some of her Nereid sisters, presenting the new armour to her son. This engraver has chosen to give a personal interpretation in a pleasing three-figure group.

The damaged cornelian in the Vatican, 57 (S4, fig.5), conforms to the usual scheme as it is represented on Greek vases and on the Monteleone chariot: Achilles stands on the right, already wearing his cuirass, undergarment and left greave; he has just accepted the sheathed sword and is about to take the second greave from Thetis, whilst at the same time lifting his leg to put the greave on - it is with some difficulty that he maintains his balance. Thetis again wears chiton and himation, and possibly a cap, and holds a fine Corinthian helmet in her right hand and Achilles' second greave in her left; her right heel is raised a little off the ground in a rather odd fashion.

To the right of centre is an upright spear; behind Achilles and tilting away from him, is the shield shown in profile view. The dot border and cross-hatched exergue of 56* are retained here.

The final example by the Master, 58 (S7, figs.9,10), is a splendidly powerful study which isolates the figure of the young warrior, whose identity as Achilles is suggested by the first two intaglios 56* and 57*. The intaglio is meticulously executed and illustrates well this Master's highly individual and idiosyncratic style. Achilles wears his long hair in the krobylos fashion and bound by a fillet; he wears a leather cuirass, undergarments, and greaves, and holds a Corinthian helmet in his left hand; an impressive sword is propped against the border behind, and the profile shield rests on the tip of his left greave; to his left, an upright spear. A spiralling three-stemmed plant springs up in front of him.

Neither the representation on 57* nor that on 58* presents any iconographic problems.

A cornelian in the British Museum by the Master of London 651, 59 (S47, figs.47,48), is included here because of the similarity of the motif to that of Thetis handing over the armour to Achilles: indeed Zazoff thought that the intaglio did illustrate this subject¹⁰⁶. On the left is a small figure with long hair, dressed in a himation, handing over a helmet to the second figure and also holding a spear. The youth receiving the armour is attired in cuirass, undergarments and greaves, and, whilst steadying the shield with one hand, accepts the helmet with the other. Ostensibly, this is a standard representation of Thetis and Achilles. A closer look at the figure on the left, however, suggests that it may not be female, but is, as Furtwängler thought, "ein unbärtiger

Mann in Mantel"¹⁰⁷. If the figure were female, then a chiton would be worn beneath the himation. There are three possible interpretations of the intaglio, the simplest of which is that the engraver intended to illustrate Thetis and Achilles, and carelessly omitted to indicate the goddess's chiton. The second is that this ^{is} another example of a conflation of two episodes, that of Thetis and Achilles and that of Neoptolemos and Odysseus. And finally, it could represent Achilles and Patroklos. The first interpretation seems the most likely, but the others deserve some investigation.

The Neoptolemos and Odysseus episode is rarely illustrated, but it was chosen as the subject for a cup tondo by Douris, where a bearded Odysseus receives Achilles' armour from the youth¹⁰⁸. There both figures wear himatia, and Neoptolemos hands over the breast-plate and helmet, whilst the greaves stand on the ground in the middle of the composition; Odysseus has the shield on his left arm, and holds a spear. The intaglio differs from the Dourian scene in that the figure receiving the armour is not bearded, and he has already put on some of the armour, which suggests that it is being presented for immediate use and not as a gift or award. A representation such as this, however, could have inspired or contaminated that on the intaglio. Furthermore, Neoptolemos may attend the presentation of arms to Achilles: he is inscribed in this context on a plate by Lydos¹⁰⁹, and he may be the youth attending a similar scene (it is not certainly an Achillean context) on an amphora by the Amasis Painter¹¹⁰. Neoptolemos and Achilles is another possible variant, therefore.

The final possibility, that this represents Achilles and Patroklos, is the most interesting. In the Iliad there is no

formal handing over of the armour, and the only other representation of the departure of Patroklos is on an Attic vase by the Kleophrades Painter¹¹¹, which is quite unlike that on the intaglio: in the company of attendant figures, Achilles is seated with a walking-stick, and pours a libation; Patroklos stands, armed with cuirass, helmet, spear and shield, and pours a libation over an altar. It is not impossible that the engraver intended the young man in the himation to represent Achilles, and the warrior receiving his armour as his friend Patroklos, and the only difficulty in accepting this interpretation is that if the draped youth is Achilles, then he is surprisingly short in stature.

The two final intaglios, 60 (fig.98) and 61 (fig.99), to be considered in this section do not represent the arming of Achilles, but more correctly, a departure. The cornelian in the British Museum, 61, is a copy, perhaps of quite modern times, of the gem in the Danicourt Collection, 60*, which is of the mid fifth century and in a style derived from that of the Master of the London Athlete¹¹². On the right of the intaglio, a warrior identified by inscription as $\epsilon\chi\upsilon\alpha$ (Achilles), wearing a helmet and carrying a very large shield, is taking his leave of a nameless winged woman, dressed in chiton and short stippled himation with swinging ends, and making curious gestures with her hands: "it is not wholly clear whether the goddess is restraining him and warning him against going into battle, or laying hands on him as a Fury or Death demon, while he starts away from her"¹¹³. It is awkward to call her Athena, although the artist may have intended the stippled cloak as an aegis. A winged Thetis is very unlikely, whilst Iris is a possibility since it was she who, on several occasions in the Iliad¹¹⁴, visited Achilles to attempt to rouse

him from his self-pitying and miserable state. In those contexts, however, Achilles would not have been wearing his armour and looking ready for battle. It is in fact Athena in the Iliad who gives Achilles the final and successful encouragement¹¹⁵.

From the late seventh century onwards the theme of a warrior carrying a dead friend off the battlefield found appeal with artists, and it was not until the second quarter of the sixth century that the motif became particularized as Ajax carrying the corpse of Achilles¹¹⁶. The first inscribed representation of the subject is on the François Vase, and though there are a few modifications in succeeding artists' renderings, there are no significant changes. The earlier representations show Ajax shouldering the burden of a naked Achilles, whilst on the later ones, the corpse retains all or part of its armour. Of the literary accounts of Achilles' death, it is only in Apollodoros that any mention is made of what happened to the armour immediately after Achilles is killed: Ajax sends it back to the ships before picking up his companion's corpse¹¹⁷. Whilst the vase-painters of the second half of the sixth century preferred to show the corpse in some or all of the armour, the Etruscan gems of the late sixth and first quarter of the fifth century favour the earlier version with the naked Achilles; later intaglios show the hero dressed in some armour. There is great variety on the gems in the disposition of the corpse on Ajax' shoulders, and the preference for movement to the left, observed on the black-figure vases of after the middle of the sixth century, is not found here¹¹⁸. Only one of the intaglios, 62, is inscribed.

The six representations of the motif, 62 - 67, all differ in some detail, and no standard type emerges, although there is a preference for Ajax to carry Achilles in a peculiarly uncomfortable way which may be compared with the study of an anonymous duo

(not inscribed, but very probably intended as Ajax and Achilles) in a cup tondo by Douris¹¹⁹. Five of the intaglios are to be dated before the end of the first quarter of the fifth century, long after the motif has gone out of fashion on Greek vases (the Douris would be the only red-figure representation). The similarity of the motif to that of Aeneas carrying his old father out of Troy is obvious; the scheme is also employed for Amazons taking their dead off the battlefield¹²⁰, and on one occasion for a Greek removing an Amazon's corpse¹²¹.

There is only one intaglio, the cornelian in Leningrad, 62 (S50, fig.100), attributed to the Group of London 651, which follows closely the iconography of the motif as it is found on Attic black-figure vases; here the older type with the naked corpse is preserved, and it is in the manner in which Ajax carries his burden that the Attic iconography is reflected. Ajax, wearing Attic helmet and greaves, is set in the old "Knielauf" scheme, which here can be read either as his just rising, having lifted up the body, or hurrying away, which is perhaps more appropriate. He carries Achilles on the left shoulder, head first, the arms and dishevelled hair hanging down. The smooth bare limbs of Peleus' son contrast with the patterned surfaces of Ajax' bronze breast-plate, emphasizing the difference between the living and the dead. Running in front of the group is a small winged eidolon, unique to the subject on an engraved gem, but found on Attic representations¹²². The rounded forms of the little soul, especially the head, curiously anticipate the a globolo style, though the smallness of the figure may have much to do with this summary treatment. The inscriptions $\{AJIA$ (Ajax) and $A\psi E\psi E$ (Achilles) are large and untidily cut. The edges of the intaglio are chipped and

worn.

The Ajax on a pseudoscarab in London, 66 (S32, fig.101), of the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes, is similar to that on 62*, and his arms seem to be supporting the body more plausibly. Achilles, armourless and weaponless, is carried in an uncomfortable and unlikely manner, impossible in reality: his right side lies across Ajax' shoulder, so that his head hangs down facing away from Ajax; his right arm falls straight down, and the left - the engraver has room for only half of it - falls in front of his face; the legs are unattractively spread and awkwardly managed by the artist. This group lacks the majestic power of the Leningrad intaglio, 62*, and the corpse is ignominiously and precariously perched. Another pseudoscarab from the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes, 63 (S31, fig. 30), in Florence, repeats the regular figure of Ajax, who here extends his right arm to support the corpse by the legs; his left arm appears on the far side of the corpse, the hand held aloft and brandishing a dagger (it is rather short for a sword)¹²³ in a threatening manner. Whilst Achilles' lifeless head fell forwards on 62* and backwards on 66*, here the body is turned the other way round so that the torso drops down behind Ajax, the head facing inwards and the mouth grotesquely open; the arms hang down, rigid. The body is carried feet first, then, the right leg in profile crossed over the other leg which is frontal and partially obscured; the torso is twisted round to present a frontal chest, where two spirals half-heartedly indicate the presence of a breast-plate. On both this intaglio and on 66*, the figures look as if they have been crammed into the field. This awkward pose of the two figures is repeated on a fourth century mirror in Leningrad, with only

minor differences¹²⁴.

On the remaining intaglios, 64, 65, and 67, Ajax is no longer in the "Knielauf" scheme, but stands up. 64 is still of the first quarter of the fifth century and is the least successful representation. Ajax has a small head, short body, sturdy legs and long feet; the right arm is obscured, whilst his left supports the body of Achilles around the hips. A spear set diagonally in the field is difficult to attribute to him, yet it cannot belong to Achilles. Ajax again manhandles the corpse, which is carried head first with the arms swinging loosely about; the twist of the legs, left frontal and right profile, and of the feet conveys well their lifelessness. A shield lies abandoned behind Ajax. Roughly contemporary with this is the cornelian in Paris, 65, which repeats the pattern of 63*, where Achilles is borne head first. The corpse is appreciably larger than Ajax, and has very long arms and legs; the mouth is open, and the hair falls in straight lines from scroll curls at the temples. Ajax' body is very short from neck to waist. This disparity of size between rescuer and corpse was a feature of the earlier Greek representations of the myth and of the anonymous pairs of figures.

The cornelian 67 is of Zazoff's "spätetruskischer Freier Stil" and therefore much later than the others so that a difference in the setting of the motif is not unexpected. Ajax carries Achilles as Eos does Memnon, and a shield is strapped to the corpse's right arm; a superfluous spear stands at the right.

A very fine study by the same hand as an Athena in Copenhagen¹²⁵ is included here because of the iconographic similarity to the motif of Ajax and Achilles. Neither the material nor the whereabouts¹²⁶ of this intaglio, 68 (fig.102), is known to me.

The intaglio shows a naked youth carrying the body of another. The first youth has his hair dressed in the krobylos fashion, and moves to the right with his head turned back. The backwards glance here could be a deliberately dramatic touch to imply his fear of being pursued, though it could, as so often on these late archaic intaglios, simply be a compositional device. Had the engraver described the youth as looking straight ahead, the eye would have been drawn into the upper right hand corner of the intaglio, whilst the backward glance forces the viewer to pause, and attention rests equally on both figures. This youth carries a skinny, naked corpse, by the legs and under the arms, with one arm falling back over the head and the other dropping to the ground; his shoulder-length hair streams down. This method of carrying a corpse is a hybrid between that of Ajax with Achilles, and that of Eos with Memnon (see below). A long spear has pierced the body through the flanks from behind, and blood still runs from the gash, dripping onto his companion's right thigh. The emphatic diagonal of the shaft of the spear is answered by the looser line of the corpse which is not quite diagonal; the vertical mass of the living youth dominates the composition. There is a narrow ground-line, and the device is set within the unusual cable and dot border.

Although it is difficult to place these two figures in a mythological context and the study would perhaps gain poignancy from anonymity, it is tempting to identify the scene as Achilles carrying the body of his beloved Patroklos. The deep and painful wound through the flanks and by a spear illustrates exactly that suffered by Patroklos from Hektor's spear-thrust:

οὐτα δὲ δουρὶ

νεΐατον ἐς κενεῶνα, διὰ πρὸ δὲ χαλκὸν ἔλασσε

(Iliad xvi.820-1)

The analogy with the Homeric account, however, ceases there, since the spear which dealt the mortal blow was not left in the body, but was removed by Hektor, and it is the Greeks, not Achilles, who remove the body having covered it with a cloth to a bier (Iliad xviii.231-4). This scene may be represented on an Attic calyx-krater attributed to the Pezzino Group¹²⁷. Complete correspondence with the literary account need not be the final justification of the identification of the representation as Achilles and Patroklos, and there is no serious objection to this interpretation. Indeed, 'internal' details on the intaglio suit the Trojan context quite nicely: the lack of armour on the corpse, and the nakedness of the rescuer whose hair is elegantly dressed, could describe Patroklos stripped of the armour and Achilles fresh from his tent; the inclusion of the spear may have been the engraver's way of indicating that in his eyes the corpse was that of Patroklos. This lovely intaglio, therefore, would represent one engraver's personal and sensitive rendering of the removal from the battlefield of Patroklos' wounded body.

Of the several representations of the suicide of Ajax on Etruscan gems, 69 - 81, there is only one, 69 (S53, fig.54), attributed to the Master of the London Athlete, which falls within the period treated in detail in this thesis¹²⁸. The intaglio in Boston, 82 (fig.108), of Tekmessa discovering the body of Ajax, will also be discussed here.

The history of the iconography of the suicide of Ajax has been thoroughly examined in recent years by several scholars, and may be summarized here¹²⁹. The theme is rare on Attic vases of the late archaic and early classical periods, occurring only three times: the tense study by Exekias in Boulogne¹³⁰, the more dramatic though psychologically less effective version on a lost red-figure askos¹³¹, and the 'Sophoklean' version on a red-figure lekythos by the Alkimachos Painter¹³². On all three the moment depicted is private, and preliminary to the act of suicide. In the Peloponnese and at Corinth the subject was represented from the seventh century onwards, and its popularity in these areas could have been responsible for its transmission to the West. The moment favoured in the suicide was not the same as that on the Attic vases, and the preference was to show the hero already dead, usually hunched over the sword on his hands and knees, or with legs outstretched, the body propped up by the sword; the sword pierces his chest and he is invariably face downwards. Both the psychological and the iconographic differences between these and the Attic representations are enormous. Corinthian artists frequently filled out the scene with grieving and distressed spectators, and the moment chosen is shocking, and somehow,

squalid. Contrast the discovery by Tekmessa of the body of Ajax on the splendid Bareiss cup in New York (fig.109)¹³³. The relief studies from Foce del Sele are derived broadly from the Corinthian, though Ajax is not always dead and there are other slight differences. The representations on Etruscan vases and mirrors are quite different from any of these and rather later in date. All of the provincial representations look clumsy by comparison with the refined Attic versions.

Although the suicide of Ajax is never found on late archaic Greek intaglios in the harder stones, there is a representation of the subject on an island gem in New York (fig.103)¹³⁴. The striking feature of this study is the upright stance of the hero, whose legs are in profile and quite straight whilst the body is twisted round at the waist to present a frontal view; his arms hang down on either side of his head, and the sword, embedded in a triangular patch of earth, pierces the centre of his belly¹³⁵. This unusual standing pose is the one adopted by the Ajax on the cornelian in Boston, 69 (fig.54), and, slightly modified, on two of the fourth century studies, 70 (fig.104) and 71 (fig.105). The pose of the Boston Ajax, 69*, Beazley observed, reflects "the taste of the ripe archaic period"¹³⁶, with one leg frontal and one profile, and the chest and abdomen frontal. This Ajax, then, is simply another variant on the stock motif of a single figure leaning or bending, his context or identity defined by attributes or inscription. For the pose, compare especially the 'Achilles' on a bleached agate in Boston, 126 (S65, fig.70), attributed to the Berlin Group, and for the stiff treatment of the left arm, the Berlin Master's name-piece, 213 (S63, fig.66). In spite of the formality of the pose, however, the fine hand of

the London Master has succeeded in suggesting effectively the frenzied state of mind of Ajax - the features especially describe an *Αἴας παινόμενος*. The long hair sweeps over the head from the nape of the neck in a manner found on other dead or dying heroes on Etruscan gems: compare Kapaneus in figs.56,57, and Memnon in fig.58, for example. This swept over treatment of the hair never refers to healthy, living youths, irrespective of the position of the head. The hilt of the sword on the Boston gem rests on the border, and the tip has not yet pierced the flesh under the right arm. The scabbard lies abandoned behind, and although its presence may simply reflect the contemporary fashion on Etruscan intaglios of including such details as filling ornamentation, it may here be a deliberate reference to the fateful exchange of gifts between Ajax and Hektor, described in the Iliad (vii.303-305), where Ajax receives a sword, scabbard and baldric. The unhappy uses to which these gifts were put are not hinted at in Homer, but artistic evidence such as this intaglio suggests that they were already known by the early fifth century. The scabbard is a detail often included in the representations of this motif on Etruscan gems, either still in Ajax' hand or discarded behind. Of all the studies of the motif extant on gems, the London Master's approaches most nearly the spirit of the Boulogne Exekias. The lack of Etruscan "flavour" in the study is not surprising in view of the suspected Greek origins of the engraver: the later studies emphasize Ajax' dramatic and painful falling upon the blade.

It was noted above that the standing pose of Ajax on 69* was more or less repeated on two later intaglios, 70 (fig. 104) and 71 (fig.105). On the London cornelian, 70*, Ajax' legs

are in profile as on the island gem (fig.103), whilst the chest is in three-quarter view; the hilt of the sword is embedded in sand and pierces him under the left arm. On the contemporary intaglio in New York, 71*, Ajax is wearing a chlamys, bends over more, and holds his hands behind his back "to make sure that he will not spoil his fall by involuntary movement of his arms"¹³⁷; the sword is embedded in the ground and enters the pit of the stomach. Ajax stoops towards the sword on 75, which is an a globolo cornelian, whilst on 72, a fourth century gem in Geneva, he pushes the sword into his right breast; behind is the scabbard and in front the shield. On another a globolo cornelian, 73, in Naples, he is shown profile and crouching, as he draws the sword from its sheath; this Ajax is parodied by a satyr on an a globolo gem in the Villa Giulia¹³⁸. On 74, again of the fourth century, he sits on a rock in the 'Herakles resting' pose, seemingly in contemplation before motioning the sword to the vulnerable spot.

The fourth century intaglio in Cambridge, 76 (fig.106), shows Ajax in an odd kneeling position, which recalls some of the representations of Kapaneus (cf fig.95). He holds the scabbard in his left hand, whilst with the other he plunges the point of the weapon into a spot just beneath his right breast, and he looks intently at what he is doing. Davies¹³⁹ thought that this intaglio should be positioned so that the length of Ajax' body lies on the horizontal, as it does on the more dramatic study in Paris, 77 (fig.107), of the early fourth century. There the hero flings himself with a force and determination unrivalled on any of the other intaglios upon the sword embedded in sand; the impact of point and flesh results in spurts of blood. This location of the suicide on the shore recalls the description in Sophokles' Ajax,

654-656. Davies uses this Paris gem, 77*, and a bronze handle attachment representing the subject which shows the hero in a similar acrobatic pose¹⁴⁰, in support of his setting of the Cambridge gem, 76*. There are, however, significant differences between each of the two gems and the handle attachment. In the first place, the position of the hero on the handle attachment is largely dictated by the purpose of the object - as a handle - and further, the sword is embedded in the ground, not hand-held as on the Cambridge gem, and Ajax looks dramatically away from it. On the Paris intaglio, 77*, he flings himself forward onto the sword, which is again embedded in the ground and not held. In fact the 'acrobatic' pose only recommends itself as an effective movement when the sword is embedded in the ground, because it is only then that the full effect of his throwing himself upon the point can be gained. If the Cambridge intaglio is set as Davies suggested, the position of Ajax' head is quite unacceptable and, besides, figures falling backwards in this way generally have their heads thrown back. Further, the holding of the scabbard at such an angle is rather unlikely. The suggested correct position of the intaglio is as illustrated in fig.106.

On an early a globolo in Geneva, 78, Ajax kneels with one leg on an altar, and his arms behind his back as on 71*; the hilt of the sword rests at the angle formed by the corner of the altar and the border to the intaglio, and the tip pierces the pit of the stomach; drops of blood fall from the wound. For the altar, compare the Alkimachos Painter's lekythos¹⁴¹. The late fourth/early third century representation in Copenhagen, 79, is an odd study: Ajax stands with arms upraised (praying?), whilst the sword is embedded in a triangular mound on the right, and a

spear and shield stand on the other side. A similar type is illustrated in 80, where the upraised arms and spread fingers give more of an impression of madness than of a prayerful attitude. The intaglio 81 may represent Ajax. A man in a spotted cloak leans over, drawing a sword from an upright scabbard; in front is an altar, and the groundline is marked "like a feather"¹⁴². There are several replicas of this intaglio¹⁴³.

Whilst Attic representations of Ajax committing suicide found no close parallels on the intaglios, Athenian iconography is certainly behind the lovely intaglio in Boston, 82 (fig.108), of Tekmessa rushing up to cover the body of Ajax. The gem is of the first quarter of the fifth century. There are two representations of this unusual subject on Attic vases: in the tondo of the Bareiss cup on loan to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, fig. 109¹⁴⁴, and on a very fragmentary cup in the Louvre¹⁴⁵.

On the intaglio, a winged woman dressed in a chiton, rushes forwards from the left, holding with both hands a large, outspread cloth with which she is about to cover the body of Ajax. The 'arrangement' of the corpse is very close to that of representations of the dead Memnon (cf 85; 90, fig.128; 91, fig. 58; 92 - 94, figs.129-131). The corpse is presented with frontal chest, abdomen and right leg; the head is in profile and facing downwards, resting in the crook of the left arm; the right arm lies along his side, and the left leg is profile; he seems to be bearded; the sword enters beneath the left armpit but does not issue from the body on the other side. Toes, left knee-cap, and left elbow all touch the hatched border and to that extent support the body.

This representation does not copy that on the Brygos

Painter's tondo, fig.109, and the two major differences are the addition of wings to the woman, and the variation in the pose of Ajax. There are several explanations as to why Tekmessa has been given wings (I do not doubt that she is Tekmessa and not some anonymous female daemon of the Etruscan Underworld), the weakest of which is that the Etruscan artists simply had a preference for winged figures, as did the east Greeks. Although this is a valid observation it implies that wings were added willy-nilly to any figure, and this is not quite true since, generally speaking, they are added only to a restricted range of individuals - Athena, for example, and Nike-type figures: Tekmessa is not an obvious candidate. Davies suggested that the engraver had seen a composition like that on the Bareiss cup, misunderstood its content, and produced this garbled account¹⁴⁶. Beazley suggested that the engraver was influenced by contemporary representations of "kindred scenes where divine beings are busied with the dead or dying"¹⁴⁷, that is, illustrations of Eos and Memnon and of Hypnos and Thanatos with Memnon. This seems to be the most likely explanation, and it is easy to understand how the engraver would have observed that outspread wings formed a good compositional balance to the horizontal corpse. Of relevance here is the representation on an Attic red-figure lekythos in Geneva, figs.115,116, where a winged Eos supports the body of Memnon and from the left rushes another woman (his wife?) with a cloth to cover him up¹⁴⁸. The cloth both on this lekythos and on the Bareiss cup is much smaller than that on the Boston intaglio, where it is of a size suitable for a shroud and illustrates best the description of the cloth Tekmessa used in Sophokles' Ajax (915-919). Iconographic contamination from representations of the Memnon myth, therefore, is

the most likely explanation for the addition of wings to Tekmessa, and influence from the same source is responsible for the positioning of Ajax' corpse.

The only representation of the Greeks emerging from the Wooden Horse - an unlikely subject for an engraved gem - is on a cornelian pseudoscarab in New York, 83 (S14, fig.11), which belongs within the sphere of influence of the Master of the Boston Dionysos and should, therefore, be dated in the late sixth century rather than in the first quarter of the fifth¹⁴⁹. The gem was said to have been found at Populonia, and the back is carved as a satyr head. The intaglio has the greatest number of figures on any gem in this series, with seven hoplites as well as the horse; the device is set within a dot border, and on a cross-hatched exergue. The Horse, especially its head, is described in some detail, but it is not ostensibly any less animate than that led by the youth on a rock-crystal scarab once in the Southesk Collection, 272 (S13), except, of course, for the hatch in its back from which one hoplite emerges. In the Odyssey (11.523) it was Odysseus himself who took charge of the opening and shutting of the door, so the hoplite performing this task on the gem can reasonably be identified as him. The positions of the other warriors imply the existence of further openings - one, for example, emerges from the junction of head and body, another slips down the tail, and two more descend from the underside of the belly¹⁵⁰. All the Greeks wear a cuirass, chitoniskos and helmet (the one on the far right has feathers in his helmet in the Ionic fashion¹⁵¹), and carry the round hoplite shield. In the various authors who relate the story of the Wooden Horse, the identity and numbers of the Greeks inside it vary considerably, and it is not possible to even hazard a guess as to who they might be on the intaglio, if indeed the engraver intended

specific Greeks¹⁵². In front of the Horse's muzzle is a crescent moon, a detail which reflects the account of the story in the Little Iliad¹⁵³ of the time of the Greeks' bursting forth:

νῦξ μὲν ἔην μέσση, λαμπρὴ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη.

The cutting of the intaglio is throughout careful, and the motif is presented in an entertaining fashion.

The representation of a youthful Aeneas carrying on his left shoulder his aged father Anchises, on a cornelian in Paris, 84 (S45, figs.45,46), attributed to the Kyknos Group, is well known to scholars of the Aeneas legend since it is supposedly the earliest surviving example of Anchises carrying the cista. The gem belongs in the middle of the first quarter of the fifth century, and the intaglio is a carefully executed and attractive study.

The intaglio describes a naked and beardless Aeneas holding a spear in his right hand, and with a shield, shown in the frontal interior view, strapped to his left arm; he is in the ambiguous 'Knielauf' pose, here probably to be interpreted as running rather than rising as he lifts up Anchises, for he makes no attempt to steady or support his father. Anchises is balding and bearded, and is wearing a himation; he appears to be catching hold of Aeneas' spear with his right hand, and holding out in his left hand an object which has been interpreted as the cista containing the penates¹⁵⁴. The device is set within a neat hatched border, and similar careful workmanship went into the carving of the scarab.

The rescue of Anchises by Aeneas was a subject popular on sixth-century Attic black-figure vases, and the scene was often padded out with identifiable subsidiary figures who usually include Creusa and Ascanius. It is not surprising to find such an Attic motif on an intaglio attributed to the Kyknos Group, which was so heavily influenced by iconography from that sphere. The two-figure group on the intaglio, however, is different from that on

the vases, where Anchises is always carried piggy-back (it never looks dignified) and there is an equal emphasis on Aeneas as warrior and as rescuer. The intaglio shows the old man being carried on his son's left shoulder, and Aeneas is naked and weaponless but for the shield and spear. This mode of conveyance is not unique to the gem, and it is found on the contemporary coinage of Aeneia¹⁵⁶, on an Etruscan red-figure vase of the Praxias Group¹⁵⁷, and on late fifth century terracottas¹⁵⁸, after which it does not appear again until Roman times. The representation on the coinage is the nearest to that on the intaglio, although Anchises does not carry anything.

The rescue by Aeneas of both father and sacra was mentioned first by Hellanikos, whose account is related by Dionysios of Halikarnassos¹⁵⁹: ἂ γόμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς κρατίσταις συνωρίσι τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς πατρῶους. Apparently, neither Arktinos nor Stesichoros knew of the saving of the sacra, and the earliest mention of them in the West is in the fourth century at the earliest. In late archaic Greek art, no box of any kind is illustrated. Reasonable caution has been rightly expressed in attributing any special significance to the supposed box with respect to the relationship between Aeneas and the Etruscans¹⁶⁰. The identification of the object in Anchises' hand has always been that it is the cista containing the sacra, and since this interpretation was first voiced, no one has questioned it. Yet, taking a close look at the object, one wonders whether this can really be a box of any kind: Anchises holds on the palm of his hand a long, shallow object composed of two rows of blobs and divided in the middle. These blobs makes one think of embossed decoration and therefore of metal-work. Bearing this

in mind, and taking into account the manner in which Anchises is supporting (rather than carrying or holding) the mysterious object, it is surely the case that the old man has on his hand two phialai, placed one on top of the other¹⁶¹.

The popularity of representations of Eos and Memnon, and of Hypnos and Thanatos with the body of Memnon or Sarpedon, on Attic vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries extends to the West not only on engraved gems, but also on Etruscan mirrors and on one bronze vessel attachment. There are no illustrations of either motif on Etruscan vases. Since the two motifs are connected and there is some cross-fertilization in iconography, they are treated together here. The illustrations of Eos and Memnon on the intaglios, 85 - 89, are uncontroversial, but those of winged figures carrying a corpse, 90 - 95, present problems of correct identification of context. The winged bearers have been named as Hypnos and Thanatos with either Sarpedon or Memnon, as Eos and either Hypnos or Thanatos with Memnon, and even as two female daemons of the Underworld with a corpse. Here, anonymity of all three figures is assumed until argued or proved to belong to a specific context. Any solution of the problem depends very much on the interpretation and examination of the motifs both of Eos with Memnon, and of winged (occasionally wingless) figures carrying a corpse, on Attic and Etruscan monuments. Since no complete list nor thorough investigation of either motif has appeared recently¹⁶², an excursus on the literary and iconographic background is offered here.

The earliest and fullest account of the rôle of Memnon, King of the Aithiopians, in the Trojan War was given by Arktinos in the Aithiopsis, a summary of which appears in the Chrestomathia of Proklos¹⁶³:

Μέρνων δὲ ὁ Ἡοῦς υἱὸς ἔχων ἠφαιστότευκτον
πανοπλίαν παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοηθήσων· καὶ
Θέτις τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέρνονα προλέγει, καὶ
συρβολῆς γενομένης Ἀντίλοχος ὑπὸ Μέρνονος ἀναίρεται,
ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέρνονα κτείνει· καὶ τούτῳ μὲν
Ἡὼς παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη ἀθανασία δίδωσι.

This episode of his death at the hands of Achilles is not found in the Iliad, yet the theme was popular with dramatists of the classical period, and with later authors. Aischylos wrote a trilogy based on the deeds and fate of Memnon, of which a few lines from the Memnon and a mere four words from the Psychostasia survive¹⁶⁴. It is quite possible that the playwright used Arktinos as a source, and, although Proklos' summary does not specifically mention a psychostasia, that one did take place is strongly implied by the fact that Eos knew her son was going to die, because she pleads with Zeus to grant him immortality; further, Proklos states that Thetis τῷ παιδὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέρνονα προλέγει.

Although of course no psychostasia took place in the Iliad for Achilles and Memnon, there was one for Achilles and Hektor (xxii. 208 - 213), and one has been assumed for Sarpedon and Patroklos from the line which states that Hektor knew Zeus had tipped the sacred scales against Sarpedon (xvi.658). This observation of Hektor's is made after Sarpedon has been killed, and no formal weighing has previously taken place. The brief description of the psychostasia for Achilles and Hektor, and the allusion to one for Sarpedon and Patroklos, has led some to suppose that the epic by Arktinos was the primary source for the psychostasia¹⁶⁵. Surely, however, what the evidence does in fact suggest is that in the oral traditions other than epic - which must have existed -

the motif of the psychostasia was commonly known and was 'brought out' in special circumstances (that is, for particular important heroes). The varied occasions of its use both in literature and art would support this view. Moreover, it is not known when Arktinos lived and wrote, and he may neither have predated nor been contemporary with the compilation of the Iliad.

This problem of priority of sources with respect to the psychostasia is not directly relevant here since none of the gems illustrate that motif, but it does affect a later stage in the stories of two of the heroes: the conveying by Hypnos and Thanatos of the bodies of Memnon and Sarpedon, immortality for the one and an honourable burial for the other. According to the iconographic evidence which is thought to illustrate or be inspired by the Aithiopsis, the fate of Memnon's body falls into two parts: Eos removes the body, broken and bleeding from the battlefield at Troy to a safe place where she cleanses and anoints it; Hypnos and Thanatos appear, perhaps guided by Hermes, to convey it to the place where Memnon can enjoy his immortality. This task performed by the winged bearers for Memnon is unique in that he is not in fact a genuine corpse being taken away for burial. The representations of Eos with her son's body imply the success of her plea to Zeus (the vases are too early to reflect influence from Aischylos' trilogy), yet this action of the mother fetching the body from the battlefield was attributed by Proklos not to Eos, but to Thetis¹⁶⁶: *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ἡ Θέτις ἀναρπάσασα τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν λευκὴν νῆσον διακομίζει.*

It seems, therefore, that just as the psychostasia was a transferable motif, so too was that of the grieving mother - in literature at any rate, since late archaic art describes only Eos in this

context¹⁶⁷. Fragments of an Aithiopsis by Sophokles survive, but these are minimal and supply no further details of the story¹⁶⁸. In the later authors, both the psychostasia and the granting of immortality to Memnon is forgotten.

The rescuing of the body of Sarpedon in the Iliad is performed by Apollo who, like Eos, cleanses and anoints the body ready for Hypnos and Thanatos to take it to the place of burial:

βῆ δὲ κατ' Ἰθαίων ὄρεων εἰς φύλοπιν αἰνῆν,
 αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ βελέων Σαρπηδόνα δῖον αἰείρας
 πολλὸν ἀποπρὸ φέρων λούσεν ποταμοῖο ῥοῆσι
 χρίσεν τ' ἄμβροσίῃ, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἴματα ἔσσε.
 πέμπε δέ μιν πομπόισιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι,
 Ὑπνῶ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, οἳ ῥά μιν ὦκα
 κάτθεσαν ἐν Λυκίης εὐρείης πτόνι δήμῳ (Iliad xvii.677-683)

There are no representations of Apollo with Sarpedon in late archaic Greek or Etruscan art, and there are only two certain illustrations of Hypnos and Thanatos with Sarpedon (see below, §20 and §21), both by Euphronios and on neither of which is the Homeric account accurately illustrated. Sarpedon is a relatively unimportant figure in Homer and he seems to have been introduced as a tool to emphasize the heroic deeds of Patroklos.

Löwy¹⁶⁹ conjectured from the iconographic evidence of one late black-figure vase (see below, §14) that the two episodes in the conveyance of Memnon's body were linked by Eos' handing over the body personally to Hypnos and Thanatos; Robert¹⁷⁰ noted that this double action would have suited well the composition of the Aithiopsis. Both scholars and others since have argued that in the detail of Hypnos and Thanatos carrying a corpse, the Aithiopsis again has precedence over the Iliad.

The view taken here is that the motif of Hypnos and Thanatos carrying a body was, like that of the psychostasia and that of the grieving mother lifting the body of her son, a stock type not, however, to be used on any occasion, but on specific and important ones. Epic cannot have been the sole medium of story-telling, and folk-lore must have played some part in the spread of these motifs. It cannot be concluded from the surviving literary evidence that Arktinos had priority over Homer in the detail of these motifs. The literary evidence from the earliest surviving references to the classical playwrights and beyond does, however, show a preference for relating these episodes to Memnon, and a similar picture is presented by the iconographic evidence:

There are nine representations of Eos and Memnon¹⁷¹ in vase-painting, all are Athenian and date from ca 500 - ca 480.

§1 black-figure neck-amphora, once Millingen¹⁷²

HEOM MEMNON

fig.110

§2 black-figure neck-amphora, New York, MMA, 56.171.25¹⁷³; by the Diosphos Painter

fig.111 (and see below, §15, fig.124)

§3 black-figure lekythos, Athens, NM?¹⁷⁴; by the Diosphos Painter

§4 black-figure lekythos, Nauplia¹⁷⁵; by the Emporion Painter

*I have not seen this vase

§5 red-figure cup, frr., Athens, NM, Acr.206a,b¹⁷⁶; "Kreis des Panaitiosmalers" (Langlotz)

. EOS

fig.112

§6 red-figure skyphos, Berlin, West, F2318¹⁷⁷; recalls the Pythokles Painter

figs.113,114

§7 red-figure cup, Paris, Louvre, G115¹⁷⁸; by Douris

HEOS MEMNON

§8 red-figure lekythos, Geneva, Mus.d'Art et d'Hist., 211232¹⁷⁹
figs.115,116

§9 red-figure pelike, Paris, Louvre, G232¹⁸⁰;
by the Syleus Painter

The black-figure representations are related stylistically and form a homogeneous group. On §1 (fig.110), §2 (fig.111) and §3, Eos, wearing some kind of headdress, is in obvious haste, and carries Memnon in a horizontal position, supporting him under the buttocks and thighs, and the head; on §1* her wings are outspread and she looks back as if in fear of pursuit, whilst on §2* and §3 her wings are together and she looks in the direction in which she is going. Memnon is bearded and naked, and shown in profile view with the arms falling straight down; on §2* and §3 he bleeds from wounds in the chest (the drawing of §1* does not indicate any wounds). On §2* there is a warrior on the left, making off in that direction and looking back at the fleeing Eos: he has been identified as possibly Achilles¹⁸¹, but I rather think that he is an anonymous warrior, included either as filling ornamentation or because he is one of Memnon's men: cf the repetition of this figure on the recently excavated lekythos by the same artist, §3, where the two warriors flanking Eos could be interpreted as protecting her and the body. An additional feature on §2* is the bird flying in front of the goddess, the presence of which may be meaningless, although it does bring to mind Ovid's version of the death of Memnon, where the young man is changed into a bird rather than granted immortality¹⁸².

The red-figure vases, §5 - §9, offer a more varied iconography and on some, a different emphasis in the attitude of Eos: the hurrying, frightened goddess becomes the calmly grieving mater dolorosa. Memnon's body is set in a more modern pose, probably under the influence of the Pioneer representations of the related

subject of Hypnos and Thanatos with their burden (see below).

The earliest of the red-figure representations, §5 (fig. 112), is in the tondo of a cup attributed by Langlotz to the "Kreis des Panaitiosmalers"¹⁸³, although the piece is not included in any of Beazley's lists. The larger of the two surviving fragments preserves enough of the centre of the composition to show that Eos was moving to the right and in some haste, since the folds of her dress are at an angle; she was carrying Memnon horizontally with one hand at his left side, the other by his left pectoral¹⁸⁴. Memnon is naked and bleeding from wounds in the chest; the figure is not set profile as on the black-figure representations, but presents a frontal chest and abdomen, and, although insufficient of the legs remains to be certain, it seems likely that he had one leg frontal one leg profile, as on all the other red-figure studies. The left arm hangs down, and the right is brought round in front of the chest parallel with the left, the palm of the hand turned towards the body. The surviving details of the head and hair seem to describe the back of the head, even though this would result in an awkward twist between head and body: contrast the relative positions of head and body on the Douris, §7, where the arms are in the same position but the head faces downwards, and on the Syleus Painter's study, §9, where the head is in the backwards position suggested for §5*, but the arms are swung back over the head to compliment it. The smaller fragment preserves part of Eos' name, ΕΟΣ, part of her left wing, open, and the back of her hair (the wings generally are outspread when the head is turned back).

Douris' famous tondo, §7, was painted some fifteen years later than the Acropolis cup and may be compared with it for the

disposition of Memnon's corpse, especially of the arms and legs, and the hold Eos has on the body. Memnon's right arm is slightly differently orientated and, as observed above, the head faces downwards; he is bearded and naked, and there are gashes in his thighs as well as bleeding wounds in his chest. Eos' wings are together and she leans forward, apparently gazing at her son's torn body as she sets it down. She wears a decorated sakkos.

On §9 the Syleus Painter sets Eos in the old-fashioned hurrying and looking back pose seen on the black-figure vases and on the Acropolis cup. She is an uninspired figure here, moving to the right, with wings open. Memnon is beardless, and wounds are visible in the chest and in the left thigh. His chest and legs are as on §5* and §7; his head hangs back, the right arm swung behind it. The positioning of Eos' supporting left hand, under the armpit, is a little different from that of §5* and §7.

The two remaining studies, §6 (figs.113,114) and §8 (figs.115,116), and quite different from any of the others and from each other. The Berlin skyphos, §6*, is a crudely painted piece which displays the artist's poor grasp of his subject: Eos stoops forward, head down, seizing hold of Memnon in a very clumsy fashion reminiscent of Peleus' attack on Thetis, which suggests that she is setting the body down; her wings fan out in a curious manner. The beardless corpse is almost vertical, the legs dragging and the arms hanging down as on the black-figure representations; his head rests on Eos' left shoulder and no wounds are indicated. The presence of the two subsidiary figures supports the interpretation that Eos is setting the body down rather than picking it up. On the left is Hermes, encouraging Eos with arm gestures, though giving little practical help as she struggles with

her burden. His presence here is not altogether unexpected, especially if one accepts Schadewaldt's view that in the Aithiopsis it was Hermes and not Zeus who held the scales in the psychostasia¹⁸⁵. On the right is a woman, obviously distressed for she hurries forwards, her himation partially covering her head and held up in front of her face: she is surely to be connected with Memnon, and might, therefore, be a girlfriend or wife¹⁸⁶. At any rate, she cannot be Thetis¹⁸⁷, who has no place in this context.

The Geneva lekythos, §8*, carries an even more interesting representation which, if one were to believe all the criticisms levelled at Etruscan artists for their grasp (or lack of it) of Greek myth, any Etruscan vase-painter should be proud of for its apparently confused iconography. The scene is a mixture of elements proper to this motif, and those of the rare representations of Tekmessa hastening to cover up the body of the suicide Ajax¹⁸⁸. On the right is Eos, her legs in profile to the right, her head to the left; she supports the weight of Memnon's body under the left arm, and by the right wrist. Memnon has collapsed, the left leg having buckled under him, the right stretched out in front; he is bearded, and wears cuirass and chitoniskos; in his right hand he holds an empty scabbard (cf Ajax committing suicide: 76, fig.106), and there are no wounds visible; both his arms are outstretched. On the left is another woman, again perhaps a girlfriend or wife, who holds out a piece of cloth with which to cover the body. Her gesture repeats exactly that of Tekmessa on the Bareiss cup, fig.109, and one thinks also of the ἄμβροτα ἵματα with which Apollo covered the body of Sarpedon (Iliad xvii.680). That Memnon kept his armour after his death at the hands of Achilles was, until this lekythos appeared, thought to have been an Etruscan

addition to the story, since the detail was only known on Etruscan gems and mirrors.

There is, therefore, a certain amount of variety in the Attic representations of the motif of Eos and Memnon: the goddess, always winged, may hurry along with the corpse, or, having reached her destination, be setting it down; she may be accompanied by a female related to Memnon and by Hermes. Memnon's body can be disposed in a variety of ways, may be wounded in the chest, abdomen or thighs, or any combination of these, and he may still be in some of his armour; he may be shown as a youth, or with a beard.

The four representations of the motif on Etruscan mirrors offer less variety:

§10 Cleveland, Ohio, MFA, 52.259¹⁸⁹;
fig.117

§11 Berlin, West, Fr 28¹⁹⁰;
fig.118

§12 Copenhagen, NM, Inv.3404¹⁹¹;
fig.119

§13 Carlsruhe, BadMus, no no.¹⁹²;
fig.120

All are of the second quarter of the fifth century, and their close relationship to the Athenian representations can be easily appreciated by comparing the relevant figures. Eos is always winged, wears chiton and himation (over her head like a veil on §11 (fig.118)), and boots (winged on §10 (fig.117)). She hastens in one direction and looks back on §10* and §12 (fig.119), and looks straight ahead on §13 (fig.120); the representation on §11* is a sensitive study in the Dourian tradition. Memnon is always beardless, and wounds are never shown, which is perhaps a little

surprising in an Etruscan context; he wears cuirass, undergarments and greaves on §10*, whilst the helmet has fallen off his head; on §12* he wears cuirass, undergarments and greaves, helmet and shield. He is naked on §13* but for a cloth covering his lower abdomen and thighs, and naked again on §10*, where the folds of Eos' himation are draped over the lower part of his body. On the Karlsruhe mirror, §13, the figures are inscribed *O E S A V* (Eos) and *M Y E ~ D V V* (Memnon).

Of the five representations of the motif on Etruscan gems, 85 - 89, only 85 (S46) and 86 (fig.121) fall within the first quarter of the fifth century. The cornelian from Chiusi, 85, is attributed to the Kyknos Group, and so its close relationship to the Athenian representations is not unexpected. Eos is of the old-fashioned hurrying and looking back type, noted on the black-figure representations and on the Syleus Painter's study, which this intaglio most resembles both in the pose of Eos and of Memnon. On the intaglio, Eos' outspread wings balance the horizontal mass of her son's body.

On the second intaglio of the first quarter of the fifth century, 86 (fig.121), once in the Poniatowski Collection, the subject is completely mismanaged: the figures are awkwardly placed, recalling the clumsy treatment on the Berlin skyphos, §6 (figs.113, 114). The cramped vertical setting of the intaglio has resulted in a wingless Eos, although the rigid folds of her himation suggest closed wings; she moves to the left, looking back, her long hair streaming behind; she was presumably supporting the corpse under the arms, but this is not made clear. Memnon is almost vertical, and looks as if he is walking along with her - his legs are in profile to the left, chest and abdomen are frontal, and

his head is thrown back; his arms, with fingers and thumbs stiff, hang down his sides, and his shield is still strapped to his right arm; he wears greaves. The slight quality of this intaglio reveals itself in the poor composition and the weak style.

The three later studies, 87 - 89, present no iconographic problems. On the cornelian in Paris, 87 (fig.122), Eos walks to the right, her wings outspread, gazing at the body of Memnon, whom she supports under the knees and by the left arm. The body is in profile and is obviously no light weight; the right arm is swung over the head, and the left, with the shield still on it, falls down at his side. The a globolo cornelian, 88, also in Paris, repeats this scheme almost exactly, except that Eos' wings are together and she stoops over more. On the final study, 89, in Naples, which Zazoff for some reason thought was Thanatos and a corpse, perhaps Memnon¹⁹³, Eos moves to the right as on the other two, but she carries her son feet first¹⁹⁴.

Whilst the vases, mirrors and gems with representations of Eos and Memnon offered a small range of type, those of other winged (and wingless) figures carrying a corpse offer a much greater variety, and the context of each individual representation has to be carefully considered before proposing an identification. On Athenian vases there are ten representations, four black-figure and six red-figure:

§14 black-figure cup, Athens, NM, 505¹⁹⁵
the Haimon Group
fig.123

§15 black-figure neck-amphora, New York, MMA, 56.171.25¹⁹⁶
by the Diosphos Painter
fig.124 (and see above, §2, fig.111)

- §16 black-figure lekythos, Frankfurt¹⁹⁷
by the Haimon Painter
- §17 black-figure lekythos, Gela, Mus. Naz.¹⁹⁸
by the Emporion Painter
fig.125
- §18 red-figure cup, London, BM, E12¹⁹⁹
by the Nikosthenes Painter, and the potter Pamphaios
fig.126
- §19 red-figure calyx-krater, Paris, Louvre, G163²⁰⁰
by the Eucharides Painter
- §20 red-figure calyx-krater, New York, MMA, 1972.11.10²⁰¹
by Euphronios, and the potter Euxitheos
- §21 red-figure cup, Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum²⁰²
by Euphronios
- §22 red-figure calyx-krater, Agrigento²⁰³
the Pezzino Group
- §23 red-figure cup fr., Athens, NM, Acr. 350²⁰⁴
by the Stieglitz Painter
fig.127

The red-figure representations date from ca 515 - ca 475, beginning earlier, therefore, than any of the representations of Eos and Memnon; the black-figure vases are all from late in the technique and belong between ca 500 - ca 490.

It was noted above that when Eos is carrying the body of Memnon, wounds in the chest, abdomen, or thighs, are generally indicated: this would be in keeping with any supposed literary inspiration for the motif, since the goddess would have not had time to cleanse and anoint the body. By the time Hypnos and Thanatos appear on the scene, the body should have been spruced up. Similarly in the context of the removal of Sarpedon's body. So far as is known from extant literature, neither Memnon nor Sarpedon is carried off the battlefield by Hypnos and Thanatos.

The black-figure cup in Athens of the Haimon Group, §14 (fig.123), provides the link between the two episodes of Eos

carrying Memnon, and that of Hypnos and Thanatos performing their duties. The scene on the cup is unique: at the centre of the composition two winged men (the one on the right at least is bearded) in chitoniskoi lift a bearded corpse, horizontal and in profile, the arms at the sides. On the far side of the body, and apparently giving some small assistance in the carrying, is a winged woman, who in this context must be Eos, and the corpse, therefore, is that of Memnon. In attendance are, on the left, a man dressed in a chlamys and petasos, and a woman - perhaps, as Robert suggested²⁰⁵, Memnon's brother and wife; on the right and leading the group is Hermes, who also appeared on the Berlin skyphos, §6 (figs.113,114), in the company of a woman associated with Memnon. The reverse of the vase is, apparently, similar, with Eos standing on the nearside of the body. There has been a tendency to place a lot of importance on this rather scruffy and late work with respect to the supposed composition of the Aithiopsis. All that can be concluded safely, in fact, is that the artist who painted this cup conceived of a handing-over: it does not automatically follow that his inspiration was from some literary source.

The second representation, §15 (fig.124), is on the reverse²⁰⁶ of §2*, and shows two armed men (one is bearded) carrying a naked corpse, horizontal and in profile, the arms hanging down as did those of Memnon on the black-figure vases above. Blood runs from wounds in the chest and abdomen, and a winged, armed eidolon flies above. A pair of spears (not necessarily belonging to the bearers) are embedded in the ground and form a cross behind the three-figure group. The condition of the body and the arming of the bearers indicates that the removal is from the battlefield, and the presence of the eidolon that the wounded man has just

breathed his last. If literary precedent is used as the main criterion in seeking the correct interpretation of this scene, then it can represent neither Hypnos and Thanatos with Memnon, nor the same pair with Sarpedon, simply because the corpse they are carrying has not yet been cleansed and anointed, and because the context is still the battlefield. If one excludes these two possible interpretations, there is only one other likely context and that is the rescue of the body of Patroklos by Meriones and Menelaos, which was the suggestion of Milne²⁰⁷. This interpretation certainly fits with the Homeric version of this incident (Iliad xvii.715 ff), which took place in the midst of the fray (nb the crossing of the spears on §15*). The Patroklos episode may be represented on the very fine calyx-krater, §22, attributed to the Pezzino Group, which carries a representation similar to that on the New York neck-amphora, §15*, though it is padded out with more figures: at the centre, two hoplites are lifting a mighty corpse - surely that of a hero - which has been covered with a dark and blood- or mud-stained cloth; the dead youth still wears his greaves, and there is no other armour in evidence; above flies a winged, armed eidolon; three further hoplites assist at the scene, waving their hands and arms. Bearing in mind the Homeric description of the rescue of Patroklos' body, and the close relationship of the Pezzino Group to the Kleophrades Painter, who was the illustrator par excellence of Trojan themes²⁰⁸, it is highly probable that this krater represents the Patroklos episode. The same interpretation could fit the New York vase, §15*, even though it is a shabby illustration by comparison. However, this is the favourable identification only if one takes the view that the Sarpedon and Memnon episodes must be shelved as potential

candidates because they do not conform to the known literary accounts. It is surely most unlikely that every time a vase-painter, or gem-engraver or relief-sculptor, was about to create his work of art, he referred to the appropriate text to check the details and ensure that he did not deviate from the literary description. This caveat should be applied particularly to any discussion of these late black-figure schools which, iconographically, tend to tread their own path and offer many unusual scenes otherwise unevidenced. I think, therefore, that the 'literary' objection may be put aside, and that Sarpedon and Memnon may be restored as possible candidates for the neck-amphora, §15*.

Although the two bearers on §15* are not winged, there is no difficulty in accepting that they are Hypnos and Thanatos, since they appear thus on the unpublished cup in Malibu, §21, by Euphronios²⁰⁹, and are positively identified by inscription. Moore and von Bothmer²¹⁰ interpreted the scene as Hypnos and Thanatos with Sarpedon, on analogy with the two representations by Euphronios, §20 and §21. Their conclusion, however, has been reached by examining the iconography only in the manner in which it relates to the Euphronios vases, and in a vacuum so far as the artist who painted it is concerned. On many of his vases the Diosphos Painter relates the scene on one side to that on the other so that the two representations act as pendants to each other. On the New York vase Eos and Memnon are represented on the obverse, §2*; the scene on the reverse, §15*, of Hypnos and Thanatos with a corpse, should be interpreted in the light of §2*, and therefore, as the gods of Sleep and Death with the body of Memnon.

The Haimon Painter's lekythos in Frankfurt, §16, gives

an ambiguous representation: two winged men in chitoniskoi, are about to lift the damaged and twisted body of a bearded man; on the left and watching, is a draped man: he cannot be Zeus, who would be a possibility if the corpse were that of Sarpedon, and although he may be an anonymous spectator, one is reminded of the attendant male on the cup attributed to the Haimon Group, §14*, where the context was that of Memnon. The three-figure group on its own could equally represent Hypnos and Thanatos with Sarpedon, or with Memnon; the presence of the male figure marginally favours the latter.

On the Emporion Painter's lekythos in Gela, §17 (fig. 125), there is no doubt that the corpse is that of Memnon, for the twin gods Hypnos and Thanatos have been replaced by a pair of negro youths in short tunics²¹¹. The positioning of the body is identical to that on §16; the flesh on the chest and abdomen is graphically ripped. Above the corpse flies a winged youth who, in tidying Memnon's hair, behaves more like an Eros than an eidolon.

The red-figure cup by the Nikosthenes Painter in London, §18 (fig.126), is a well-known work which Beazley interpreted as the winged gods of Sleep and Death conveying the body of Sarpedon. This interpretation was reaffirmed more recently by von Bothmer in the light of the Euphronios krater, §20, from which the Nikosthenes Painter was accused of having cribbed his illustration: "the pictures on the cup were not created by the Nikosthenes Painter, but are his adaptation of what he had learned from this krater by Euphronios"²¹². However true this may be, it does not automatically follow that the Nikosthenes Painter used Euphronios' iconography to represent the same myth, and it is indeed difficult

to match the scenes on the two vases, let alone with events as related in the Iliad, when the subsidiary figures are taken into account. On the left of §18* is a female, identified as Iris by her kerykeion, and here fulfilling the rôle of Hermes as seen on the Berlin skyphos, §6*, and the Athens cup, §14*, both in the Memnon context, and on the Euphronios krater, §20, in the Sarpedon context. Unusually for Iris, she is shown without wings. On the right and in some obvious distress to judge from the loose hair and manner of dress, is another woman, gesticulating; she too is wingless, and by virtue of her attitude should be identified as in some way belonging to the corpse in the centre of the composition who is being carried by two winged bearers. The reason the painter has not given wings to Iris is surely because another set of wings here, in addition to those of the two bearers, would crowd the composition; wings can, therefore, at least be conjectured for the female on the right, who would then be identifiable as Eos. Thetis has no place in this scene - whatever the identity of the corpse.

The central group shows two winged, armed youths, gently lifting a corpse with neatly coiffed hair and beard, and clean of wounds. Compare the position of the body with that of Memnon on the Syleus Painter's pelike, §9, and on the cornelian from the Kyknos Group, 85; it does not compare with the body of Sarpedon on the Euphronios, §20. In isolation, this three-figure group could represent Hypnos and Thanatos with either Sarpedon or Memnon, but the presence and identity of the two women must be taken into consideration: they define the context as that of Memnon.

The Euergides Painter's calyx-krater in the Louvre, §19, illustrates a simple three-figure group, and Hypnos (inscribed,

on the right) and Thanatos, though winged, are naked. Hypnos crouches to lift the head and shoulders of the corpse, and his position may be compared with that of the negro on the right on the Emporion Painter's lekythos, §17*; Thanatos (the figure has been heavily repainted²¹³) adopts the usual stooping position to lift the legs. The corpse is horizontal and in profile view, with the arms and hands folded over the lower abdomen: clearly the second stage of conveyance. Here it is difficult to decide between Memnon and Sarpedon on the evidence of the literary accounts; using the iconographic evidence, however, where the Nikosthenes Painter's cup gives a representation of the winged gods with Memnon, and the Euphronios krater gives a representation of them with Sarpedon, it can be concluded that the Louvre vase describes Memnon since it, like the London cup, shows the body cleansed and ready for the second stage of its journey; the Euphronios krater describes the body as bleeding and dishevelled.

The fragmentary cup from the Acropolis, §23 (fig.127), by the Stieglitz Painter, gives a variant version. The fragment shows part of a male in chitoniskos lifting the legs of a horizontal corpse; the corpse was also dressed in a chitoniskos, and may, therefore, have been wearing a cuirass as well; the position of the first figure presupposes a second bearer. There are too few details to enable identification of the context.

There is no question of the interpretation of the scene on the Euphronios krater, §20, since the artist identified all of the figures by inscription. The long body of the wounded Sarpedon dominates the composition; Hypnos and Thanatos are winged and armed; Hermes, and not Apollo as in Homer, is Master of Ceremonies; on either side are two hoplites, Leodamas and

Hippolytos, who stand quite still, like guardians. In no detail has Euphronios followed the Homeric account.

To summarize, then: of the ten Attic representations of the motif, §14 - §19 represent Hypnos and Thanatos with Memnon, §20 and §21, Hypnos and Thanatos with Sarpedon, whilst the body on §22 is probably that of Patroklos, and the identity of the fragmentary §23 is uncertain. The literary evidence rarely compliments the iconographic, but the greater interest in the fate of Memnon found in literature is also evidenced in Attic vase-painting.

There is only one Etruscan mirror which carries a representation of winged figures conveying a corpse:

§24 once Rome, Market²¹⁴
Mayer-Prokop, pl.56.1,2

The iconography of the mirror, dated to ca 460, is different from the Athenian in a few details, and compares best with the Nikosthenes Painter's cup, §18*, for the disposition and description of the corpse (though beardless here); compare the set of the head and arms, the neatness of the hair and the absence of wounds (though the engraver has been more graphic in the twisting of the right foot). The body is being carried over rocky terrain, which Pfister-Roesgen attributed to Polygnotan influence²¹⁵. On the left and moving to the left, is a youthful winged figure, with long hair, looking back, whilst supporting the corpse (presumably) under the right arm; with the other hand, this figure makes gestures rather than helps bear any weight; the figure is dressed in a himation which leaves the left breast and the arms bare. This figure is not female and therefore Eos, as Mayer-Prokop thought²¹⁶, but quite definitely male, which was Pfister-Roesgen's interpretation. A careful look at the chest and at the musculature

of the left arm - arcs back to back describing triceps and biceps - confirms that it must be male, since there is no suggestion of the fulness of a breast and females on Etruscan mirrors never have the musculature of their arms detailed in this way. The clothing of this bearer, who should because of his dress be identified as Thanatos, and the feeble manner in which he is supporting the body, could be the result of contamination from Attic representations of the Memnon myth such as that on the Athens cup, §14*, and also be a remembrance of Eos' rôle in the carrying of her son's body. The second bearer on the mirror is winged, young, and naked, and lifts the corpse's legs. In view of the prevalence of the Memnon motif on Attic vases, which were the most influential iconographic source for Etruscan engraving in the first half of the fifth century, and the complete lack of certain Etruscan representations of the winged brothers Sleep and Death carrying Sarpedon, the scene on the mirror should be interpreted as the conveyance of the body of Memnon. This suggestion is supported by the possibility that the engraver's clothing of one of the bearers is the result of his subconscious remembering of Eos' part in the story, and that he can have thought of his subject here only as Memnon.

There are five representations of the motif on Etruscan gems, 90 - 95, and all compare very favourably with the representation on the mirror.

The cornelians in New York, 90 (fig.128), and Boston, 91 (S56, fig.58), are both of the first quarter of the fifth century and therefore predate the mirror, §24. The representation on the New York intaglio, 90*, is so similar to that on the mirror that one can reasonably assume a common model, which is most likely to have been on Attic vases.

On the New York gem, 90*, the body is being carried off to the left, the left arm swung over the head, the right dragging along the ground; the winged figure at the front has shoulder-length hair dressed in the 'zazzera' fashion, and wears both a chiton and a himation; compare the gesture of the left hand with that of the corresponding figure on the mirror, §24; the second winged figure, lifting the legs, has similarly long hair, and is naked. The device is set within a hatched border.

The Boston intaglio, 91*, attributed to the London Group, is almost identical to 90*, except that the composition is reversed, and one of the wings of the clothed bearer points in a different direction.

The three fourth century studies, 92 - 95 (figs.129 - 131), more or less repeat the format of the two earlier intaglios. On the London intaglio, 92 (fig.129), both winged deities look in the direction in which they are going and both are dressed in long clothes; the one on the right stands on the nearside of the body which has both its arms flung back over the head. The intaglio in Paris, 93 (fig.130), of which the cornelian in Geneva, 94 (fig.131) is an exact copy of a later date²¹⁷, also shows both deities looking in the direction in which they are going and both dressed in long clothes; as on 90* and 91* one of the corpse's arms lies along his side, and the other drags along the ground.

Zazoff interpreted the New York and Boston gems, 90* and 91*, as "ein männlicher und ein weiblicher Flügeldämon tragen einen Toten, wohl Memnon"²¹⁸, the Paris intaglio, 93*, as "Hypnos und Thanatos bergen den Toten Memnon"²¹⁹, the Geneva study, 94*, as the same as 93*, and the London cornelian, 92*, as "zwei Todesdämonen, Hypnos und Thanatos, bergen den Toten Memnon"²²⁰. Beazley

also thought one of the Boston bearers was female, and cited Löwy's view that it illustrated Eos with Hypnos or Thanatos, and thus a fusion of the two episodes in the conveyance of Memnon's body²²¹. For Beazley and Löwy, it was clearly the clothing of one of the winged figures which led them to the interpretation of that figure as female. On the evidence of the mirror, however, where the clothed figure is certainly male, and in view of the fact that if Eos was intended on the Boston and New York gems, she is remarkably flat-chested²²², I interpret both of the winged bearers on the gems as male, the clothed one being more likely Thanatos than Hypnos. The engravers have not conflated the two episodes in the Memnon myth because they were confused as to the correct identities of the protagonists, which is the implication in the identification of the scenes on 90* and 91* as Eos and either Hypnos or Thanatos with Memnon, but appear to have been influenced by representations of Eos and Memnon and that is the reason why one of the bearers is clothed. The clothing of both of the bearers on the later intaglios, 92* - 94*, is illustrative of the same kind of transferral of minor details from one context to another.

There is no evidence to suggest that the corpse on either the Etruscan mirror or the gems is Sarpedon, and it can be concluded, therefore, that the popularity of the Memnon myth from early epic to classical drama in literature, and among the Athenian vase-painters in Greek art, extended also to the West in the engraving of metal-work and gems.

The large number of intaglios which feature the single male figure whose identity is defined by attributes or by inscription, rarely offer more than a variant on the stock type of the leaning, twisting, or stooping youth. The stance usually assumed is of one leg profile one frontal, with frontal or three-quarter chest; only one stands straight up (the name-piece of the Master of the London Athlete, 215 (S51, fig.51)), and the difficult three-quarter back view, so brilliantly managed by Epimenes, is never attempted. The popularity of the motif, which divides broadly into representations of warriors and of athletes, can be as readily explained by its prevalence on late archaic Greek vases, especially cup tondos, and ^{on} Greek gems, as by the obvious suitability of this type of figure to the oval field of the intaglio. Youths anonymous in the Greek series may assume royal or heroic identities in the Etruscan by the addition of inscriptions. Representations of warriors number among their ranks 'Achilles' on 115, 126, 176, 'Aeneas' on 125, 'Kapaneus' on 128, 'Paris' on 101, 102 (and garbled on 111), and 'Stenule'²²³ on 135. Note the preference for Trojan names, which is continued in scenes of a warrior, departing, on 181, and of the seated, draped youth in the so-called 'Achilles mourning' pose, 190 and 202, though 191 is 'Theseus'. Athletes, on the other hand, contain no Trojans, two Thebans, and some unlikely identities if one were to take them seriously: 'Tydeus' on 213 and 214, 'Tarquinius' on 222, 'Eryx' on 216, 'Peleus' on 226, and, finally, 'Atalanta' on 230.

The motif of the warrior is especially stereotyped and there are few representations of any real quality. Included in

the discussion on warriors are representations of the warrior departing, and of the seated, draped youth; sandal-fasteners are discussed at the end of sub-section ii. The athletes present a much more varied group, and offer some superb studies.

i WARRIORS

This section is divided into representations of archers, of warriors picking up or putting on greaves, of warriors picking up helmets, and of warriors walking or running.

96 - 114 give a range of representations of archers engaged in their various activities, and span a long period of time. The archer was a motif chosen by many Attic red-figure cup-painters to decorate their tondos, and it was also employed on coinage²²⁴. The youth may be stringing his bow or testing an arrow; representations of the bow being tested, which are rare in vase-painting, are quite absent on these intaglios. On Greek gems, the archer is shown kneeling, head and body in profile²²⁵, whilst the Etruscan engravers preferred to set the archer in a crouching position and with chest and abdomen frontal. None of these intaglios repeats the complicated pose of Epimenes' archer²²⁶, nor is the frontal, squatting pose so brilliantly described by the Lewes House Master on the gold ring in Paris, figs.80,81, found elsewhere in this series.

The cornelian in London, 96 (S70, fig.85), related to the Lewes House Group and of the end of the first quarter of the fifth century, is a well executed study: the archer, naked but for his Phrygian tufted cap, is stringing his bow; chest and abdomen are frontal, and he crouches with the right leg in profile to the left, whilst the left thigh is frontal and some of the lower

leg and foot is visible behind (these details are not foreshortened, merely hidden). The youth is small-headed, perhaps because of the addition of the cap, and remarkably small-waisted. Although the engraver has created a balanced composition, this has been achieved at the expense of creating a figure naturally posed: the eye is distracted by the way in which the body has been 'opened out' for display, and becomes occupied in considering the anatomical details before grasping the context of the subject. The Greek intaglios with their profile youths give much more convincing impressions of archers absorbed in their occupation, although this is never so successfully conveyed as on an early cup by Onesimos in Boston²²⁷. When Epimenes chose a different view, the three-quarter rear view - which is the one used by many of the vase-painters - he did not let interest in the design of the composition detract from the subject, and the soft curves and planes of the archer's back swell upwards, leading the eye down through the arms to the hands and so to the central action.

The stiff, manufactured pose of the London archer, 96*, is repeated on 97 (S71, fig.86), which is stylistically related, and probably represents the same subject. Here the youth is bare-headed and has ~~a~~ long, fine hair dressed in a style reminiscent of some of the figures' on the Berlin gem, 1 (fig.91); the disposition of the limbs repeats that of 96*, except that the left arm is drawn to one side. Just beneath the right hand, from which a single incised line emerges, a chip of the intaglio is missing. This line reappears beneath the damaged part of the stone, but as a very thin stroke - almost a scratch. The line has been variously interpreted: Babelon suggested that it was a "baguette" or a "fil-à-plomb"²²⁸, which was repeated in Perrot-

Chipiez²²⁹, where it was observed that any attribute, whether cup, lyre or flower, sufficed to justify a figure in this pose: the author seems to have mistaken this crouching pose for the old 'Knielauf' scheme. A more recent publication makes the odd suggestion that this motif was the prototype for Odysseus on a turtle²³⁰. Returning to the detail of the line, and bearing in mind the distinctive gesture of the youth's left hand, a possible interpretation is that this was meant to be an arrow, but the cutting of the intaglio is unfinished. The youth could not be looking down the shaft of the supposed arrow, and the moment represented would have to be the one prior to that. Alternatively, the finer line beneath the damaged section could be accidental, and the youth may, therefore, have been holding something like an aryballos, in which case he should be thought of as an athlete.

The third study, 98, is perhaps a little earlier in the century since its stylistic derivation is from the London Group. A stocky youth stands holding a bow in his left hand and reaching for an arrow with his right; a chlamys is draped over his arms, and a Phrygian cap is on the ground in front; the quiver is on the ground behind him, although it should of course be worn at the shoulder, since that is where he is reaching for his arrow. The dispersal of attributes noted here is not an uncommon feature on Etruscan gems, and is very often, as here, illogical and suggests the engravers' lack of full sympathy with their subjects.

The remaining studies, 99 - 114, are of the late fifth and fourth centuries. On the white chalcedony, 99, a crouching archer raises his hand to his shoulder for an arrow, though the quiver is on the ground behind him. A damaged cornelian in London, 100, also shows the archer reaching to his shoulder and stooping

at the same time; the position of the quiver is lost in the missing fragment of the intaglio; he wears a chlamys over both arms and carries his bow in the left hand; a helmet is on the ground in front. On 101 the placing of the quiver on the ground is acceptable because the archer, $\zeta 10A \wedge$, leans forwards to select his arrow. The quiver is again in front on 102, where the archer is stringing his composite bow, and it is behind on 109, where the youth in a Phrygian cap is setting an arrow in the bow. Archers discharge their arrows on 110, 112, and 114; on 104 he crouches to shoot, whilst on 105 the arrow is still being tested. The representations which identify by inscription the archer as Paris, 101, 102 and 111, are iconographically indistinguishable from any of the others, but at least here the identification is appropriate to the subject. The hoplite supposedly inscribed 'Alexandros' on 141 (fig.134) is discussed fully at the end of the section.

There are six representations of warriors picking up or putting on their greaves, 115 - 120, a standard figure type extracted from the more detailed arming scenes on vase-paintings. The warrior is profile on 116 - 119, almost frontal on 115*, and sits down to put on his greave on 120.

The finest study is on the cornelian in the Hague, 115 (S72, fig.87), which describes a strikingly beautiful and elegant youth, inscribed $\exists \vee 1 \psi A$ (Achilles); the intaglio has been attributed to the Lewes House Group. The youth presents frontal chest, abdomen, and left leg; the right leg and foot are in three-quarter view; he leans over to his right to pick up a single greave; he wears a shield on his left arm, and the sword is suspended in its scabbard in front. Caylus thought that the youth was admiring the greave before putting it on, and suggested

in the light of the engraver's identification of this figure as Achilles, that the context is the Greek hero arming in order to avenge the death of Patroklos²³¹.

The cornelian in London, 116, is a late work, archaistic rather than archaic, and sets the warrior in profile, less precariously balanced than his Greek equivalent in Cambridge²³²; he is about to clip on the left greave; the shield is shown in profile behind, and it is balanced by the sword in front.

117 is of the fourth century, and the remaining gems, 118 - 120, are all executed in the a globolo style. On 118 and 119 the youth is in profile to the left, and a spear and a shield, respectively, stand behind. On 120, the warrior sits on a rock to put on his greave.

A larger number of intaglios, 121 - 136, describe the warrior picking up his helmet. This is a particularly dull motif of naked youth with shield, set in the standard pose with frontal or three-quarter chest, one leg profile one frontal, stooping to pick up his helmet. 121 (S59), 123, 125 (fig.132), 129 - 131, and 136 all conform to this pattern; a sword is suspended in the background on 123. On 122 (S35, fig.32) the warrior is naked and walks off with his helmet; the profile shield leans against the border behind. 127 carries not a shield but an oil-bottle, which suggests the context of the palaistra and hoplitodromoi. 133 has already picked up his helmet, and is standing nearly upright, the shield on his left arm and the sheathed sword in front of him. The representation in Boston, 134 is similar, and there are some rocks in the foreground. On 135 the warrior wears a breast-plate and chitoniskos, carries a spear and seems to be inspecting his helmet; he is inscribed $\text{Ϝ} \sqrt{\vee} \wedge \ni \tau \varsigma$ (Stenule), a name unique

to this gem²³³. The youth on 125 (fig.132) is labelled ΑΙΝΕΑΣ (Aeneas), and his helmet is, appropriately of the Ionian type with feathers²³⁴; the helmet on 132 is also feathered. The warrior admiringly picking up his helmet on 128 is called ΚΑΡΑΝΕΟΣ (Kapanheus).

Outstanding in this group is the representation on a bleached agate in Boston, 126 (S65, fig.70), which is exceedingly close in style to the Berlin Master. The warrior is inscribed ΕΥΧΛΩΑ (Achilles). The subject is treated in a manner subtly different from the others: a handsome youth adjusts a finely woven cloak on his shoulders as he gazes at the plumed helmet on the ground in front of him; he looks at it with such intent that one suspects it could have some special significance, and so the identification of the youth as 'Achilles' is not altogether inappropriate nor perhaps an arbitrary choice on the part of the engraver. The impression of space created here may be contrasted with the cramped setting of 'Aeneas' on 125*.

It was noted above with reference to 127, where the youth carried an aryballos, that the context may have been the palaistra. It is possible that the motif of the arming warrior may have been inspired by the many representations of hoplitodromoi on late archaic Greek vases²³⁵, as much as by the simple arming scenes. The armed runner, and the Pyrrhic dancer, were certainly known to the Etruscans for they appear on tomb-paintings - the Tomba delle Bighe, of ca 500, for example²³⁶. The origins of the hoplitodromos are disputed, but Philostratos remarks that at Nemea especially, there were games in honour of Tydeus and the others who marched to Thebes²³⁷. There is, however, little iconographic evidence to support the interpretation of the arming

youths on the intaglios as hoplitodromoi, except where this is strongly implied, as on 127.

Kneeling or running, walking or stooping warriors are represented on the majority of the remaining intaglios, 136 - 176, most of which are late fifth century, fourth, or later. Stricken and dying warriors are discussed under Kapaneus and Tydeus in the relevant section on the Theban Cycle of myth. Warriors in the kneeling/running pose are found on 137 (S24, fig.23), 138 (S19, fig.133), 142 and 143 (to be compared with the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes), of the late archaic period, and then on the later studies: 151, 154, 156, 159, 160, 163, 165, 170. The warrior kneels on 174 (where he carries a lamp), and on 175. He stands upright on 139 and 140, both of before the middle of the fifth century, and on the later intaglios: 144, 145, 147, 150, 152, 153, 158, 161, 164, 166, 168, 172, 176. He stands with one foot on a rock on 146, 167, 169, 171. He stoops a little on 149, 157, 162, 173. And on 155 he has one leg in the air as if dancing.

Of all these intaglios only one, a cornelian in Volterra, 141 (fig.134), merits individual attention. The warrior wears helmet, short skirt and greaves; he carries a shield on his left arm and a spear in his right hand. The device is surrounded by a hatched border, and carries the inscription $\Lambda \Sigma \text{AN} \rho \rho \text{OS}$ (Lysanpros), written orthograde. The plume of the helmet and both the warrior's feet interrupt the border.

Zazoff read the inscription as $\Lambda \Sigma \text{AN} \rho \rho \text{OF}$, "Alsanpros - Paris?", but he did not offer much discussion on the inscription or his reading of it. It is most important to note that the letters are Greek, not Etruscan, and in any case, all other known Etruscan versions of the Greek Alexandros (however the first two

syllables are read) do not bear much resemblance to this, since the final three letters are invariably -tre²³⁸. Furthermore, the other Etruscan gems which ostensibly represent the Trojan prince, 101, 102, and 111, always call him 'Paris'. The inscription on the Volterra gem, 141*, is very untidily written: the writing on Etruscan intaglios is generally neat, and fitted in between limbs and attributes; Greek engravers were also careful in their inscriptions on gems. So far as the interpretation of the inscription on the Volterra cornelian is concerned, there is no possibility of the first letter being an alpha: it is very clearly a lambda, and this was the reading of scholars before Zazoff²³⁹. Zazoff's interpretation of the sixth letter as a pi, however, where others have thought a delta, is preferable: the hand which cut this inscription was prone to making angular letters, and would probably have fashioned a delta as an emphatic triangle, perhaps thus, \triangleright . There are two possible readings of the seventh letter, either P , or R : it is in either case a rho (tailed rhos are acceptable). The eighth letter is a clumsily managed omicron. The sloppy final letter is something of a puzzle, and Zazoff seems to have confused with it some of the lines in the hatched border. It consists of just two bold strokes, \int , which could be a slovenly sigma, although this is unlikely since the first sigma in the inscription is made up of four clear strokes. There is, however, no alternative, and the inscription may therefore be read as 'Lysanpros'. Guerrini thought that the name read 'Lysandro', this being the genitive of the name of the engraver²⁴⁰. The same opinion had already been expressed by Welcher, who drew the analogy with the inscriptions on the gems by the Greek Semon Master (he was not of the opinion that the name referred to the

owner of the stone), and Brunn followed this view. Apart from the fact that omicron is the penultimate letter, it is unlikely that such an untidy hand can be attributed to the engraver, whether he was cutting his own name or that of a client's. On Greek gems inscriptions inform us either of the name of the engraver, or of that of the owner, and they do not label the motif, even though that was a popular tradition both on Greek vase-paintings and wall-paintings. On Etruscan gems, the majority of inscriptions refer to the subject, although they can name a deity not represented on the intaglio; there is not one example of an engraver's signature, nor of the name of the owner of a gem. Zazoff did not doubt that the Volterra gem was Etruscan, and so the supposed description of the figure in this way would have looked quite normal to him. The style of the intaglio, however, and the fact that the back is not carved as a scarab, and probably was not cut down from one since it is a simple convex surface and there was no plinth decoration, suggests that this is a Greek work. The rendering of the figure lacks the clear definition of contour and the detailing of the anatomical structures usual on Etruscan gems of the first quarter of the fifth century. A closer look at the intaglio reveals a few oddities in the design: note how both the warrior's feet rest on the very edge of the intaglio, in front of the hatched border: this is an ^{un}usual feature, though toes, helmets and heads, and spears may interrupt borders from time to time. Observe also how precariously perched is the helmet: helmets are of course often worn back off the face, but the bowl generally fits neatly over the crown, unless the warrior is falling and the helmet tumbling from his head. On this intaglio there is no apparent reason why the helmet should be tilted so far back in

this manner, as if it is falling off. Observe the roughness of the cutting throughout, especially around the neck, chest and arms.

If, then, one follows Zazoff in thinking the gem Etruscan, it is unique for its Greek inscription, albeit untidily written; if on the other hand, one accepts that it is of Greek workmanship, the inscription is unique in describing the motif. It is of course possible that the inscription was added some time after the execution of the intaglio and therefore by a hand other than that of the artist; or, considering the oddities in the design of the motif as well as in the inscription, it could be that the gem is not of the early fifth century at all, but of a much later date, and maybe even a forgery. A Greek gem attributed to the Group of the Beazley Europa²⁴¹, and in Berlin, is a very strong candidate as a model for the Volterra stone, if it is a fake.

There are six representations of a warrior departing, 180 - 185. This two-figure group is derived iconographically from the same source as the multi-figure representations describing some of the Theban heroes, 1* - 3*, and ultimately, therefore, from Attic representations of the Mission to Achilles. A more abbreviated extract is used for draped youths in the 'mourning Achilles' pose (see below).

Both 180 (S48, fig.49) and 181 (S37, fig.35) are of the first quarter of the fifth century, the former attributed to the Group of London 651, the latter to the Kyknos Master.

The lost cornelian, 180*, shows on the right a seated youth dressed in a stippled himation, his head slightly bowed and his right hand resting on a walking-stick; in front of him and walking away, is a young hoplite, dressed in helmet, leather

cuirass and undergarments, greaves and chlamys; he carries a shield and spear, and looks back at the seated figure.

The representation on 181* is similar, with one youth seated and dressed in a himation, and the other described as a hoplite and moving away from him, casting a glance back. There are, however, several differences in details: the seated youth is on a folding stool, and wears a petasos and a plain himation; he holds a spear, and looks up with a cheerful expression at his departing companion; the warrior wears only a helmet, and carries a shield and a spear. This intaglio served as the model for 183, which Zazoff attributed to his "später Strenger Stil", but which is in fact very much later²⁴².

The Kyknos Master inscribed the figures on 181* as $\exists \geq \vee \tau \vee$ (Odysseus) and $\exists \vee \exists \downarrow A$ (Achilles), the seated and standing youths, respectively. If these inscriptions are taken literally, they make a nonsense of any account of Achilles' and Odysseus' meetings, and appear to have scrambled the iconographic information supplied by representations of the Mission to Achilles on Attic vases. This intaglio, thus labelled, would suggest that Achilles, finally persuaded into taking up arms again, is cheerfully taking his leave of Odysseus. If these identifications are transferred to 180* the melancholic pose and expression of the seated 'Odysseus' are totally inexplicable in the terms of the myth as it is known. The artist of 181* has, however, recognized the context of the scene as Achillean, even though the inscriptions have been carelessly applied - it is inconceivable that this engraver was aware of some variant literary version of the Mission and it is that which he is describing. An alternative reading is that the engraver is raising to the status of an heroic context

something which is a stock motif.

The cornelian in the private collection, 184, of the second half of the fifth century, is not the same as the two above: the youth on the right is seated on a rock (it looks like an amphora), clasping his right knee, and with a himation draped around his hips and thighs; he wears a rather vexed expression. Standing in front of him in the stock one leg frontal one leg profile position, is another youth, dressed in a leather cuirass and chitoniskos, carrying a shield on his right arm and holding up a Chalcidian helmet as if to inspect it. Neither figure is inscribed, and Boardman suggested an attractive interpretation which may well be right: "we might rather think of the pensive Achilles with Patroklos armed to go out and fight for the last time"²⁴³.

The departure scene on 185 (fig.18), by the Master of the Leningrad Jason, is quite different from the others and may not represent a warrior taking his leave. On the right and moving to the right is a warrior in helmet and chlamys, and with shield and spear; he looks back at a woman, dressed in chiton and himation, who seems to be following him. Zazoff suggested "wahrscheinlich Paris und Helena"²⁴⁴, but, if a specific mythological context is to be understood at all, Menelaos and Helen is a more appropriate identification.

The motif of the partially draped youth, seated, and often with head bowed and leaning on a walking-stick, is most familiarly associated with the 'mourning' or 'brooding' Achilles. The motif is found on a fair number of intaglios, 190 - 211, of varying dates; the majority are anonymous (just as the type may be on Attic vases²⁴⁵), whilst two are inscribed 'Achilles' and

one 'Theseus'. The motif describes a youth sitting on a stool (folding or straight-legged) and stooping forwards with one hand to his head, and the other either holding a walking-stick or grasping the back of the stool; the walking-stick may lean against the stool or be omitted altogether.

The two representations which carry the inscription 'Achilles', 190 and 202, differ widely in date and in detail. The London cornelian, 190, is of the first quarter of the fifth century, and shows a youth seated on a diphros, head in hand, and with a stippled garment drawn around his hips; the youth is not completely muffled as is sometimes the case in Greek vase scenes of the Mission to Achilles, and there is no walking-stick. The inscription **AVLE** is cut in the same thick style as the figure, and is the most abbreviated version of the hero's name. The second **A↓LE** is on the later fifth century cornelian in Hannover, 202, where the youth stoops over not in dejection or gloom but in order to inspect the rather fine Corinthian helmet which he holds in his left hand. He sits on a short length of drapery which covers his thighs. This is the stock motif, then, enlivened with an extra narrative element by the addition of the helmet.

The scheme of 190 is closely followed on the Leningrad cornelian, 191 (S38, fig.36), by the Kyknos Master, where the youth is inscribed **ΞΖΞΘ** (Theseus). 192 is similar, except that the stool has folding legs, and a sword leans against the figure's right knee: this is the scheme repeated on 196, a cornelian in Geneva. Mlle. Vollenweider suggested that the Geneva youth might be Theseus, the sword being an allusion to his father Aegeus whose death the youth would here be mourning, or that it might represent Achilles "retiré de la bataille"²⁴⁶. The Theseus

interpretation seems reasonable and might be acceptable were it not for the fact that this is a stock motif which easily adapts to any of several different contexts: a sword also appears at the side of Amphiaraos on a fourth century Etruscan mirror²⁴⁷. Zazoff thought the gem described Achilles, and he placed it in his "Strenger Stil"²⁴⁸, whilst Mlle. Vollenweider thought it "plutôt archaïsante qu'archaïque"²⁴⁹, which is the view accepted here.

The walking-stick is included on 193 - 195, 198, 199, 201, 208, 211, on all of which except 199 where the stick is propped against the border, the youth leans on it for support. Mlle. Vollenweider thought that the walking-stick on 193 (S75, fig.90), attributed to the Master of the Tarquinia Athlete, was a bow, and the figure therefore Philoktetes²⁵⁰. The lower left hand corner of the original stone is missing, but it is quite certain that the object in the youth's hand is a walking-stick with a zig-zag shaft, because the position of his fingers shows that he is using it as a support and not just holding it. To support the identification of Philoktetes, Mlle. Vollenweider drew attention to the individualization of the features: "un nez grand et brusqué, un cou long et maigre penché en avant. Tous ces détails peuvent servir à exprimer la douleur du héros et à l'identifier comme Philoctète plutôt qu'Achille". The scrawny face and the pinched features are in fact typical of the Master of the Tarquinia Athlete²⁵¹, and this would in any case be unprecedented iconography for Philoktetes, who does not commonly appear on gems until very much later.

The himation generally covers the youth from the hips to the knees, and may be stippled. On 196 he is completely

muffled (cf the same figure on the Paris cornelian, 3 (S42, figs. 43,92), by the Kyknos Master). 210 has a spear, 206 a sword and shield and is naked; on 203 the figure is bearded, holds a bow and arrow, and sits with head bowed; 204 also has a bow, and sits with head bowed. It would be difficult to argue that either of the last two was Achilles, and it is not easy to suggest a suitable alternative, although 203 could well be Philoktetes. 197 differs from all these because the youth is dressed as a hoplite, in leather cuirass, greaves, chlamys, and carries two spears; he clasps the left knee with his right hand, and one thinks of the pose of Odysseus on scenes of the Mission to Achilles on Attic vases; the sword stands behind the hoplite, and the helmet is at his side.

The first intaglios to be considered in this section, 212 - 215, are of an athlete scraping his leg with a strigil. There are numerous representations of this motif on Greek vases and gems of the late archaic period, and the youths usually adopt a profile stance, or stand with one leg frontal, one profile; on Greek gems it is invariably a profile leg that is being scraped. This is the scheme of the earliest Etruscan representation, 212, a cornelian in Malibu which is stylistically associated with the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes²⁵³, and may be dated ca 500. The plump little figure is an unlikely athlete, lacking the beauty and vigour of the Berlin Master's name-piece, 213 (S63, fig.66), but possessing an endearing warmth and charm. The abdominal muscles, set beneath a frontal chest, are shifted to one side, not foreshortened. The 'Tydeus' on 213* adopts the preferred Etruscan stance of one leg frontal one profile, and presenting an almost frontal torso, leans over to scrape the straight frontal leg - this is an unnatural pose, difficult to assume, and suggests that the engraver was not, as Winckelmann supposed²⁵⁴, aiming at a true imitation of nature: the Berlin Master was much more concerned with creating a dynamic composition²⁵⁵. The staccato effect of the Berlin athlete may be contrasted with a fine Greek version of the motif in Oxford²⁵⁶, where the athlete, scraping the flexed leg, is a remarkable model of flowing movement and suppleness - his action is effortless and not contrived. The cornelian in Paris, 214 (fig.67), is a copy of the Berlin intaglio, 213*.

The splendid chalcedony in the British Museum, 215 (S51,

fig.51), which is the name-piece of the Master of the London Athlete, shows the athlete standing up straight, holding the strigil in one hand, and looking about him as if he has just finished his ablutions and is about to make his way home. Strung from a hook on his left is his diskos, balanced on the other side by a columbus alabastron on a stand²⁵⁷.

The cornelian in Copenhagen, Zazoff no.371, is Greek, and may be compared with an almost identical study in a private collection²⁵⁸, and can be attributed to the Sphinx and Youth Group II.

There are only a small number of athletes with diskoi, 216 - 219, and none illustrates the difficult poses attempted by vase-painters, sculptors or indeed die-engravers. The medium itself is partially responsible for the mediocrity of the representations since a diskos cannot be satisfactorily shown in profile in intaglio, whilst on vases it can, and, further, the movements of the diskosbolos cannot be adapted easily into the oval field. The engravers, therefore, reduce the subject to the standard bending youth, and again there are precedents on Greek gems. The type is best illustrated by a chalcedony intaglio once on the Basel Market, fig.136, a fine piece stylistically, related to the works associated with Epimenes and the Semon Master, and yet iconographically dull²⁵⁹. The youth, presenting frontal chest and abdomen, one leg profile one frontal, leans to his right to pick up a diskos, which is shown frontal. Another Greek gem, in the Dry Style²⁶⁰, illustrates how incompetently the motif can be rendered: observe the jerky movements and the badly managed anatomical structures; the composition has been so inadequately managed by the engraver that it has been necessary to introduce a grossly oversized strigil

behind in order to achieve some kind of balance.

The earliest of the Etruscan representations, 216 (figs. 137,138), is on a broken cornelian in Paris and is of the first quarter of the fifth century. The style of the intaglio is pleasant if slight, and the athlete repeats the pose of the Basel diskobolos, fig.136, with some small differences in the distribution of limbs and the addition of some filling ornamentation. This athlete, labelled $\lambda \psi \nu \delta \epsilon$ (Eryx)²⁶¹, has shorter arms than the Basel youth and holds his diskos closer to the leg and nearer the knee, so that the whole balance of the composition looks different: observe how, on the Basel intaglio, the youth's head is directly above the diskos and compliments it exactly in the composition, whereas on the Paris gem, the head is further to the left - too far over, so that the engraver has had to introduce a suspended aryballos and, beneath, a pair of halteres as space-fillers to balance the composition.

The cursory study in New York, 217, of the second quarter of the fifth century, shows the diskobolos in the pose of the Berlin athlete, 213 (fig.66). I have not seen either 218 or 219.

None of these representations shows the actual throw, since the athlete always holds the diskos at the top edge and not along the underside resting it on the forearm, as he would have to were he about to make a throw. There are illustrations on Attic vases of athletes picking up diskoi in this way²⁶².

There are four representations of athletes jumping or holding halteres: 220 - 223. The subject is not found on Greek gems but was commonly illustrated on late archaic Attic red-figure vases. None of the intaglios date before the middle of the fifth century, although the cornelian in London, 222, is a difficult

piece to date with any confidence because of its cursory workmanship: the roundness of the body and limbs seems to anticipate the a globolo style, but this may be misleading and it is not impossible that the gem belongs in the first quarter of the fifth century. The athlete walks to the left with a halter in each hand, and looks back²⁶³; his hair is represented as a smooth cap over his head (he is not wearing a petasos, as Walters suggested²⁶⁴). Many figures on Athenian vases carry the weights in this way, sometimes holding both weights in one hand. Like the youth on 216*, this athlete has also been given an elevated identity: ΤΑΡΚΙΝΙΟΣ (Tarquinius). It is hard believe that the artist intended a representation of the famous king.

The jumper in Paris, 220, of the second half of the fifth century, is a little more interesting because he is shown in mid-air, and behind him on the ground are three slanting lines, which are thought to mark previous competitors' efforts²⁶⁵. Gardiner described this athlete as "on the point of alighting, the hands.... still to the front, and he appears likely to land on all fours. The artist indeed appears to have sacrificed truthfulness to the desire of filling the space at his disposal"²⁶⁶.

The fourth century gems, 221 and 223, show, respectively, the athlete picking up the halteres, and walking along holding them.

The remaining studies of athletes cannot be classified into particular groups.

The name-piece of the Lewes House Master, 224 (S67, figs.77 - 79), is the most outstanding study in this section and is iconographically unique. Beazley described the youth as "an athlete pouring sand on his thigh. He kneels on a heap of sand, with left thigh frontal, left leg from knee to ankle foreshortened

away, and left foot in three-quarter profile.."²⁶⁷. The hair is short and pelleted - the engravers' convention for negroid hair, though this slim, fine-featured youth is no Ethiopian. The grains of sand or powder²⁶⁸ are also represented by pellets. A special room, the konisterion, was set aside in the palaistra to which the wrestlers, already oiled, would go and cover their bodies with sand, which was kept in baskets; they apparently pelted each other with this abrasive which compensated for the effects of the oil in that they would be able to grip each other more easily; the same sand also helped them to remove the grease more efficiently at the end (Lucian, Anach.2). A fine-grained variety was preferred, and this was expensive because it had to be imported. Sand-baskets are often seen on late archaic red-figure vase-paintings, and the thoroughly Greek choice of scene in the Boston intaglio is not surprising bearing in mind the pedigree of the hand which cut it²⁶⁹. The Boston athlete, however, seems rather too lightly built to be a wrestler, and it is more likely that he is pampering his limbs with one of the finer powders for hygienic purposes.

The tiny chalcedony in London, 225, is in a summary style of the late sixth/early fifth century and looks more Greek than Etruscan. The athlete is a lumpy and ill-proportioned creature, striding to the left with a javelin in one hand and an aryballos hanging from the other arm. The cornelian in Berlin, Zazoff no.367, is Greek not Etruscan and has already been attributed to the Greek Dry Style²⁷⁰.

The agate, 226 (S73, fig.88), attributed to the Master of the Tarquinia Athlete, has a splendid study of a youth stooping forwards and shaking oil out of a columbus alabastron²⁷¹ onto the palm of his hand; squatting at his side is a small negro boy,

holding a sponge-bag, and looking up at his master: there is obviously some rapport between them, and one can imagine them chatting about the day's sport. The athlete has been inscribed ΠΥ ΠΙ (Peleus), and again I do not think that any significance should be attached to this identification. The negro has been compared with a similar squatting figure, asleep with aryballos, on the back of a pseudoscarab attributed to the Kyknos Master, 7 (S40, fig.40), but although the subject is similar, there are no stylistic links. Negroes appeared on sixth century Attic vases and became better known in the fifth century; they were not that familiar in Sicily and South Italy until the fourth century, and the Etruscans seem to have taken little notice of them, although they must have been familiar with the swarthier types through their Carthaginian connections.²⁷² In antiquity there was no stigma attached to colour, and there are far fewer negro slaves than whites attending youths at the palaistra on Attic vases. The crouching figure, however, was thought undignified with reference to particular categories: satyrs and slaves, comics and grotesques; the type might also be employed for the wounded figure, which was in no way intended to look undignified²⁷³ (cf the Sosias Painter's study of Patroklos²⁷⁴). By the time the Tarquinia gem was cut, the Greeks had been long familiar with the negro and had achieved great skill in describing his distinctive facial features, whilst Etruscan artists had expressed no such observation of the type: this detail here and the fine quality of the gem might suggest that the Master of the Tarquinia Athlete was himself Greek.

The figure seated on a rock on 227, a cornelian of the fourth century, is identified as an athlete because he holds an aryballos and a strigil, though his pose is that of the 'Herakles

resting' type. The athlete on 228, the style of which is strongly influenced by the a globolo, stretches over for the columbus alabastron at his feet, and carries the pick (for disturbing the sand) on his left shoulder. The youth with two javelins on 226, of the late fifth century, is accompanied by a dog; behind is his strigil. On 229, which Zazoff placed in his "Übergangsstil", the youth is hammering the handle of the pick; there is a strigil behind and an aryballos in front.

There is only representation of a female in an athletic context: on 230 (fig.139) the material and whereabouts of which are not known. A boyish-looking figure is inscribed ΑΤΛΑΝΤΑ (Atalanta), and she is busying herself with her toilet. It is an attractive study set on an unusual exergue which calls to mind that on the Berlin 'Theban' intaglio, 1 (fig.91), and that on a study of Achilles being carried by Ajax on a fine cornelian in Leningrad, 62 (S50, fig.100), attributed to the Group of London 651. Note here too the inclusion of athletic impedimenta as filling ornamentation.

There are two representations of youths fastening sandals which may be included here since they illustrate the single male figure and since a similar representation on an Etruscan mirror of the third quarter of the fifth century²⁷⁵ is placed in an athletic context. The banded agate in London, 178 (fig.135)²⁷⁶, of the first quarter of the fifth century, shows a youth standing to the left, with frontal chest and roughly three-quarter abdomen, and profile legs, leaning very slightly forwards to fasten the thong of the sandal on his right foot; the other foot is apparently bare; he supports himself on a knotted walking-stick. The second

example, 179 (S39, fig.37), attributed to the Kyknos Master, is very similar to 178*: a youth is shown standing to the left in exactly the same view as on the London intaglio, fastening a sandal onto his right foot; beneath this foot is a second sandal (he is not resting his foot "auf einen Felsen", as in Zazoff²⁷⁷); he supports himself on a walking-stick with a zig-zag shaft. The Kyknos Master has clumsily inscribed this figure $\text{Α} \lambda \text{ } / \text{O}$ (Theseus), an identification which Zazoff took literally and applied to the first representation also. Although this is a plausible interpretation describing Theseus after he has recovered the tokens hidden by his father Aegeus²⁷⁸, the figure is still a stock type, given some important identity simply by the addition of an inscription.

The paucity of Heraklean scenes on Etruscan gems of the first quarter of the fifth century is remarkable in view of the popularity of the hero on Greek vases and architectural sculpture of the late archaic period. The wealth of intaglios with representations of the Dorian hero do not begin properly until the late fifth century, continuing through the fourth and into the third centuries; this pattern is repeated on mirrors and bronzes (usually small - attachments for vessels, candelabra etc). The types and significance of the motifs change with time, and can be divided into two categories on a chronological basis. First, the heroic representations, which describe Herakles in the context of his labours, and illustrate, therefore, his human aspect; these are iconographically derived for the mostpart from late archaic Attic vase-paintings, and they belong within the first half of the fifth century, mainly before ca 475. Secondly, the representations of the late fifth century and beyond, which concentrate on Herakles' religious aspect - the hero on a par with the Olympian deities and usually engaged in some cult activity, the significance of which is not always easy to determine. In the Etruscan world there was greater emphasis on Herakles as a not insignificant god rather than as a hero. These two categories of Herakles as hero and Herakles as god are not mutually exclusive, and some of the motifs which belong to the first group owe nothing to Greek iconography and show the hero in a cult context more commonly evidenced in the later group. Similarly, in the later group, the eternally popular Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion, for example, is met and this can only be considered as a straight-

forward myth without any religious or cult overtones. The association with Greek iconography in the later group is often tenuous, or non-existent. The Etruscans were not of course the first to worship Herakles as a god: the sixth century Athenians had already afforded him that honour²⁷⁹. In the West, however, Herakles' personality and his relationships with deities develop a flavour and significance of their own, in many respects unrelated to the Greek view of the hero although ultimately it was derived from that. And, further, whilst the Etruscan Herakles obviously leads into the Roman Hercules, the transmission is not smooth: he stands somewhat isolated between the Greek and the Roman identities, having evolved from the blending process of Greek, Phoenician and Italian elements, and all the different threads that went into their make-up. In the absence of any Etruscan documents to help clarify his rôle and precise significance, some of his exploits remain a mystery and already by ca 500, he appears on gems in contexts which cannot be entirely successfully explained in the light of Greek myth, and it is misguided to attempt to force interpretations according to the documentation of largely Athenian iconography and of Greek literature. The whole subject is further complicated by the fact that there was not even a unified Etruscan view of Herakles in his cult capacity. He appears to have had several functions, the most important of which, and found in the later group, are in connection with water: he may sail on a raft made buoyant with amphorae, or fill an amphora at a lion-head spout, or strike at a rock to make water flow. Although these cult gems are outside the scope of this study, their iconography is summarized in the relevant sections if the motif has already occurred in the early group. This iconographic analysis is arranged in a roughly alphabetical order

according to context, and the first time a motif appears, it is underlined.

There are only three representations, 231 - 233, of Herakles alone on intaglios of the late archaic period. The first of these, 231, is a tiny cornelian in the Thorwaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, which stylistically stands between the Master of the Leningrad Jason and the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes. Herakles runs to the left, looking back, the lion's pelt fanning out behind (its head is not shown); the club is in his raised right hand, and he holds the bow in the left. The hero is, therefore, in the 'battling' position - the aggressive pose favoured in the sixth century Greco-Phoenician studios. The detail of the bow may have been borrowed from Apollo in the context of the struggle for the tripod (see below), although it is of course also a legitimate Heraklean attribute. The intaglio in Paris, 232 (S25, fig.24), belonging to the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes, shows a similarly hostile figure, naked here, with club and bow, in the old kneeling/running scheme. The type is repeated on 233, where he does not look back: the same motif is found on coinage²⁸⁰. The later gems listed in Zazoff²⁸¹ describe a 'self-sufficient' Herakles in the running position, standing profile or frontal, and with varying combinations of his usual attributes.

Herakles meets the river-god Acheloos on two intaglios, 234 and 235, which should be dated, respectively, to the end of the fifth century at the earliest, and in the first half of the fourth century. This subject was very common on late archaic Etruscan bronzes, especially on attachments for vessels, and the

complete dearth of representations on contemporary intaglios may be due to the fact that the two-figure group of Herakles and Acheloos is not a suitable composition for the oval field of the gem. On 234 Herakles approaches his quarry from the side, pressing into his back with one knee, whilst seizing both his horns, as if attempting to twist the head right round; Acheloos, with a bull's body and a frontal bearded male head, has sunk onto his knees. The two-horned type of river-god was probably inspired by Etruscan antefixes of from ca 540 - ca 490, which showed a frontal head with a pair of horns rather than just one; similarly on Etruscan bronze helmet attachments, where the Acheloos head may have served an apotropaic function. On 235 Herakles fights Acheloos as if he were the lion, and there is a lion-head spout in front, which logically should not be there. Isler dated this intaglio to the early fifth century, where stylistically it clearly cannot belong^{281bis}. This high dating was followed by Schwarz, who was of the opinion that the odd iconography is due to the fact that "the artist (had) lost concern for the original meaning of the myth"²⁸²! This is an unnecessary supposition since, as Furtwängler pointed out²⁸³, this engraver is simply lacking in compositional inspiration: he uses the same format for Herakles and the Boar, 298, and, properly, for Herakles and the Lion, 288. It was all the engraver could - or was prepared to - illustrate. The lion-head spout is an intruder from representations of Herakles filling an amphora with spring water, and is a further indication that the artist was little concerned either with accuracy in detail or with relevancy of attribute.

None of the gems which show a figure lying on the back of a man-headed bull are here considered to represent Herakles and Acheloos²⁸⁴.

The motif of Herakles and Antaios occurs only once, on 236, a late fifth century gem in Florence.

One of the few motifs exclusive to the early group of representations of Herakles is his encounter with Apollo in the Struggle for the Tripod: it is illustrated by 237 - 240.

The earliest example, 237 (S18, fig.13), belongs back in the late sixth century and is cut in a black, white and grey banded agate in a style related to the Master of the Boston Dionysos. On the left is Herakles, naked but for the lionskin which is worn over his head and like a cape, carrying the club obliquely in his right hand and grasping one of the legs of the tripod with the other; he walks to the left and looks back at Apollo with penetrating stare. The archer-god is dressed in an oddly arranged chlamys and is without his bow; he moves after Herakles with evident haste and grasps the same leg of the tripod as does the hero. The engraver has successfully distinguished the different speeds of movement of the protagonists. In front is ^asplendid arching serpent, which Beazley suggested might be Python and the setting therefore Delphi²⁸⁵. Serpents, however, appear not infrequently on these gems, very often as the familiar of Athena or Herakles, and their exact significance cannot always be surmised.

Many representations of this motif survive on Attic sixth century vases and on relief sculpture, both from mainland Greece and from Sicily, but there is only one Etruscan black-figure vase with the subject²⁸⁶. According to von Bothmer's analysis of the iconography of the motif²⁸⁷, the scheme on the Boston intaglio, 237*, is not the most primitive type where the protagonists stand on either side of a hefty-looking tripod which is set firmly in

the ground²⁸⁸, but a later version, since Herakles has already picked up the tripod and is walking^{off} with it, Apollo in pursuit.

The iconography of 238 (fig.140) offers a more advanced version, which, in the pose and dress of Herakles, is derived from the Pioneer treatment of the subject, according to von Bothmer²⁸⁹. In displaying one leg frontal and one profile, and in his nakedness, Herakles does illustrate influence from that source on 238*, but there the similarity with Athenian iconography ceases, for in other details the engraver has jumbled the raw materials of the motif. Herakles may stand his ground in the manner popularized by the Pioneers, but the arm holding the club is relaxed and not at all threatening: one reason for this is that the longitudinal setting of the motif on the intaglio has cramped the two figures. The tripod, handleless and legless, rests on Herakles' right and Apollo's left shoulder. Apollo, dressed in a short cloak with the free ends hanging from his upper arms, does not give chase, but moves off to the right (both legs are profile) and looks back at Herakles, as if he is the one being pursued! In spite of these iconographic illogicalities, however, it is an effective composition, derived from the chalice principle employed on red-figure vases, especially in cup tondos, and here reasonably describes the tug-of-war aspect of the motif. Attention is concentrated on the heads and^{on} the bowl of the tripod.

The cornelian in Oxford, 239, is also of the first quarter of the fifth century. The composition is reversed, with Herakles on the right and Apollo on the left. The hero stands naked with one leg frontal one profile and chest and abdomen frontal, and leans to his left as if he is pulling away; he looks back at Apollo as he seizes one of the tripod legs in the crook of his right arm;

the club, pointing downwards, is in his right hand, and he holds a diminutive bow in his left. Apollo stands on the left, head and legs in profile towards Herakles, wearing his customary cloak and with his hair dressed in the krobylos fashion; he does not carry his bow, and he grasps one tripod leg with his left hand. Between them is an object of uncertain identification, though it can hardly be a thymiaterion (Zazoff)²⁹⁰; it is described in the Museum catalogue as "what appears to be a four-spoked wheel on a pole, with pendants at each side"²⁹¹. It may simply be a floral²⁹², oddly represented, although its presence is perhaps too intrusive to be an inconsequential space-filler.

Herakles appears on his own in the Delphic context on the contemporary cornelian, 240, and yet his isolation in this manner does not look odd since some red-figure vase-painters did divide the motif, placing Herakles on one side of the pot and the archer-god on the other²⁹³. The style of the intaglio is interesting for its individuality - but it is rather alienated from the major stylistic groups identified in this thesis. It is executed in a bold, lumpy style, and the overall effect is of a muscle-bound hero darting briskly off, which well suits the context. Maaskant-Kleibrink related the style of this gem to that of a charming study of another Heraklean adventure on an intaglio in Leningrad, 254 (fig.146), which cannot be said to be "remarkably identical"²⁹⁴. The style of the Hermitage stone is quite distinct²⁹⁵, and should not be attributed to the same hand.

On 240 Herakles adopts the familiar pose with chest and abdomen frontal, legs in profile to the left and head facing in the opposite direction; he raises the club in his left hand, and the bowl of the tripod, resting on his left arm, is held securely

in his right hand; the lionskin (its head is not indicated) swings out behind, an effective dramatic device suggestive of swift movement. In the field on the left is a four-spoked star with a central dot. The star appears again in this context on a roughly cut intaglio in the British Museum²⁹⁶, where, as well as carrying club and tripod, he is, rather surprisingly, accompanied by Kerberos; in view of the fact that Herakles walks and faces in the same direction, which would be inappropriate in a Delphic context, and that he has Hades' hound on a lead, the evidence seems to suggest that the engraver intended the subject primarily as Kerberos and unthinkingly added the tripod as an attribute of the hero. An unconfused representation of Herakles and the Stag, 241 (fig.141), on a cornelian in Oxford of the middle of the fifth century, retains a late archaic format and owes much to these representations of the hero in the Delphic context. The other studies of Herakles and the Stag are in the a globolo style²⁹⁷.

The companionship of Athena, who appears frequently with her protégé on Etruscan mirrors of the fifth century, is rarely enjoyed on the gems. The vertical setting of those motifs where she might be expected to be present (for example, Herakles filling an amphora at a lion-head spout) may be partly responsible for this, since two figures standing thus side by side are not easily accommodated on a gem. The female led by the arm on 242 (S23), attributed to the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes, and on 243 (fig. 142), of the first quarter of the fifth century, cannot be Athena and is more likely to be a wife, even though the club on 242 and the club and bow on 243* do not favour a friendly context. On 244 - 247 Herakles is in the company of a female who need not be

Athena (there is possibly an aegis on 247), and the figure on 245 may not even be female (Beazley thought of Eurystheus²⁹⁸). 247 may still be of the fifth century, whilst 244 - 246 are of the fourth century.

Herakles meets up with Atlas on the fourth century gems, 248 - 250.

Although Etruscan engravers never illustrate Herakles fighting Nessos in the presence of Deianeira - a multi-figure composition found on late archaic Greek gems, and a format therefore which one might have expected to have found favour with the early studios in the West - the hero is shown carrying his wife on his shoulders on the superb sardonyx which is the name-piece of the Master of the Florence Herakles and Deianeira, 251 (S60, fig.63). It is one of the finest intaglios in this series.

The engraving shows a naked youth to the right in the kneeling-running position; he is beardless, and displays three-quarter chest and abdomen, profile head and legs; he supports on his right shoulder a young woman, dressed in chiton and himation, who steadies herself with her right hand on his right shoulder, whilst her left arm is outstretched; from the left lower arm a bow hangs, and she carries a club in her hand. The bow and club hint that the youth is Herakles, and this identification is confirmed when a closer look at the 'naked' youth reveals the pelt and tail of the lionskin, at his right side and just beneath his left thigh, respectively. The inscription $\vee \Lambda \rho \vee \tau$ (Aphrodite) runs retrograde at the top on either side of the woman's head.

The interpretation of the subject as Herakles and

Deianeira is not the only one possible, nor is it the only one which has been suggested, and it does require some justification. Zazoff described the intaglio as "Aeneas auf seiner Schulter eine Töchter tragend. Diese hält in der Hand eine große Kette"²⁹⁹. This curious interpretation, for which some vague literary evidence is provided, was no doubt partly influenced by his attribution of the intaglio to the hand that cut the representation of Aeneas and Anchises, 84 (S45, figs.45,46), which is here attributed to the Kyknos Group. Zazoff rightly discounts the inscription as referring to the woman although, it could, were one to accept his identification of the scene, be a reference to the Trojan's divine mother. Zazoff noticed neither the bow nor the lionskin, and interpreted the club as "eine große Kette"; these attributes must identify the youth as Herakles and cancel out Aeneas as even a remote possibility.

There are three occasions on which Herakles could have carried a woman on his shoulders: first, after the breaking of Acheloos' horn, he may have transported Deianeira in this way; secondly, Deianeira may have enjoyed a similar ride a little while later, when Herakles had to rescue her from the grip of Nessos, whom he subsequently slew; and finally, when he freed Hesione, Laomedon's daughter, who had been chained as a sacrifice to appease the ketos sent by Poseidon to ravage the Trojan shores³⁰⁰, he may have carried her to safety in this manner. The least likely occasion is the last one, since it was with a harpe or dagger of some sort that Herakles tackled the ketos on Attic and South Italian vases, and such a weapon is not in evidence here. The club is never employed in that context. When Herakles challenges Acheloos it is not with weapons, and he breaks off the horn with

his bare hands; quiver, bow and club are, however, usually in the vicinity. The centaur Nessos is killed either by Herakles' sword (the most popular cause on Attic black-figure vases), or by blows from the club, or by being shot with arrows; the hero usually wears the lionskin. In Sophokles' Trachiniai (555ff), Nessos lays hands on Deianeira whilst he is carrying her across the river on his back and Herakles has gone on ahead; on being seized, the lady shrieks for help, and the hero turns round to shoot the centaur. On that occasion Deianeira would have had need of transport to the other side of the river, and could be expected to have carried Herakles' bow and club for him. It is not possible to decide whether the Acheloos or the Nessos episode preceded the moment shown on the intaglio, though I prefer the latter; in either case, the lady must be Deianeira.

Herakles battles with a giant on two gems, 252 and 253, and possibly on 254 also. The Gigantomachy was a popular subject in late archaic Etruscan art, which had its own bloody version not evidenced in Greek iconography³⁰¹.

The striped agate in New York, 252 (fig.143), of the early fifth century, was interpreted both by Zazoff and by Richter as Herakles and Kyknos, whilst Furtwängler thought of Herakles and "ein gefallenen Gegner (wohl Kyknos)"³⁰². The intaglio shows a naked Herakles armed with his club, trampling a warrior, armourless except for a shield, and raising above his head a tri-partite rock; the wounded figure sinks to his knees, and turns his head away from the hero. The London cornelian, 253 (figs.144,145), is a finer study stylistically but it is still of the first quarter of the fifth century and uses the same basic format as 252*.

Herakles is in a more commanding position and carries the bow as well as the club with which he is thrashing his opponent; this warrior is armed with shield and sword, and he too holds a rock (probably tri-partite, there is a chip missing from the stone at this crucial point). Zazoff thought that 253* also represented Herakles and Kyknos.

On the several score Athenian vases with representations of Herakles and Kyknos, there is only example which shows Ares' son using a stone (it is too small to qualify as a rock) as a weapon³⁰³; a stone is not found on the only Etruscan vase of the subject³⁰⁴. It is likely that the unique occasion of Kyknos' carrying a rock on the Attic vase owes its divergence from the norm to the influence of illustrations of gigantomachies, cent-auromachies, or even of Theseus fighting the Minotaur, rather than arguing for the existence of a lesser known iconographic tradition in which Kyknos hurls stones at Herakles rather than using his spear, which is the regular weapon. The tri-partite rock is the type most familiarly associated with Etruscan giants³⁰⁵. So far as the attitude of Herakles is concerned on 252* and 253*, it would suit either the context of the gigantomachy or of the fight with Kyknos, though it would be unusual to find him clubbing Kyknos³⁰⁶. Schefold has already remarked on the similarity between representations of Herakles and Ares' son and of Herakles fighting in the gigantomachy³⁰⁷. The inclusion of a rock as an offensive weapon and the fact that Herakles clubs his opponent suggests that 252* and 253* should be interpreted in the context of the gigantomachy.

A cornelian in Leningrad, 254 (fig.146), may also illustrate Herakles fighting a giant. A beardless, naked Herakles, with club raised in the right hand, seizes a small winged creature

with twin serpent tails for legs, by the forelock, rather as he does Geras on Athenian vases. This semi-monster is bereft of weapons and looks defenceless, raising its arms in self-protection or as an appeal to its attacker. Furtwängler thought that the creature may be a giant³⁰⁸, and this seems the most plausible interpretation in spite of its small size. The snaky legs do not terminate in serpent protomai as is usual on Etruscan giants of mixed form³⁰⁹, and there are two fin-like projections on either side where the tails join the trunk. It is perhaps unlikely that the creature is a winged river-god, who might be expected to be emerging from the water (cf 354). The early date of the intaglio in the first quarter of the fifth century favours the interpretation of the gigantomachy.

A possible Geras or Nereus is Herakles' aging opponent on the famous pseudoscarab in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which is the name-piece of the Master of the Boston Dionysos, 255 (S6, fig.8). Beazley's description is the most detailed and may be quoted here³¹⁰:

The subject is one of Herakles' adventures. The hero moves quickly to the right: opposite him is a smaller man with knees and body bent, and right hand raised, open and in profile. Herakles' right hand grasps this person's left: the left arm of Herakles is extended, with the forearm concealed behind the other's body. Behind Herakles, stands Athena, holding her spear in her left hand, and raising her right with the index finger extended upwards and the other fingers closed: behind the other man, a woman, whose right hand is raised, with the fingers spread out, holding a flower composed of a bud between two tendrils, and whose left arm is bent at the elbow with the hand open, in profile and thumb upwards.

As Beazley pointed out in his discussion of the iconography of the intaglio, the context of the Heraklean scene rests solely on the identification of the old man. It does not seem to be an amicable encounter, though the gesture of the old man is similar

to one used in greeting: if the man is Nereus³¹¹, then the woman behind him ought to be Doris, his wife, yet she is curiously unperturbed by the old man's predicament. The attractive aspect of the Geras interpretation is that on Attic vases of the subject³¹² Herakles may confront him head on, and rough handle him; this would be a sedate, refined-looking Geras, however, for the vase-painters at least show him naked and grotesque (there are no representations of the motif on either Etruscan or South Italian vases). Athena attends at neither the Nereus nor the Geras episodes, and Hera is similarly absent. If this is Geras, then it is the earliest study extant. Whichever interpretation one prefers to follow, the representation on the Boston intaglio illustrates the iconographic individuality of this fine engraver. There is only other possible representation of the Geras myth, on the a globolo cornelian in London, 257, which I have not seen: apparently Herakles threatens a little man with his bow and club. Herakles meets Triton on the tiny cornelian in the British Museum, 256 (S26, fig.25), attributed to the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes. The scheme of the struggle is not that found on any other rendering of the subject³¹³, for Herakles attacks the sea-deity with his club after seizing him by the throat; there is a strong impression that this encounter takes place in the water.

Herakles does not appear with Hermes until the first quarter of the fourth century, on 261. The messenger of the gods often accompanies him on Etruscan mirrors of the fourth and third centuries, frequently in cult contexts (usually to do with water). The old man on 258 is difficult to identify, and he may be Eurystheus; Herakles leans on his club without threatening intent, and seems to be stressing some verbal point by gesture. On an unfinished gem

in New York, 259, of at least the late fifth century, Herakles stands with an anonymous male. I have not seen 260, which Zazoff described as "Herakles und ein Mann einander feindlich gegenüberstehend"³¹⁴.

There are nine representations of Herakles with a horse, which may be one of Diomedes' horses: 262 - 270³¹⁵.

The eighth labour demanded of Herakles was to fetch the Horses of Diomedes, fine beasts fed on human flesh, which Eurystheus wanted for his own chariot team. The hero manages this labour in his usual efficient and intelligent manner: to distract the beasts whilst he loosens their bronze chains, he feeds to them the stable-boy (according to Pindar³¹⁶), Abderos (according to Apollodoros³¹⁷) or Diomedes himself (according to Diodoros Siculus³¹⁸). This detail of the feeding of human flesh, which one might have expected the Etruscans to have made much of (cf the wrenching out of giants' limbs in the Gigantomachy³¹⁹) is not found on any of the possible representations of the subject on gems, though it does occur on a couple of the Attic vases of this rare motif. The gems which place Herakles in a horsy context do not specifically identify the animal as one of Diomedes': the animal does not look especially wild and there is no evidence of a dismembered corpse. On Attic vases, the hero wields the club and attempts to seize the reins, and the horses look either frisky or obviously tamed; Herakles usually carries the bow and lionskin as well. The horses are on one occasion winged and violently rearing. There are no representations of the motif on Etruscan vases, and there are only two on bronzes, both of the first half of the fifth century³²⁰.

The Boston cornelian, 262 (S17, fig.12), related to the

Master of the Boston Dionysos, does not match in iconography any of the vase representations: the hero, club in hand and with the lionskin worn like a cape, is not in a threatening attitude and the horse is guided easily by the reins; Herakles' bow and quiver are suspended above. The only indication of action is that the horse is galloping. The cornelian in London, 263 (figs.147,148), which is not much later in date³²¹, shows a similar scheme and the beast is cantering at some speed - a detail emphasized by the dog running between the horse's legs; in response to this burst of action, the hero shakes the club menacingly, though surely not with any intention of bludgeoning the animal³²². Compare with this the bronze statuette in the British Museum³²³. A fourth century gem in Geneva³²⁴ shows a figure in an Ionian helmet, with a shield and in a long dress, leading a restless horse by the reins: this figure has been identified as Athena, which could be right, although she is not otherwise associated with horses. Zazoff places 264 and 265 in his "später Strenger Stil", and presumably, therefore late fifth century: I am not familiar with either of these, though the plain plinth and the dot border to the intaglio on 264 suggests a late archaic date; Zazoff described the horses on 264 as winged. The representation on 266, of the fourth century, is a peculiar study which bears little relation to any of the others: a bearded man, identified as Herakles by the club between his legs, with his hair tied in a pony-tail, supports with both hands against the border of the intaglio a tiny horse, its legs drawn up; the horse looks more like a statue than animate, and it is hard to believe that this is one of Diomedes' mares. One of the a globolo studies, 267, uses a similar format but with two animals: the man, however, may not be Herakles and the creatures

not horses. The obscure rendering on 268 may owe something to the same tradition. I have not seen 269 or 270.

Of the ten representations of Herakles and the Hydra which are listed in Zazoff's catalogue, there are few which can be unreservedly identified as this motif. There is an almost inextricable confusion between this myth and that of Kadmos slaying the serpent that guarded the stream Dirce (or Areia) at the prospective site of Thebes³²⁵. None of the intaglios date before the middle of the fifth century, although there is one late archaic Greek representation³²⁶. In deciding between the Kadmean and the Heraklean episodes chronology should be of some assistance, since it seems reasonable to expect the Hydra episode to be closer to the late archaic period at the time of the greatest influence from Athenian vases, and the Kadmos myth not before the later fifth century, when it suddenly appears on South Italian vases, the stimulus possibly theatrical. In addition to certainly mythological contexts of a youth and a serpent, there are, even on Attic vases of the late archaic period, representations of a youth killing a snake where the specific context cannot be identified³²⁷. This should be borne in mind when examining the iconography of the intaglios.

So far as the Heraklean episode is concerned, Herakles should, strictly speaking, lunge at the Hydra with a harpe or sword, seizing hold of one of the heads (numbering anything from two to nine), preliminary to its decapitation; exceptionally he fights it with bow and arrows, or with his club; he usually wears the lionskin. On a Tyrrhenian vase and on an Ionian (?) one, he tackles a single-headed Hydra³²⁸; the Tyrrhenian vase gives the

earliest representation of the one-headed Hydra.

In his encounter with the 'dragon' that guarded the stream, Kadmos is represented in a variety of attitudes. He is usually dressed as a traveller, with petasos or pilos, and a chlamys which is often wrapped around his left arm - a not uncommon detail in scenes of youths protecting themselves from serpents and monsters; he may carry a shield and attack with a sword, or throw rocks. Frequently he carries, or has just dropped a vessel. The serpent appears amid rocks and flowery shubbery, sometimes very decoratively described by the vase-painters. According to Pherekydes, Kadmos used the sword against the serpent, whilst in Hellanikos and Euripides, he is armed with spears³²⁹. On the fourth century gems which certainly represent the Kadmos myth, the many elements of the motif appear in varying combinations, and rarely are all included.

Of the gems listed in Zazoff as representations of Herakles and the Hydra³³⁰, there are only two which illustrate a creature with more than one head: 273, which is a very late gem, and shows the Hydra with four heads, and Zazoff no.298, a Roman Etruscanizing gem, where the number of heads is indeterminate. One would expect the scene as found on Greek vases and architectural sculpture to be necessarily reduced on the intaglios because of lack of space - there will be no Iolaos helping slice off heads or cauterize stumps, and there will be no crab. Every one of the representations in Zazoff's catalogue is different and since no common pattern therefore emerges, each intaglio has to be considered on its individual iconographic merits.

The wildly leaping and prancing youth on the cornelian in London, 274 (fig.149), should be Herakles since he wields a

club in his attack of a single-bodied, single-headed serpent; beneath his legs is a tri-partite rock, borrowed either from representations of gigantomachies, or influenced by scenes of Kadmos who may attack his serpent with rocks. The London intaglio is an odd piece not only iconographically but also stylistically, and Walter's suspicion that it may not be genuine³³¹ could be right, even though the beetle looks authentic. The style does not compare with any other intaglio of the fifth century, and, even if given a date in the fourth century, still does not look quite right.

A large damaged cornelian in Paris, 275 (fig.150), of Zazoff's "Freier Stil", offers a youth much of whose head is lost, dressed in a chlamys and holding a short dagger (not a harpe) in his right hand; his other hand rests on a louterion (?), and his attitude may be described as nonchalant; springing from the border on the left are two snake protomai. One letter, E, of an inscription remains: Zazoff rather optimistically completed this as ΗΕΡΚΛΕ (Herakles), in spite of the fact that there is not enough room for more than four letters in the space available. It seems logical to assume that the youth has used the dagger on the snakes, but there is nothing Heraklean in his dress and there are no other elements in the composition to suggest this identification. Kadmos would hardly be a more convincing interpretation, and so the context of this subject must remain undecided.

The fourth century banded agate in the Villa Giulia, Zazoff no.114, has another curious representation: a youth, naked but for a cloak wrapped around his left arm, makes a gesture towards an enigmatically constructed object which is a hybrid of serpent and shrub: rising out of the ground is a thick stem which twists into one circular loop and then divides into several scrawny

The attractive cornelian once in the Nott Collection, Zazoff no.640 (fig.152), may be of the third quarter of the fifth century. A long-haired youth, with shield and sword, attacks a serpentiform creature which seems to have more than one body and head. Thus armed, the youth is unlikely to be Herakles, and Kadmos is a preferable identification because he may protect himself against the serpent with a shield; consider also how the extreme youth of the figure would be unsuitable for Herakles. The form of the serpent here could have been inspired by representations of the Hydra (or a distant memory of it), or have become confused in the florals and bushes which are common on vase representations of the Kadmos episode. Kadmos again, then, rather than Herakles.

The naked youth running at some speed on 274, with a serpent entwined around his arm and brandishing in his free hand a club, is very probably Herakles, but the serpent need not be the Hydra: compare the representation on a late archaic Greek gem in Leningrad³³³.

Herakles fetching Kerberos held little attraction for engravers and is found on only five intaglios, 278 - 282, of which only 278 (fig.153) falls within the first half of the fifth century. The figure of Herakles is sufficiently primitive-looking to pass for a date of ca 500, but the Kerberos he leads alongside him shows incipient a globolo, which suggests a date near the middle of the century (cf Herakles and the Stag in Oxford, 241 (fig.141)). The back of 278 is still finely detailed and recalls the scarabs of earlier in the century. Although Herakles had no need to fight Hades' hound, on the later gems, 279 - 282, which

are either "Übergangstil" or a globolo, he does attack Kerberos, or at least experiences some difficulty in maintaining control.

Herakles and the Kerkopes occurs only once, on an a globolo, 283.

Herakles fights Kyknos on the splendid burnt cornelian in the British Museum, 284 (S36, figs.33,34). This is the only representation of the motif in this series, excepting the replica in Paris, 285, which is very much later than "Strenger Stil"³³⁴. The protagonists on the London gem are labelled $\exists \checkmark \times \square \exists \square$ (Herakles) and $K \checkmark K \checkmark E$ (Kyknos), and the iconography is inspired not only by Attic vase-paintings of this myth specifically, but also of Herakles fighting a giant (see above), and of any other representation, anonymous or mythological, which involves the closing moments of a duel. No one individual Attic vase can have served as model for this intaglio.

On 284* Herakles sweeps into the attack from the left, wielding the club in his right hand and holding a small bow in his left; the lionskin is draped over his upper arms like a chlamys, the head swinging behind him on the right. Kyknos, on the right, has lost his balance and falls backwards, crouching on one leg and stretching the other out in front of him; he wears helmet and shield and is without weapons; note how the engraver has managed to show expression in the injured Kyknos' face. The arrangement of one figure striding and one collapsing is effective narrative, and is a scheme which suits especially well the exterior of a cup: on the intaglio it results in too great a concentration of figural mass on the right side of the composition. The Kyknos Master was

aware of this short-coming, and attempted to redress the balance by spreading out the letters in Herakles' name behind on the left. It is nevertheless a fine study cut with precision and care.

On the majority of Athenian vases with representations of this motif, Herakles attacks Ares' son with sword or spear, and infrequently (on less than a dozen occasions) with the club; exceptionally, he uses bow and arrows³³⁵. He usually wears the lionskin, and may further protect himself with a shield. The carrying of the bow and the use of the club on the London intaglio, 284*, therefore, are unusual features. These two attributes are, however, the ones he uses when confronted by Ares (rather than Kyknos) on the only Etruscan black-figure version of the myth³³⁶. This similarity between the two Etruscan versions is more likely to be accidental, than to be hard evidence for an alternative account which was the preferred one in the Etruscan sphere.

There are no representations of Herakles and the Lion before the end of the fifth century, when the motif becomes quite popular, perhaps as a result of its use as a coin type in South Italy. The intaglios on 286 - 297 conform generally to the schemes found on late archaic Attic vases³³⁷.

The enigmatic voyage of Herakles on the raft³³⁸ is found solely on engraved gems and mirrors of the fifth and fourth centuries and is geographically peculiar to South Italy and Etruria. It is one of the few cult motifs to make its appearance in the early group of Heraklean subjects. The fact that it is exclusive to mirrors and gems - personal items - and avoided on vases and sculpture (which always tend to concentrate on his

labours in any case) suggests the possible importance of the motif to the purchaser, reflecting his wishes and interests³³⁹, and perhaps hinting at the magic significance of these items³⁴⁰. Certainly the motif is likely to have been bespoke and it may have had some funerary significance on these products, "die dem Toten besonders lieb waren oder er ein ganz bestimmtes Anliegen verband"³⁴¹. The motif describes Herakles the hero/god, naked, reclining on a wooden raft to which from three to six amphorae are strapped; this vessel often has a sail, one end of which Herakles may grasp; he always carries the club. The vast majority of the representations are fourth century, except the first two, 299 and 300, which are both of the first quarter of the fifth century.

The Boston cornelian 299 (fig.154) shows Herakles grasping bow, arrows, and one end of the sail, as he reclines on his left side on a cushion, just as if he were attending a symposion. (On the mirrors he sometimes uses his lionskin as a sail³⁴²). The raft is made of thin board to which are attached six amphorae; it bobs over choppy waters. Herakles' right leg is in profile, the left is hidden beneath the thigh.

The Copenhagen intaglio, 300 (fig.155), is about contemporary with 299* and is, as Beazley observed³⁴³, inferior in style and in precision of execution. The composition is reversed. Herakles again holds one end of the sail and his club; the bow is set in the field behind, and there also are the additional details of crescent, disc and star. Both his legs are profile, a pose which looks uncomfortable. The raft is supported by six amphorae, but the waves so graphically described on 299* are here dispensed with.

The later studies³⁴⁴ do not differ significantly from these two, though the sail or bow may be omitted, there may be fewer amphorae, and his place may be taken by a satyr.

This unusual raft of amphorae adopted by the hero as a means of transport has been likened to a vessel found in a Nilotic context, the **δοτράνικα πυρθρεία** (Strabo, XVII.1.4), and the 'keleks' of the ancient Assyrians, neither of which can with any certainty be said to have served as the precise model for the Etruscan version. Interpretations of the purpose of the raft and Herakles' association with it have varied. To Furtwängler (AG III.198) it was the vehicle employed for transporting the sacred spring waters; Herakles is indeed associated with springs and sacred waters, but there is no evidence to suggest that he ever actually had to transport it anywhere, and it seems a curious thing to have him do. Gerhard (G-K, V, 51ff) placed the motif in the context of the drunken Herakles, and described the vessels as full of wine - a suggestion which it is hard to take seriously: interpretational difficulties apart, one wonders how a raft could possibly have floated if it had full vessels underneath. Clearly some journey is being undertaken, perhaps after a labour since the hero looks as if he is resting. Zwierlein-Diehl³⁴⁵ thought that there must have been some mythological context behind this journey, and suggested that he was on his way back from the visit to the Garden of the Hesperides, where, to refresh himself, he had drunk from an earthly spring; Zwierlein-Diehl then follows Furtwängler in supposing the amphorae full of spring water which Herakles had taken with him to last him the trip. The most plausible view is that of Stiglitz³⁴⁶, who expands on Furtwängler's interpretation of Herakles as a "Segenbringer", and his explanation is

also accepted by Pfiffig³⁴⁷ and Zazoff³⁴⁸. Stiglitz suggests that the representations should be understood in the light of the influence of mystery cults, and that they illustrate a voyage to the Underworld: that Herakles on the raft "ist eine Variante des Jenseitsreise, älteres Gedanken- und Glaubensgut, bei dem der Einfluß der Mysterienkulte wirksam war."

Another cult motif and relating to Herakles' connexions with water is that of the hero filling an amphora at a lion-head spout, or, much less frequently, running along with amphorae. The subject is found in one form or another on 302 - 335. The motif was as popular as well as being iconographically more varied on Etruscan mirrors of the fifth and fourth centuries - the same chronological and artistic distribution, therefore, as representations of Herakles on the raft. The origin of the motif is difficult to pinpoint, and it seems to have evolved in the South Italian and Etruscan spheres. No particular myth is being illustrated and the reference must be to sacred springs and to Herakles in that cult capacity³⁴⁹. It is nowhere exactly paralleled on vases, though Herakles appears with pithoi on two Attic vases where he looks as if he is about to take a bath³⁵⁰. In Mansuelli's view the hero is either preparing for his bath or for the contest with Lepreos³⁵¹. On the representations on Etruscan mirrors, Athena, Hermes and Iolaos accompany him in varying combinations (Athena when he is filling an amphora at a lion-head spout, and either or both of the other two when he places his foot on an upturned jar which spews water.) Smallness of field excludes company on the intaglios, where the subject is always given a vertical setting.

302 and 304 are both of the first quarter of the fifth century; 305 is pre mid - fifth century, and 306 - 335 are of the very late fifth century and beyond.

The earliest example 302 (fig.156) is stylistically derived from the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes, and shows Herakles standing with one leg frontal one profile and with frontal torso, holding an amphora at a lion-head spout set in a summary outcrop of rock; in his left hand he holds a spear, and he is inscribed ΗΕΔ<ΛΕ(Herakles). Whilst the spear and stick on 318 could have been used to strike the amphora lying on the ground and gushing water, the spear can have served no such purpose here. It is found again on 303, which is a late replica of 302 and not of the "später Strenger Stil"³⁵², and also on 309, a cornelian of ca 400. On the cornelian in Oxford, 329, of the fourth century, he raises one foot on a rock and appears to be striking an upturned vase with two sticks.

The other early fifth century intaglio, 304 (fig.157), reverses the composition of 302* and instead of a spear Herakles holds the club loosely, gripping one of the amphora handles with his free hand. The spout is as angular as on 302* and the rocky surround is given greater emphasis. Running vertically between Herakles and the fountain is the Greek inscription 'αἰόνα', an encouragement to the water^{to} flow; the letters do not look as if they have been cut by the artist - the lines are fine and scratchy, and not in keeping with the full style of the figure.

The banded agate in Boston, 305 (S74, fig.89), attributed to the Master of the Tarquinia Athlete, is late in the first quarter of the fifth century, and shows the naked hero, inscribed ΗΕΔ<ΛΕ(Herakles), stooping in profile to the right, holding

the amphora under the spout with one hand and making a gesture of encouragement with the other; bow and quiver are in the field behind.

The format of 302* and 304* is employed on 306 - 308, which all show him wearing the lionskin, a detail he is without on 309, 310, 316, 325 (this last, ^{is} an odd study - he puts his hand under the jet of water), 326 and 327, though the figure is otherwise similar. On 317 he walks along with the lionskin, carrying his club as well as an amphora, and in the field behind is his bow. On 335 he holds a sword, and on 328 he stands at the spout with his foot raised on a low rock; he may be doing the same on 327 (the lower half of the intaglio is missing). Just as Herakles' place on the amphora raft was taken by satyrs, so here too³⁵³.

Two gems carry representations of Herakles' being crowned, 337, of the last quarter of the fifth century, and 338, of the fourth century. On the former Nike (?)³⁵⁴ crowns the hero, who holds the club in his right hand and whose lion-skin is just visible behind his left shoulder; the stars in the background may indicate a heavenly setting and therefore Olympos. Both the style and the scarab of this gem are odd. 338 is similar in format but has Eros doing the job.

Herakles sitting on the pyre on 339 is another fourth century study. The graphic description of the flames licking up the side of the pyre, illustrated in the representation in the exergue of a third century Etruscan mirror³⁵⁵, are not included here.

The brooding melancholic pose of Herakles resting on 340 - 351, all of the late fifth century and beyond, recalls that

of the so-called 'mourning Achilles' and is the one used to describe many a gloomy hero or heroine from the early fifth century onwards. On 352 and 353 he throws boulders into the Strymon, and threatens a river-deity (?) on 354; on 355 he shakes the contents of a sack onto a ship. Herakles' apotheosis is illustrated on the a globolo cornelian, 356, and ^{he} stands at an altar on 357. He helps himself to Pholos' wine on 358 and 359 (which Zazoff described as Herakles "neben einem großen Pithos stehend, darin Eurystheus?³⁵⁶"). The cornelian in Berlin, Zazoff no, 118³⁵⁷, of a youth with one foot raised on a rock, leaning over an altar and busying himself with some object in his hands was thought by Zazoff perhaps to represent Herakles sacrificing, whilst Zwierlien-Diehl³⁵⁸ interpreted it as Herakles leaning over "ein Luterion auf hohem Fuß und wingt einen Schwamm aus"! It is a representation of extispicy³⁵⁹.

X GODS, GODDESSES and RELATED FIGURES

i The OLYMPIAN DEITIES

This section deals with representations of the deities Athena and Zeus, Artemis, Dionysos and Hermes, as single-figure studies in no specified contexts.

The dearth of studies of Olympian deities in the Etruscan series of engraved gems has already been remarked upon by Furtwängler, who suggested as a possible reason the fact that the Etruscans did not use their gems as talismans and the motifs on them were purely decorative³⁶⁰. Although Zazoff was in general agreement with this view, he thought that Athena may have had some special significance as "die Spenderin von Kraft und Sieg"³⁶¹. This would be a tenable view if there existed a continuous series of representations of Athena, such as there are of Herakles in the late fifth and fourth centuries, whereas the surviving evidence of representations of the goddess date mainly to the late sixth and early fifth centuries - at the time, therefore, when the most important source of influence and major iconographic impetus came from Attic vases on which Athena was very popularly represented. There are only a handful of late archaic Greek gems of Athena³⁶².

Athena is the deity most commonly found on the intaglios, with twenty known representations, 360 - 379, all but four of which date before the end of the first quarter of the fifth century. Zazoff divided the motif into four categories, which are retained here:

A Athena with spear and aegis, walking and looking in the same direction

360 - 362 belong here. Further to the details specified in the definition of the category, 361 shows Athena helmeted and there is a plant in the field.

B Athena with spear, shield and helmet, walking and looking in the same direction

This group comprises numbers 363 (S20, fig.22), attributed to the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes, 364 (S21), also of that late archaic Group, 365 - 367 (S9, fig.15), 368 - 370. On 367* she does not wear a helmet, although the smooth surface of the hair over her crown does give the impression of one. All are late archaic except 369, which belongs to Zazoff's "Übergangstil", and 370 (which I have not seen), of Zazoff's "spätetruskischer a globolo-ähnlicher Stil".

C Athena promachos, with aegis, helmet and shield, and the spear raised, walking and looking in the same direction

371 - 373 belong here; all are late archaic. I have not seen 373.

D Athena with spear, walking in one direction and looking in the other; some of the figures are winged

This group comprises numbers 374 (fig.158), and 375 - 378, but it is by no means a coherent classification: it takes in all that is left outside groups A - C. On 374*³⁶³ Athena is winged, wears an aegis and carries a spear. On 375 she has aegis, helmet and spear, and there is a serpent behind as well as two uncertain objects in the field (snake protomai according to Zazoff³⁶⁴). On 376 she has aegis, shield and spear, and there is a serpent in the field, whilst on 377 she has aegis and spear only. She is winged on 378 and carries only the spear. The unpublished Athena in Newcastle, 379 (S27), attributed to the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes, was not known to Zazoff and stands outside even group D:

Athena wears an aegis and helmet, is winged and carries a spear; she stands with one leg frontal one profile and with frontal torso; her head is turned to the right.

Closely related to these representations of Athena is an undistinguished study of Zeus in Rome, 380 (fig.159), which should also be associated with the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes. Zeus wears his aegis³⁶⁵ over a chiton and himation, and carries a spear; the thunderbolt is in front.

There are three representations of Artemis, 381 - 383. The earliest is on a banded agate in Paris, 381 (S16, fig.160), where she walks along holding a branch and leading the sacred stag by the reins. The London intaglio, 382, is similar; it is attributed to Zazoff's "Übergangstil"³⁶⁶, as is the Munich intaglio 383, which I have not seen.

Of the sixteen representations of Hermes listed in Zazoff, there is only one, 384 (S28, fig.26), the name-piece of the Master of the Copenhagen Hermes, which belongs to the period treated in detail in this thesis³⁶⁷. The god is long-haired, wears petasos, chiton and himation, and holds the kerykeion in his right hand; in the other hand he holds a stag by its hind legs - an attribute borrowed from representations of Artemis as Potnia Theron. The similarity in the pose of this figure to the Athenas and Zeus above is obvious. Behind him is a short curved line which looks like a pedum or even a plant, rather than a snake. The context here is of Hermes as Master of the Animals³⁶⁸, whilst the fourth century and later gems concentrate on his rôle as Hermes Psychopompos³⁶⁹.

There are three late archaic intaglios of Dionysos, 385 (S11, fig.17), attributed to the Master of the Leningrad Jason,

386 and 387, all of which repeat the single striding figure type observed for Athena, Zeus and Hermes. The god is always dressed in a full length chiton and himation, is bearded and wears his hair long. He holds a rhyton and a leafy sprig on 385* and 386, and just a sprig on 387. This type of Dionysos is the one commonly represented on numerous late archaic Athenian vases, usually in the company of satyrs and maenads.

In addition to these 'simple' representations of Dionysos, there are a number of intaglios which illustrate a figure riding on the back of a bull, two of which have been interpreted as Dionysos. There are five gems which carry this motif:

- §a Berlin, West, FG 161; cornelian
AGD II, no.211 ("bärtiger Mann, wohl Dionysos")
- §b Berlin, West, FG 213; striped chalcedony/onyx
AGD II, no.251 ("Dionysos, Nymph, Europa?");
Zazoff no.411 ("Europa auf dem Stier liegend")
- §c Vienna, Kunst, Mus., IX B 243; cornelian scaraboid (cut?)
AGW no.39 ("Acheloos und eine...unbärtige Gestalt");
Zazoff no.546 ("„Herakles" auf dem Rücken des Acheloos liegend wie Europa auf dem Stier, davor im Raum die Keule")
- §d Copenhagen, NM, 2264; cornelian
Zazoff no.545 ("Herakles auf dem Rücken des Acheloos, mit ihm kämpfend")
- §e Göttingen, Univ., G19; burnt cornelian
AGD III, no.5 ("eine unbekleidete Figur im Typus der Europa");
Zazoff no.412 ("Herakles im Gewand wie Europa dargestellt ist und auf dem Rücken des Acheloos liegt")

§a is Italic of the second quarter of the fifth century, §b is Etruscan of the third quarter of the fifth century, §c of Zazoff's "Spätetruskischer Freier Stil", §d of Zazoff's "Übergangstil" and §e of the early a globolo. There is only vase representation known to me of Dionysos riding on a bull (rather than the usual mule) and that is on an Attic black-figure neck-amphora in Naples,

where the god sits side-saddle in all his regalia³⁷⁰. The subject on neither §a nor §b conforms to this iconography: on the former, a beardless figure in a long dress, lifting the skirt with one hand and seizing hold of one of the bull's horns with the other, lies prostrate on the back of the animal which is moving at some speed. There are no attributes which would identify this figure as Dionysos, and the gesture of the hand lifting the skirt is surely to be associated with a woman; the prostrate pose would be undignified for a deity. These observations suggest that §a should be interpreted as Europa being carried along by the Zeus bull. On the second gem, §b, the figure is naked, prostrate, and is looking in the direction in which the bull is travelling: it is most unlikely that this is Dionysos, and Europa seems the correct identification here too. On §c the figure wears a long chiton, lies prostrate along the bull's back, holding onto a horn with one hand carrying an exaggeratedly large flower in the other; the bull has a human male head and must therefore be Acheloos; in front is a club. The presence of the club no doubt influenced Zazoff's interpretation of the intaglio as Herakles and Acheloos, but the figure so dressed and holding a flower cannot be the hero and must be female. The club may be understood as defining the context rather than as an attribute of the figure's, in which case the lady would be Deianeira (cf 251 (S60, fig.63)). The representation on §d is not the same as §c. The figure appears to be naked and is seizing the man-headed bull by both horns so that he presents a frontal face; in front, a club. This could be Herakles and Acheloos, whilst on the final example, §e, the figure clinging onto one horn and waving the free arm around, is more likely to be Europa than anyone else. Compare with these representations,

a ring "western Greek rather than Etruscan"³⁷² where the goddess Nike hovers above a man-headed bull, and coinage which has a similar iconography³⁷³.

This section discusses representations of winged figures, male and female, excluding giants and Athena. 388 - 406 are female, 407 and 408 male.

The fashion for adding wings to figures was due partly to influence from sixth century Ionian art and from the mainland Greek prototypes derived from that source, and partly to the artists', especially the engravers', recognition that wings had a particular decorative value. Wings are very suitable for padding out compositions on gems, whilst at the same time - and very possibly accidentally - lending an other-worldly atmosphere to their recipients. Many of the winged figures described here prove difficult to identify positively, and their variety precludes the interpretation that any one Etruscan divinity is being represented: 'lasa' is a dubious and difficult term best avoided³⁷⁴, and there is nothing evil about any of the figures on the intaglios, which suggests that they should not be interpreted as Erinyes, for example. Their different attributes (krotala, wreaths, sprigs) could suggest that they were separate individuals distinct in name and function, but I feel sure that the choice of attribute on the part of the engraver was quite arbitrary. It is likely that the contemporary Etruscan purchaser was no more informed (and maybe even less so) as to the name and rôle of some of these figures than we are, and to him the single, winged woman may have suggested no more than 'one of those Greek goddesses'. The true identity of the subject, that understood by the engraver, and the interpretation of the client who purchased the gem, could have been three different things. Consequently, it is reasonable in this period of strong

Greek iconographic influence to look to Greek myth and to the goddesses Nike, Eris, Eos and Iris, who are the nearest equivalents to the figures on the intaglios³⁷⁵. The motif of the winged woman, sometimes wearing winged boots, lifting her skirts and looking back, is also found on numerous late archaic Etruscan bronzes - statuettes, attachments for vessels and on mirrors.

The intaglios 388, 389 (fig.161), and 390 are all late archaic of the late sixth and early fifth centuries, and illustrate a young female with a twin set of wings originating from the small of the back, one pair pointing upwards the other down. 388 and 389* both carry wreaths and may therefore be compared with the Greek Nike. Wreaths are carried on a specific number of occasions - birth, marriage and death, at games, sacrifices and symposia. The scarab of 388 suggests that it is Greek, in which case the goddess would be Nike. In addition to the two pairs of wings on her back, 389* has a third pair at her heels. This detail is often found on the Gorgons of course, and Athena on 365 also has wings in this position; on Etruscan mirrors and bronzes it is Eos who most commonly has winged feet or winged boots. Both 388 and 389* walk rather than fly or run.

The winged female on 390 (fig.162) carries a pair of krotala³⁷⁶, and turns her head back. Clappers were carried by dancers, maenads and satyrs, and their function was to keep the rhythm of the dance going. The lady on 390*, however, shows no inclination to dance and there is not even a hint of revelling in the air. It seems that the krotala are little more than space-fillers, where sprigs or wreaths would have done just as well. Zazoff thought the figure Athena³⁷⁷, but she has none of the goddess's attributes; he also suggested Athena for the woman on

391 (S58, figs.61,62), by the Master of the Florence Herakles and Deianeira, a superb intaglio which describes a young woman in chiton and himation, with one pair of wings, dancing (or flying) brightly along, holding a leafy branch in one hand. Bearing in mind the strong Greek connections of the Florence Master, this must be Nike: I do not see how she can possibly be called Athena.

The thyrsos carried on 392 (fig.163) is an unexpected attribute and one need not necessarily suppose a winged maenad, although the frenetic looks and wild hair of this female would not quarrel with such an identification. The original publication of 392* ³⁷⁸ called the woman Iris and described her as wearing "a plain helmet with long streamers", and "bestriding her thyrsos like a modern witch on her broomstick courser"! The "helmet" and "streamers" are her hair, which clings closely to the skull over the top of her head and then divides into long narrow locks flying behind her. The thyrsos, like the krotala on 390*, may have been an arbitrarily chosen attribute: if the engraver had given her a spear she would have been an Athena, and a sprig would have transformed her into Nike. On an a globolo cornelian, 398, the winged woman grasps what looks like an uprooted sapling, which brings to mind the more violent activities of Bacchants, and so she too could be a maenad.

The remaining studies offer nothing unusual: the woman holds a flower on 394 (mid fifth century), wreaths on 397 (fourth century) and 400 (fourth century archaizing, not "später Strenger Stil"³⁷⁹), a fillet on 401 (fourth century, and as "Eros" in Zazoff³⁸⁰); she is empty-handed on 393, 395 and 396; on 399 she busies herself with a thymiaterion, and is therefore another possible Nike.

A small group of intaglios, 402 - 406, illustrates a winged female filling or emptying a vessel, usually at a lion-head spout though the source is not always indicated. The intaglios are not very alike in their iconographic details. All, except perhaps 402, are of the fourth century. The cornelian 402 has the most carefully cut design: a winged female with cheerful expression fills her vessel (the precise shape of these vessels is not always easy to ascertain) with water from a lion-head spout. To a Greek she would be Iris (see below), although one wonders how likely it is that the waters of the Styx would be directed through a lion-head spout. 403 shows a similar figure, whilst on 404, she holds the vessel in her hands and her pose gives the impression of descent from flight; Richter³⁸¹ suggested Eos for 404, but Nike or Iris are more likely identifications. On 405 the woman sets her pithos down on a rock and fiddles with the seal. 406 provides further details: she pours the water out of the vessel and has a serpent as her companion - the location is probably Hades³⁸². Females with or without wings and filling vessels at lion-head spouts were popular motifs on coinage³⁸³.

The iconography of the motif of a winged female filling a vessel at a lion-head spout has been thoroughly examined by Mayer-Prokop in her discussion of a mid fifth-century Etruscan mirror in Copenhagen, which shows a winged woman filling a water-jug at a spout, accompanied by a serpent³⁸⁴. Any such figures are generally, by virtue of their wings, associated with the Underworld, a location sometimes further hinted at by the presence of a serpent³⁸⁵. There are a few possible identifications of a winged woman in this context. She may be Iris, who filled a golden vessel with the waters of the Styx, by which the gods swore their oaths³⁸⁶.

Mansuelli³⁸⁷ suggested that the figure on the Copenhagen mirror (above) was a 'Lasa' but, as Mayer-Prokop observed, the appropriate vessel in that context would be an alabastron, and preferred the identification of Iris, although on the gems as on the mirror, the mission of the woman is not explicit and it is not necessary even to call her Iris. Mayer-Prokop thought that on 404 and 406 she might be Iris: "Erkennt man nun in den oben genannten Darstellungen Nike den kultischen Dienst für die Toten zu, so ließen sich dann auch die Gemmen in Berlin und New York verstehen als Ausgießen der *χθόνια λουτρά*". Hydriai are the vessels most commonly used in sacrifices, purification ceremonies and cult ablutions³⁸⁸, and the goddess who is most likely to be found with one is Iris, "der göttlichen Opferdienerin", rather than the vague identification suggested by Furtwängler, of "eine etruskische dämonische Figur, vielleicht mit dem wunderbaren Lebenswasser der Unterwelt"³⁸⁹.

There are other figures indistinguishable in function and dress, who carry water-jars and are associated with the Underworld. It is not likely that any of these are the figures represented on the intaglios, but the possibility is worth investigation.

Originally, water-carriers in Hades³⁹⁰ were anonymous, and no specific crime was attached to the punishment of carrying leaky vessels around (the Danaids are a relatively late development, and the earliest literary evidence for their activities is in the Hellenistic pseudo-Platonic *Axiochos*, 573e). Cook considered the original water-carriers personifications of wells and springs, and hence as essentially fertility figures³⁹¹. The act of pouring water is undeniably connected with cult practices. Representations of the subject on vases of the late archaic period are very rare -

there are two examples only, both Attic: on a black-figure amphora in Munich³⁹² and on a black-figure lekythos in Palermo³⁹³. The amphora presents a straightforward scene of, on the right, Sisyphos rolling his rock, and on the left, four small winged males, dressed in short tunics, making their way up a giant pithos which is sunk in the ground. The setting is, obviously, Hades. Neither in the pithos nor in the hydriai are holes evident, unless the pithos was understood to be bottomless. The addition of wings to the youths indicates that they are simply εἰδωλα, without individual identity. On the lekythos also the figures are anonymous, but of mixed gender, and apparently quite cheerful with their lot - not then, doomed and sanguine souls, but the 'blessed' or the 'saved'. There were two groups of water-carriers in Polygnotos' Nekyia, in the Knidian ^{one} Iesche, consisting of two women, whom Pausanias recognized as the 'uninitiated', and a group of two men and two women, whom he thought had been guilty of scorning the Eleusinian rites³⁹⁴. Such figures are obviously a part of the regular Underworld iconography, and seem, according to Keuls³⁹⁵, to represent not only punishment, but also "a kartharmos and means to salvation". In discussing the Munich vase, Vermeule takes a slightly different view: the figures are male psychai, "or even the daimon 'guards' who may serve drink to the meritorious and parched newcomer of the Underworld"³⁹⁶.

One of the two representations of winged males, 408, may have some connexion with the Underworld. This intaglio belongs to the early fifth century, and shows a youth fitted out with a twin set of wings, cuirass and chitoniskos, holding a floral stem and wreath, and accompanied by a finely detailed serpent. The figure most closely resembles representations of winged Athenas and winged women: he is an unlikely Eros, yet there is no other

reasonable explanation; he could be a hybrid concocted out of a variety of personalities, and might not have enjoyed an independent existence in myth.

The other winged male, on 407 (fig.164), also of the first quarter of the fifth century, is Eros. The young god is naked and carrying a taenia; his wings are almost closed, and Beazley interpreted his position as "flying down"³⁹⁷, which is an attractive reading.

The other representations of Eros listed in Zazoff are of the fourth century or later, and none repeats the iconography of either 407 or 408³⁹⁸.

Representations of the giant as a single-figure study in this series of gems, 409 - 423, include quite a variety of type and cover a wide period of time. On 409 (S34) and 411 (S30, fig. 29), both attributed to the Group of the Copenhagen Hermes, and on 410 (early a globolo), the giants have human torsos and serpentine legs terminating in snake protomai; 409 and 410* are also winged. On 413 (of the first quarter of the fifth century) and 415 - 418 (late fifth or fourth century studies) the giants are fully human, and they wear a selection of hoplite armour. The final type is the boorish figure, dressed in an animal skin, 419 (fig.165), of Zazoff's "nicht-etruskischer Freier Stil". The preferred offensive weapon is the boulder or rock, whilst the giant on 412 carries a branch, and the one on 419* holds a bow as well as a rock. This variety of type and attribute is mirrored in literature: to Homer, giants were huge and savage, with stones for weapons, and to Hesiod there were warrior-like with a selection of armour and spears³⁹⁹. Earlier Attic art followed the Hesiodic type until towards the end of the sixth century, when the giants became dishevelled in appearance, although they usually retained the shield and sword. A combination of both types in art is not uncommon: compare the differently armed and dressed giants on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. Apollodoros (I.6) mentions snake-footed giants, and Pausanias (VIII.29.3) denies that this type ever existed! In Etruscan art this motif⁴⁰⁰, like that of the single winged female, was very often used simply as a decorative device in the exergues of mirrors, for example, as a handle attachment on a bronze vessel, and so forth.

The serpent-legged giant on the cornelian once in the Arndt Collection, 409, presents frontal chest and abdomen, and looks to the left; his wings originate at the waist and point upwards. His attitude is not obviously threatening, though the snake heads look as if they may serve an unfriendly purpose, and his spiky, bristling wings are suggestive of a defensive stance. The later representation, 410, is a much less effective study. The decorative value of wings, especially on intaglios, was noted above⁴⁰¹; in this context the combination of wings and serpent legs brings to mind Corinthian and Chalcidian representations of Typhon⁴⁰², who was a similarly constructed half-monster. I do not think that either 409 or 410 could be Typhon, since the third example of a snake-footed giant, 411* uses as his weapon a large boulder, which is properly associated with giants. On 411* the giant is in a more threatening attitude, and like 409, has the belly and genitals of a man (later on they are human to the knees). The large rock or boulder is the standard offensive weapon of giants and is, in the Etruscan world, very often tri-partite⁴⁰³. These tri-partite rocks are not, however, exclusively the attributes of giants: centaurs may carry them⁴⁰⁴, and heroic warriors⁴⁰⁵; one appears between the legs of Herakles during his confrontation with the Hydra on an intaglio in London, 274 (fig.149). The wielding of branches as on 412 and 421 is perhaps another borrowing from the Greek centaur.

The Greek type of giant, who wears a selection of hoplite armour, is more numerous on the gems and no two representations are the same.

The figure on a cornelian in Geneva, 413, may be a giant, though Zazoff interpreted the intaglio as "Herakles im Knielauf,

mit Schild, Äpfel der Hesperiden (?) forttragend"⁴⁰⁶, and Mlle. Vollenweider thought it was "un guerrier nu, casqué et barbu"⁴⁰⁷. The intaglio shows a naked man, perhaps bearded, a shield on his right arm and an uncertain object in his left hand; a bird is perched on his left upper arm, and there are three balls in the field behind. Not a single detail supports the identification of the scene as Heraklean, and the man is not helmeted: the engraver has described the hair as a smooth cap over the crown of his head. The wearing of the shield on the right arm is unusual, and implies that the gem was cut to be seen in the original and not in impression. The bird is difficult to place in a giant context, though one does appear between the legs of Herakles and those of a giant on an Etruscan bronze relief of the first half of the fifth century (which also shows a giant throwing a boulder with his left hand)⁴⁰⁸. The object in the warrior's left hand defies identification unless it is a stone, and the three balls behind could be a tri-partite rock. All things considered, the warrior should be a giant.

Rocks and boulders are again in evidence on a cornelian in the British Museum, 414 (fig.166), which is unpublished; it should be dated to the middle or the third quarter of the fifth century. A bearded and naked giant sinks down onto his knees in a Kapaneus type pose; his legs cross over each other in a manner not possible in nature, and he seems to collapse not from wounds, perhaps, but from the weight of his armoury: he raises a tri-partite rock in his left hand, and holds a very large boulder in the other hand. The naked, armourless figure on 412 (of the fourth century) need not be a giant - he could be a tousled warrior - yet the branch he swings suggests that he is more. The giant on 415 (early a globolo), with shield and rock, gives a better

impression of violent energy; 416 (late fifth/early fourth century) is similar, though the giant lacks the rock, and since the intaglio is of cursory execution, the force of the figure is less effective. Richter⁴⁰⁹ thought the figure an anonymous warrior, which could be right since he is not distinguished as a giant by any attribute, unless unkempt hair and lack of the full panoply can of themselves be indicative of this mythological figure. Both 417 and 418 have boulders as their weapons and mount rockery.

The savage type of giant is illustrated best on 419*, a cornelian of unknown whereabouts. This giant is a vigorous figure, brutish too, and gives the impression of being larger and stronger than the average male. Short, wild strands of hair stream behind him as he pitches a boulder, from which three rays emanate; note the animal-skin cape.

Of the remaining gems, 420 - 423, only 420 is known to me, and on this a figure is seated upon a tri-partite rock, which is the only detail that might identify him as a giant.

Gigantomachies⁴¹⁰ are understandably rare on gems but not completely absent: there is just one representation which provides a multi-figure group, 424 (fig.167), a brown and white striped agate in Copenhagen, of ca 500. It is an unambitious three-figure composition of Athena⁴¹¹, Zeus and giant, cramped in a vertical setting. The composition owes nothing to the splendid grands tableaux of the theme in sculpture and vase-painting, where stretching, leaning and falling figures proliferate. Here the deities are stiffly posed in heraldic fashion over a small, serpent-footed giant, who raises a boulder above his head. This boulder has two rays emanating from either side (cf those

on 419*) which are difficult to explain, but they could indicate a strike by Zeus' thunderbolt rather than attribute any special significance to the boulder.

The battle is abbreviated to just Athena and a giant on 425 and 426. 425 (fig.168) is a difficult piece to date as it has some late archaic features, and others which point to a date around the middle or the third quarter of the fifth century; 426 is from the end of the fourth century and was attributed by Zazoff to his "nicht-etruskischer a globolo-ähnlicher Stil"⁴¹². 425* shows Athena on the right, dressed in a chiton, and with a shield on her right arm; a spear passes through her right hand, so the weapon could be attributed to her, although it is equally possible that it has been dropped by her opponent; in her left hand she wields the giant's left arm, whilst she presses down on his left leg with her foot and turns her head to look behind her. The giant is collapsed onto one knee, the other leg stretched out in front; the shield is strapped to his right arm.

The cornelian in Berlin, 426, was first thought by Zazoff⁴¹³ to represent a duel between two hoplites, and he later changed his mind, suggesting that it might represent Athena and Enkelados⁴¹⁴. On the left and brandishing a drawn sword (it looks like a machaira) is a helmeted figure in a long chiton, stretching out the left arm over which material is apparently folded: this 'material' is in fact Athena's aegis, as protective a piece of equipment for her as a shield. Furtwängler noted that this rendering of the left arm "erinnert an den Athena-typus"⁴¹⁵, yet he failed to draw the logical conclusion from this. The long chiton could never belong to a hoplite in any case, and this detail together with the aegis and the fact that the falling warrior is substantially larger than

his attacker, favour the interpretation of the intaglio as Athena and a giant.

The final two studies, 427 (S43, fig.44), attributed to the Kyknos Master, and 428, of the late fifth century, reduce the subject to one figure - Athena alone, wielding the arm of a giant. 427* is an intaglio of exceptional quality, engraved with sensitivity and precision. The delicately poised goddess, lightly tripping along to the right on the points of her toes - an immortal maiden indeed - is difficult to associate with the dismembered arm she carries in her right hand: it seems here to be a trophy of war rather than a bloody weapon. She is winged, and wears a chiton, himation and the aegis, and carries a spear. The quality of the crudely cut agate in New York, 428, contrasts strongly with the finer representation 427*. The goddess is again winged (the wings are closed), and she wears a shield and helmet; she holds the dismembered arm in her right hand. She is preceded by a snake.

In Greek gigantomachies Athena may have a number of opponents, and Enkelados is the one most popularly identified in art, though on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury she defeats 'Berektas' and is challenged by 'Laertas', names unique to this monument in this context. In Euripides, however, Enkelados is struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt⁴¹⁶ and on an Etruscan mirror of the first half of the fourth century⁴¹⁷, Athena fights ΑΚΡΑΘΕ (Akrathe). The name 'Akrathe' has been supposed to derive from the Greek Akratos, unknown in the gigantomachy but applied elsewhere to a Dionysiac figure⁴¹⁸. Identifying the giant by name on the gems adds nothing to our understanding of the scene since it cannot be supported by literary testimony, though a specifically Etruscan

version may have been the source for the bloody detail of Athena's wrenching off her opponent's arm: the evidence of the mirror (above) could suggest that in the Etruscan gigantomachy the giant whose arm was lost to Athena was called Akrathe, that this grisly fate was specific to him, and that the Etruscans did not know of an Enkelados in this context. The episode of dismemberment is not found anywhere other than in Etruscan art⁴¹⁹ (there are no surviving examples of Ionian gigantomachies) in which it appears on gems, vases and bronzework.

One of the most popular motifs on late archaic Greek vases is the Dionysiac revel: the subject is found on Attic vases, Clazomenian vases and sarcophagi, in the Northampton Group, on the Campana dinoi and on Caeretan hydriai, as well as on Greek gems. It is surprising, therefore, that satyrs and maenads are quite rare on Etruscan gems of this period, and they do not appear in any numbers until the a globolo style comes into fashion. Satyrs on Etruscan vases are decidedly tame in their behaviour compared with their Greek counterparts, and they look quite skinny when set beside the fleshy, lusty types of Ionian art. The satyrs on South Italian vases are also more 'human', and exhibit at worst a little naughtiness. The type of satyr on the gems does not correspond to that on Etruscan vases and on some Etruscan mirrors⁴²⁰: it is a mixture of the Ionian and the Attic types. The few pre mid-fifth century representations of satyrs in this series of gems⁴²¹ include studies of the very finest quality. The satyrs dance or make music, 429 - 442, busy themselves at fountains, or with wine-skins or amphorae, 443 - 461, play kottabos, 462, pursue maenads, 463, 464; there are two representations of a maenad, 464, 465.

The earliest dancing satyr to come from the west is on a cornelian in a private collection, 429, which is dated to the late sixth century and is very Greek in its style. A podgy satyr dances to the right, looking back, one hand on his hip the other at the back of his head; the chest is frontal and the abdominal muscles are twisted into an attempted three-quarter view, whilst head and legs are profile; he has horsy feet in the east Greek

manner; his straight, thick shoulder-length hair is smooth across the crown, and frames his face in a thick fringe; he has equine ears and parted lips, is wide-eyed and snub-nosed. His dancing pose is difficult to parallel exactly, though it looks usual enough - the raised hand is most often held in front of the face. A late archaic Etruscan bronze dancing-girl in the British Museum^{421bis} compares rather well, as does a satyr on a vase by the Lysippides Painter⁴²², and the famous Peloponnesian bronze statuette of a satyr provides something similar⁴²³. The two best parallels, however, are a late archaic bronze maenad holding krotala, on a candelabrum⁴²⁴, and a partying man on an Etruscan wall-painting from the Tomba Cardarelli⁴²⁵.

A fourth century gem in Cambridge, 430 (fig.169), offers a bold, powerful study of a well-characterized satyr, engrossed in song and dance, with his head thrown back and his mouth open. He has momentarily ceased to play his pipes and raises his right hand behind his head, the fingers outstretched, as he kicks his left leg up into the air behind him. In front of him on the ground is a kylix, and behind his right leg is a wreath of some sort (it can hardly be a necklace, or even a "Klapper" as Zazoff suggested⁴²⁶). The satyr is probably anonymous - enough of them play the flutes on vases - though he could be Marsyas⁴²⁷; the wreath does not suggest any specific identification, and the cup merely suggests that he is at a party.

All the other representations of dancing or fluting satyrs are in the a globolo style. 431 shows the satyr with both arms raised possibly holding one of a pair of pipes in each hand (if the long, straight lines are not fingers); he has human feet and may have been wearing a wreath. A companion in Geneva, 432,

dances along jauntily as he pipes away; the small blob just beneath his left arm could be a suspended amphora, or an unidentifiable object in the field; he has human feet and a blob suffices for his head. On 434 he plays the double pipes; on 433, an odd representation, he plays the pipes and kneels over a goat - a parody of Herakles in a similar pose with the deer⁴²⁸. There is a duet on 436, and a group of four dancing before a fifth playing pipes on 435. On 437 the satyr dances cup in hand; he simply dances on 438 and 439, and sits down on 440, the double pipes at his feet.

A superb intaglio in New York, 441 (figs.170,171), of a crouching satyr playing the lyre, stands apart from all the other music-making satyrs on gems in the West. This intaglio is thought to have been engraved by a Greek working in Italy; it does not come close to the style of any of the Masters and Groups isolated in this thesis, and should be compared with a Greek gem of a warrior stooping to pick up his helmet⁴²⁹ and the diskobolos on the Basel market, fig.136 (especially for the distinctive navel). The gem may have started life as a scarab: the back has been cut down and only the plinth decorated with tongues remains. The lyre-playing satyr was common enough on Greek vases, and is noticeably rare on gems - the only other Greek example is on an island gem by Onesimos⁴³⁰.

On 441* the satyr crouches, right leg frontal, head and left leg in profile to the right; chest and abdomen are frontal. The head is wonderfully detailed: the hair over the crown has been smoothed down so that it looks as if he is wearing a close-fitting hat, from under which a double row of scroll curls emerges front and back, leaving the discreetly described animal ear

uncovered. Richter⁴³¹ read the hair as dressed in a roll at the nape of the neck, but this is not so: compare the coiffure of a satyr inscribed $\Psi \text{ E } \downarrow \theta \vee \text{ N}$ on an Etruscan mirror in Brussels, where the hair at the back of the head is rolled up over a fillet⁴³². The heavy brow is arched, giving the impression that the satyr is frowning in concentration over his song; one blob for the eye, two for the snub nose; his fleshy lips are parted and the neat beard is finely hatched. As he sings, he strums the lyre tucked under his left arm close to his body; in his right hand he holds the plektron. Although he is described crouching, this satyr does not look as if he has been squashed into the field - he is completely relaxed in his environment, there is air around him and one senses the presence of his companions nearby.

The crouching figure is a common motif on Attic cup tondos where the painters display their varying expertise in representing the foreshortening of a leg in this position. Comparison of this figure with those on Attic vases has been done elsewhere⁴³³ yet the closest comparison may be made with the crouching satyr holding^a kantharos on Naxian coinage, which post-dates the New York gem⁴³⁴.

There is only one other example of a satyr with a lyre on 442, which is still of the fifth century. The figure has previously been described as a youth⁴³⁵, and Furtwängler suggested that it was Herakles⁴³⁶: presumably he read the curved tapering line originating from the small of the back as part of the lionskin, whereas it is in fact a tail. As well as his lyre, this satyr carries a pithos.

Satyrs busying themselves at fountains, with wine-skins

or pithoi, are quite numerous on the later gems, but at the head of this group is arguably the finest study of a satyr on any gem, Greek or Etruscan: 443 (S62, fig.65), attributed to the Florence Group, and of the first quarter of the fifth century. The gem is of black glass or obsidian, unique in this series. Damage to the intaglio has removed part of the left side on the original.

On the left of the intaglio is a summarily executed lion-head spout, gushing forth a thin stream of bubbling liquid, in front of which a human-footed satyr leaps ecstatically about. The figure is boldly described and confidently executed, the main lines of the composition making an emphatic > shape which, together with the dramatic zig-zag lines of the arms and the spread fingers, lends the satyr a dynamism and registers his obvious delight at the prospect of a drink. His head is a masterpiece of characterization. On the ground between his feet is a cup. He seems to be stooping to drink direct from the fountain.

In spontaneity of movement several Dourian satyrs come close to this splendid figure - compare especially those on the lively London psykter⁴³⁷, and compare also a satyr dancing near a calyx krater on an Etruscan mirror in Boston⁴³⁸, and another satyr on a mirror in Brussels⁴³⁹; for the hands compare the satyr on the left on another Etruscan mirror in Berlin⁴⁴⁰, and the satyrs on an Etruscan red-figure amphora in Jena⁴⁴¹; for playfulness, compare the satyr on the Chalcidian Phineus Painter's cup⁴⁴² who is the first to reach a large krater, placed beneath a lion-head spout over which grows a vine heavy with fruit.

Certain details on the intaglio 443* indicate that the engraver may have intended this to be a representation of Silenos, whom the crafty king Midas, having laced the old satyr's favourite

fountain with wine, succeeded in capturing whilst he lay in a drunken sleep. There were already illustrations of this on Attic vases by the middle of the sixth century⁴⁴³. The details which hint at this identification are the excited response of the satyr to the fountain - he could have sniffed the bouquet of the wine - and the presence of the cup, which is not the usual vessel for collecting water. The bubbling of the liquid does not of itself indicate that it is wine: on 444 it is definitely the water coming out of the fountain that is frothing, and not the wine being poured from the wine-skin. On the Attic vase representations of the Silenos episode, the old satyr either drinks direct from the spout, or is shown carrying a pithos with the liquor in it; he never uses a cup. The kylix on the intaglio is not likely to have been an idle addition as a space-filler, nor does it appear to have been dropped: it seems to have been left there purposely, and its presence hints that the liquid from the lion-head spout is wine⁴⁴⁴. 443, therefore, is very probably a representation of Silenos in the context of the Midas story.

The late fifth century ringstone in Berlin, 444, is one of the few other interesting representations of the motif. A balding satyr with prominent ears, human feet, and a thin tail leans forward to empty the contents of the wine-skin he carries over his shoulder into an amphora into which a thread of bubbling water trickles from a fountain. Behind the satyr is an uncertain object which has been interpreted as either a flower or a club. A similar object, apparently double-ended, is found on a late fifth/early fourth century gem in Oxford, 445. Behind the satyr's head is a four-pointed star.

Numerous gems of poor quality illustrate a satyr with

an amphora: he may run along with the vessel, be taking the lid off or sealing it up, or emptying it. The intaglio in Oxford, 445, is unusual in showing the sealing of the wine-jar, whilst another in the Ashmolean, 458, shows the opening. A fourth century cornelian in Geneva, 460, may also represent the sealing of the wine-jar. The figure is not distinguished as a satyr (he has no tail), but as Mlle. Vollenweider pointed out ⁴⁴⁵, he probably should be identified as a satyr in this context. A gem in the Cabinet des Médailles, 461, of a figure filling a pithos, was perhaps similarly intended as a satyr. The satyr carries a wine-skin on 446 and 447, and an amphora as well on 448; he empties the amphora on 449 - 451, and reclines with it on 452; he fills it on 453 and 454; he stirs the contents of a krater on 455, and has a skyphos on 456; he has a club on 457, and sits with an amphora on 459.

The cornelian in Hamburg, 462, of the middle of the fifth century, carries the rare motif of a satyr in a reclining position playing kottabos. Zazoff drew attention to the many parallels of the subject of the kottabos-player on Attic vases of the late archaic period ⁴⁴⁶, yet I have not come across a single example of a satyr in this context. There are two other Etruscan examples, both in the exergues of mirrors ^{446bis}.

There are two representations of a satyr and maenad, 463 and 464, the first of which has been thought Greek, and the second of which is known to me only from a drawing. On 463 a human-footed satyr advances upon a maenad and seizes her around the waist; she wears a chiton which clings in simple folds, and looks round at her attacker, attempting to fend him off with her thyrsos - the regular defence of maenads against unwelcome attentions ⁴⁴⁴. On Greek gems satyrs carry their women ⁴⁴⁸, whilst the type seen

here derives from Greek vase-paintings, and it was also the one favoured by the engravers of Etruscan mirrors⁴⁴⁹. The beautiful amber in the British Museum which very likely represents a satyr and a maenad, is a far more sensitive study altogether than any of the representations on mirrors or gems⁴⁵⁰.

There are no representations of maenads on gems of before the very end of the fifth or the early fourth centuries: it would be a shame, however, not to mention two very fine studies of this motif, which are probably already of the fourth century - 465 and 466⁴⁵¹. Both are powerful studies, superficially similar in style, and they bear witness to the good quality of engraving still possible in this later period.

465 (fig.172) is a pale pink stone in the Danicourt Collection in Péronne. The maenad carries a crooked-stemmed thyrsos in her right hand and holds a small lyre by one of its horns in the other; with head thrown back and long hair streaming behind, she sways rather than dances, for she has both feet planted firmly on the ground. The upper part of her chiton is finely hatched, and the tubular folds of the skirt sweep diagonally from left to right.

The unpublished cornelian in London, 466 (fig.173), is an outstanding study of a lively, prancing maenad. She is set in a pose similar to that of the Danicourt maenad, 465*, and carries in her right hand a thyrsos and in her left a small hare by its back legs: the thyrsos has a straight shaft and small stumps of lopped twigs running its length, and at the top, streaming tendrils under a thick leafy head⁴⁵²; the hare is a reminder of the more frenzied of maenads' activities. Remarkable on this intaglio is the erotic rendering of the wind-blown skirt - the front of the

chiton has swung up into a circle revealing all of her legs and part of her buttocks; the material behind her legs is detailed with fine diagonal lines which draw attention to and emphasize the smoothness of her limbs. The swinging up of the skirt begs comparison with representations of kalathiskos dancers, although their hems never rise above calf-height. A saucily clad maenad on an Etruscan mirror in London⁴⁵³ comes nearest to this intaglio in eroticism: the maenad's skirt is caught up at the front, revealing all, and the hem of her chiton zig-zags down her thighs. The running maidens on the late archaic metopes from Foce del Sele also show a good deal of leg⁴⁵⁴, as does a maenad on a South Italian vase⁴⁵⁵. The London maenad advances with her left leg so that the twist from frontal to profile between chest and lower limbs is dramatically achieved; she has a fuller bust than her companion in Péronne.

CONCLUSION

During the half-century from ca 520, there are two main sources of influence on the iconography of Etruscan engraved gems. First and most importantly, from contemporary Athenian red-figure vases, especially when the subjects on the intaglios illustrate two figures or more; some rare motifs are copied, such as Tekmessa and Ajax, and Jason and the serpent. Secondly, and mainly with reference to the single figure studies of warrior, athlete or deity, from late archaic Greek gems. This strong Greek flavour is not surprising in view of the stylistic links of the early engravers in Etruria to homeland Greek artists. There is also evidence that the artists modified their iconography to suit the Etruscan market, and so Theban subjects, for example, Herakles in cult contexts, and the peculiarly Etruscan version of the gigantomachy, are found. There are in addition unique motifs, such as Herakles carrying Deianeira and an athlete pouring sand on his thigh, which bear witness to the individuality of certain engravers. All inscriptions are in the Etruscan alphabet, and very often are applied to figures which would otherwise be anonymous.

After this period the Athenian and Greek influence is much less dominant, and, as was observed with reference to style, the local element asserts its independence.

APPENDIX ONE

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY OF ANATOMICAL TERMS

The terms and definitions used in this thesis are taken directly from the glossary of anatomical terms in the book by D. C. Kurtz, The Berlin Painter (Oxford, 1982); as this work is as yet unpublished, the relevant parts of that glossary are repeated here, clinical terms in capitals, and those created by Dr. Kurtz in lower case between single quotes. The clinical and other terms are set on the left of the page, the definitions on the right; the numbers in brackets refer to the labels of the various features on fig.F, a key to which is also provided on p.243; the treatment of any feature affected by technique or scale, and peculiar to gems is noted after the asterisk.

All features are described in relation to the upright body, thus:

anterior	front
posterior	back
superior	towards the head
inferior	towards the feet
medial	near the median line
lateral	away from the median line

The surfaces of the hand are palmar and dorsal, and of the feet, plantar and dorsal.

The body is divided into the principal regions of head and neck, trunk, upper limb and lower limb.

The HEAD and NECK

root of the nose

superior portion continuing downwards from the forehead (1)

base of the nose

free-hanging, inferior portion, with two lobes pierced by the nostrils (2)

wings of the nose

swellings of the nostril posteriorly, circumscribed by a wrinkle of skin which sets off the region of the nose from that of the cheeks (3)

principal muscle of the neck

STERNOCLEIDOMASTOID, the flat, strap-like muscle passing obliquely from the region of the ear towards the Pit of the Neck to be inserted onto the CLAVICLE and STERNUM. The course of this muscle is clearly visible on either side of the neck (anteriorly) (17)

* This is the only relief observed in the neck and, irrespective of the position of the head, remains a static ridge; it is not always indicated

TRUNK

There are no posterior views on Etruscan intaglios, although the anterior portion of LATISSIMUS DORSI is occasionally shown (figs. 68,69).

LATISSIMUS DORSI

literally, the widest muscle of the back, arising from the lower two thirds of the vertebral column and ILIAC CREST, and fanning outwards and upwards to be inserted onto the bone of the upper arm (HUMERUS). The muscle is very thin over the back and has little influence on surface features, but anteriorly, as it sweeps upwards to its insertion, the fibres are much thicker and create a prominent surface relief on

(LATISSIMUS DORSI)

the chest wall of the muscularly well-developed

Anterior view

CLAVICLE

collar-bone, articulating medially with the breast-bone (STERNUM) and laterally with the ACROMIUM PROCESS of the shoulder-blade (SCAPULA). Anteriorly the bone is subcutaneous and its curvature clearly visible (5)

* Technique encourages rigid, straight lines terminating in blobs on either side of the JUGULAR NOTCH, and these lines rarely meet; finer engravers render the lines more sensitively

STERNUM

the breast-bone. A depression at the Pit of the Neck; a cartilaginous appendage at the inferior extremity can project in the region of the Pit of the Stomach (20)

JUGULAR NOTCH

depressed area (Pit of the Neck) lying above the breast-bone (STERNUM) and between the tendons of STERNOCLEIDOMASTOID

* If at all consciously observed, it is no more than a subtle depression

'pectoral triangle'

the triangular depression at the inferior extremity of the breast-bone (STERNUM) (7)

* This is observed as a small dot or a blob in its correct position, or, it may be transferred to beneath the rib-cage (COSTAL MARGIN) where it could be understood as an interspace between the superior components of RECTUS ABDOMINIS (eg figs.59,60)

COSTAL MARGIN/
rib-cage

the inferior border of the rib-cage, formed by the cartilaginous attachments of the fifth to tenth ribs to the breast-bone (STERNUM). The margin is an important surface feature varying widely (rounded to ogival) according

(COSTAL MARGIN)

to the shape of the rib-cage (22)

* This feature suffers the most obvious stylization: it is often shown as a swelling bulge on either side of RECTUS ABDOMINIS, which incorporates the surface reliefs of the abdominal portion of PECTORALIS MAJOR (medially) and the COSTAL MARGIN (antero-laterally), shown on vases as the looping lines at the transition between chest and abdomen; sometimes this bulge is slurred into EXTERNAL OBLIQUE in the region of the flanks, or is clearly set off from it; at its superior extremity it may be shown as a continuous line

RIBS

No definition required (6)

* Whereas these are rarely shown on Attic red-figure vases, ribs are commonly observed on the gems: it seems as if the engravers have transferred and translated the pattern-like surface reliefs of the interdigitations of SERRATUS ANTERIOR with EXTERNAL OBLIQUE so popularly represented on the vases, into features which can be more easily shown on the smaller scale

PECTORALS

the muscles of the chest. Fibres diverge from the breast-bone (STERNUM) upwards and outwards from the collar-bones (CLAVICLES) to be inserted downwards and outwards onto the upper arm (HUMERUS)

* Here, PECTORALS refers only to PECTORALIS MAJOR

SERRATUS ANTERIOR

the large sheet of muscle on the chest wall (antero-laterally) arising from the ribs and inserted onto the vertebral border of the shoulder-blade (SCAPULA) whose movement it governs. The slips of this muscle interdigitate with those of EXTERNAL OBLIQUE. If these muscles are well-developed their

(SERRATUS ANTERIOR) interdigitations create a serrated or zig-zag pattern

EXTERNAL OBLIQUE the muscle of the flank lying between the ribs and the hips. Superiorly the slips of this muscle interdigitate with those of SERRATUS ANTERIOR to create a serrated pattern on the chest wall of the muscularly well-developed. Inferiorly the insertion of the muscle onto the ILIAC CREST creates the furrow of the flank, which terminates anteriorly in a triangular depression ('iliac triangle') at the wrinkle of the groin (23)
*For the possible representation of the interdigitations, see under RIBS. Inferiorly, the muscle is observed as a large bulge. The interdigitations are possibly shown on figs. 68,69.

NAVEL * Usually a dot; rarely, a flat horizontal depression (figs.169,170)

DELTOIDEOPECTORAL LINE see under Upper Limb

RECTUS ABDOMINIS the 'straight' muscle of the abdomen comprised of two portions lying on either side of the mid-line (LINEA ALBA) and divided into three sections horizontally by the tendinous intersections. In the muscularly well-developed these intersections are clearly visible; the lowest of the three is generally at the level of the navel (8)
* Except on the finest studies, the muscle is divided above the navel into four blobs of usually equal size: these are referred to as the 'components' or 'divisions' of QUADRICEPS

LINEA ALBA literally, a white line, so called from the lack of blood vessels along the mid-line of the abdomen. In the muscularly well-developed, this line is a slightly depressed furrow lying between the two components of RECTUS

(LINEA ALBA)

ABDOMINIS. Below the navel, as the two components converge, the furrow itself becomes indistinct, but the line can be very clear in the male owing to the growth of hair (11)

* When this feature is observed, it is as a shallow depression

LINE OF THE GROIN

the furrow separating the abdomen from the thigh created by a ligament extending from the ANTERIOR SUPERIOR ILIAC SPINE to the PUBIS

* This is either a narrow furrow or a thin ridge, which is occasionally continued into the genitals, becoming the two swellings for the scrotum (in sculpture this ridge can be more easily blended into its context)

UPPER LIMB

ULNA

the larger of the two bones of the forearm, lying on the medial aspect. The tip of the elbow (Olecranon Process) is a projection of the superior portion of the bone, the STYLOID PROCESS of the inferior. The ULNAR FURROW is a depression on the posterior aspect of the forearm created by the subcutaneous border of the bone between the prominences of the flexor muscles medially and the extensors laterally

* Rarely is much attention given to the different surface reliefs of the forearm, but see figs.71 - 72, 77 - 79

DELTOID/
shoulder muscle

flat, triangular muscle composed of three principal bundles of fibre, and giving the appearance of an epaulette on the shoulder (4)

DELTOIDEOPECTORAL LINE

the oblique furrow between the fibres of DELTOID and PECTORALIS MAJOR. It demarcates the region of the chest from that of the shoulder, and is the course of the cephalic

(DELTOIDEOPECTORAL LINE) vein which can also be a conspicuous surface feature (19)

BICEPS two-headed muscle. BICEPS BRACHII lies on the anterior aspect of the upper arm, BICEPS FEMORIS on the posterior of the thigh and forms one component of the HAM-STRINGS (21)

TRICEPS three-headed muscle of the upper arm posteriorly (9)

LOWER LIMB

The posterior view is never shown.

GREATER TROCHANTER the bony prominence on the thigh-bone (FEMUR) at the summit of the angle formed by the neck and shaft of this bone, or, broadly speaking at the junction of the hip and the thigh

* Not often observed except on finer pieces: see figs.63, 82,83, for example

knee-cap the PATELLA (25)

* Rarely more than a dot or blob, sometimes pear-shaped

PATELLAR LIGAMENT contains the bone of the knee-cap and is inserted onto the shaft of the shin-bone (TIBIA) creating a distinct vertical relief below the knee-cap (14)

* Observed as a dot beneath the knee-cap, and occasionally carefully blended into the line of the TIBIA

TIBIA the shin-bone, the larger of the two bones of the lower leg, lying on the medial aspect. The anterior border is subcutaneous for its entire length, from knee to instep, and in nature describes gentle curves (15)

* A simple ridge in both medial and lateral aspects; its shape and the degree of its definition varies according to the individual engraver

FIBULA

splint-bone. The smaller of the two bones of the lower leg, lying on the lateral aspect. Prominent surface features are the bony projection of the head superiorly, onto which the tendon of BICEPS FEMORIS is attached, and inferiorly, the internal MALLEOLUS. The head of the FIBULA, a bony prominence just below the knee, is clearly visible in the lateral view of the limb

MALLEOLUS

bony prominence on either side of the ankle. The lateral, which is both lower and more prominent (16), is a projection on the splint-bone (FIBULA), is a projection on the shin-bone (TIBIA). The lateral is also thrown into relief by the tendons or flexor (peroneals) muscles of the lower leg and foot

* When observed, these are dots generally, but on more careful studies can be drop-shaped

BUTTOCKS

* Here, the term refers only to GLUTEUS MAXIMUS

QUADRICEPS

the four-headed muscle of the thigh, anteriorly, with a common tendon in which the knee-cap is a bony formation. Three of the four components of QUADRICEPS create surface reliefs - RECTUS FEMORIS between VASTUS LATERALIS and VASTUS MEDIALIS. Towards the knee the fleshy portions of the VASTI are thrown into relief by a depression over the tendinous portion of the central component (RECTUS FEMORIS) (12, 13, 24)

* In the profile view of the medial aspect, VASTUS MEDIALIS is generally a thick, straightish bulge swelling towards the knee; in the lateral aspect, little surface relief is observed. In the frontal aspect, the fleshy parts of VASTUS MEDIALIS and VASTUS LATERALIS are observed as two bulges, swelling towards

(QUADRICEPS)

SARTORIUS

the knee-cap, or as one heavy mass
the long, thin, strap-like muscle whose
oblique course divides the thigh into
antero-lateral (QUADRICEPS) and medial
(ADDUCTORS) compartments and throws into
relief the depression over the latter
(FEMORAL DEPRESSION)

* Rarely observed: see the left (in imp-
ression) leg of Kapanus, figs.82,83

HAMS

GASTROCNEMIUS (&
SOLEUS)

posterior region of the thigh
the principal muscle of the calf. The muscle
has two heads....The medial portion of GASTRO-
CNEMIUS is fleshier to a lower level than the
lateral, making the musculature of the calf
more prominent here. The muscle shares a
tendon (ACHILLES TENDON) with another muscle
of the calf, SOLEUS (26,27)

HANDS and FEET

The smallness of scale precludes any detailing of PHALANGES (bones),
tendons or fingernails. The fingers often terminate in a blob, and
clenched fists, or hands holding something, are usually rendered as
a stumpy mass, except on the more careful studies. Similar abbrev-
iation applies to the detailing of the feet, where the toes are
generally described as a straight ridge emanating from the mass of
the foot; the great toe may be differentiated from the other toes.
In the profile view of the medial aspect, the instep (28) may be
shown as a thick ridge over the shallow relief of the arch, and this
ridge can sometimes be seen transferred erroneously to the lateral
aspect.

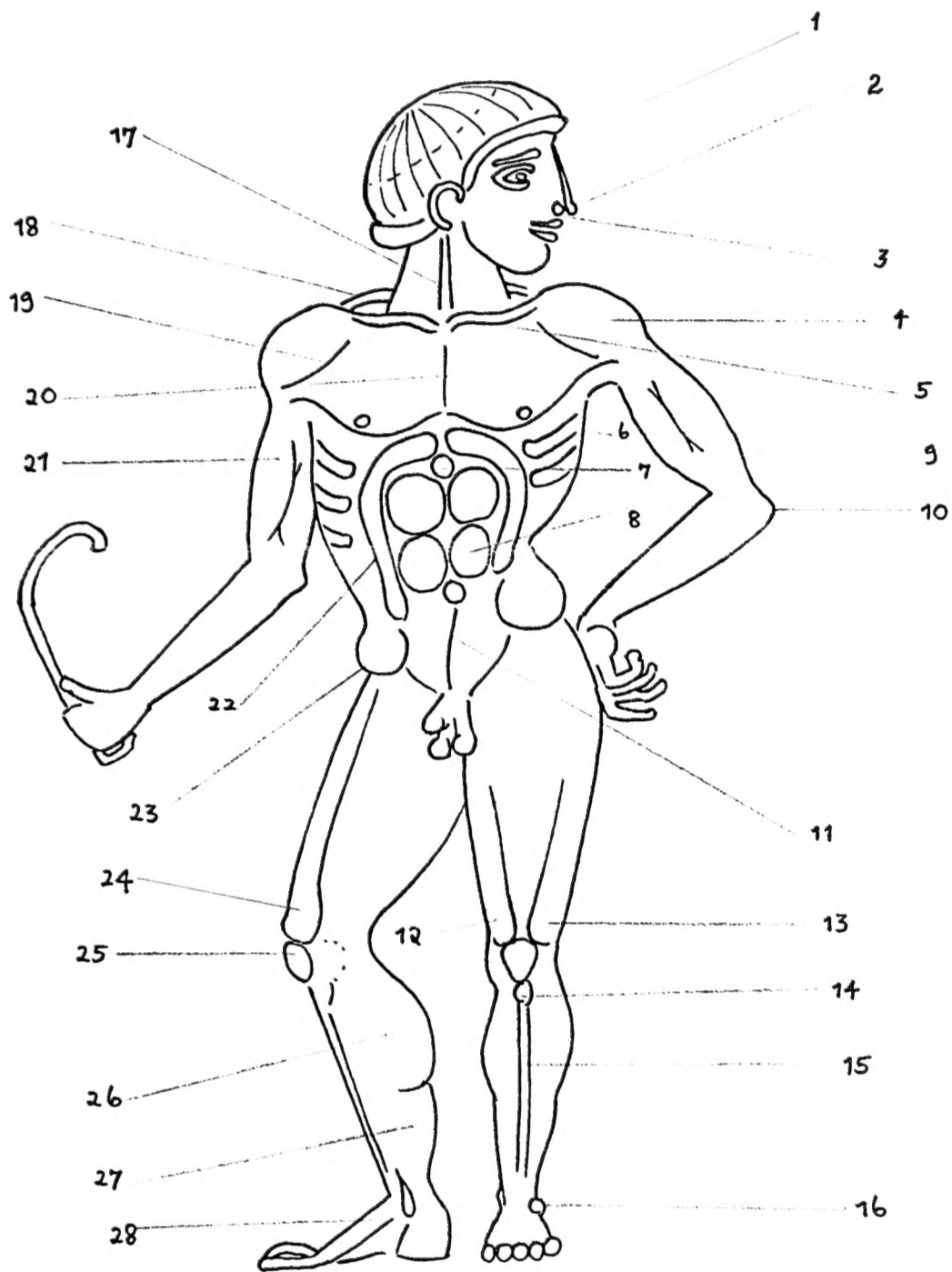


FIG. F

KEY TO FIG. F

- 1 root of the nose
- 2 base of the nose
- 3 wing of the nose
- 4 deltoid muscle, shoulder muscle
- 5 clavicle
- 6 rib
- 7 'pectoral triangle'
- 8 component/division of rectus abdominis
- 9 triceps
- 10 tip of the elbow
- 11 linea alba
- 12, 13 and 24 components of quadriceps
- 14 patellar ligament
- 15 tibia
- 16 malleolus
- 17 principal muscle of the neck
- 18 trapezius
- 19 deltoideopectoral line
- 20 sternum
- 21 biceps
- 22 rib-cage (costal margin)
- 23 external oblique
- 24 see 12, 13
- 25 knee-cap
- 26 gastrocnemius
- 27 soleus
- 28 instep

*** All terms are explained in the preceding Anatomical Glossary***

APPENDIX TWO

APPENDIX II

Achilles and Penthesilea: An Excursus on an Intaglio in the British Museum, London

The Amazonomachy was a motif popular in the sixth and especially the fifth centuries, and persisted into Roman Imperial times. No one Amazonomachy was depicted, and artists chose between the Trojan, the Themiskyran and the Athenian campaigns. From the Trojan battle the detail of Achilles and Penthesilea was especially attractive to artists, with vase-painters, sculptors and gem-engravers leaving a variety of representations⁴⁵⁶. The Greek hero is shown either in the act of killing the Amazon queen, or, particularly on the later monuments, supporting her corpse. Surviving literary evidence of the relationship between Achilles and Penthesilea is meagre: there is a summary in Proklos' Chrestomathia of the relevant passage in Arktinos' Aithiopsis, where Achilles, having just slain the Amazon,

θερσίτην ἀναίρει, λαιδορηθεὶς
πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀνειδισθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
Πενθεσιλεῖα λεγόμενον ἔρωτα.^{456bis}

Similar information is found in Apollodoros (Epit. V,1) and in Quintus Smyrnaeus (I.671 - 674), whilst later sources expand the story adding the rather unpleasant details of the indignities suffered by the corpse at the hands of Thersites⁴⁵⁷. The sixth century artist concerned himself with a simple statement of the death of Penthesilea, without any romantic overtones, and there are no illustrations extant of Achilles' regretting his action because he is enchanted by the Amazon at the very moment he strikes

the death-blow⁴⁵⁸. By the middle of the fifth century there were several famous Amazonomachies in the different media: the paintings in the Peisian⁸kteion and in the Theseion, the sculptures of the west metopes of the Parthenon, and on the outside of the shield of Athena Parthenos. The Amazonomachy by Mikon in the Peisian-akteion, briefly referred to by Aristophanes (Lys. 678 -679, and the schol.ad loc.), which showed the female warriors on horse-back, was not the one which took place outside Troy, but the battle of the Athenians against the Amazons rather nearer home, and so there can have been no Achilles in that illustration. The version in the Theseion⁴⁵⁹ did not represent the Trojan battle either, nor did any of the sculptures mentioned above. At Olympia, however, on some part of the throne in the Temple of Zeus, there was an illustration of the battle fought outside Troy, although the painting cannot have been on a large scale. The artist responsible for this was Panainos, a relative of the sculptor Pheidias, and he evidently chose not the moment of Achilles' striking down the Amazon queen, but the poignant sequel⁴⁶⁰. Yet Panainos has not been credited as the first artist to depict the Greek hero supporting (' $\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\chi\omega\nu$ ') the dying queen, since an Etruscan gem in the British Museum, usually dated to the decade 460 - 450, carries this very motif⁴⁶¹. This seemed to suggest that Panainos and the engraver were following an already existing model, perhaps originating on a larger wall-painting.

The London gem, figs.174 - 177, is a banded agate: it is basically a dark brown with a white band running through the centre. The darker colour is not uniform: immediately above the white stripe it is a transparent honey colour which quickly turns a dark brown; below the white band it is dark brown tinged with

grey, and there is a small transparent patch in the lower right-hand corner of the intaglio. On the scarab the dark colour is in parts a dull grey. The large, slightly oval intaglio measures 17 x 11 mm. The plinth of the beetle is hatched vertically, and the head is small and summarily treated; the rest of the back, apart from the double line border around the edge and two central parallel lines towards the rear, is smooth and relatively flat; there are no winglets, and there is no division between the thorax and the elytra; the legs are cut in relief with some detailing (fig.174). The gem is pierced longitudinally, and both the beetle and the intaglio are polished.

The intaglio (figs.176,177) presents a compact two-figure group in which the vertical aspect dominates, taking the bulk of the figures and deeply engraved. It was general practice for engravers to use a drill with a large head to cut away those parts of the intaglio where the highest relief in impression was desired. The hand responsible for this study, however, chose a quicker method: cutting vertically up the centre of the intaglio he removed a half cylinder of stone, deeper at the lower edge (fig. 175) and tapering towards the top. This is clearly visible on the original stone and is, so far as I am aware, unique on an ancient engraved gem.

The device shows (in impression) Achilles standing with frontal torso, and head and right leg in profile to the left; he wears a helmet with embossed decoration on the bowl⁴⁶² which leaves his features exposed, a leather cuirass, a chitoniskos and greaves; the folds of a cloak fall from his right arm. With his right hand, the fingers observed as short, straight lines, he lifts Penthesilea's right arm; his left arm is obscured by her body and he was pre-

sumably, therefore, supporting her under the left arm. The dead Amazon has sunk to her knees, body almost frontal, the left leg receding into the background; her head is bowed in profile to the right, the plain Attic helmet still in place; she wears a short chiton and a pair of laced boots⁴⁶³; the hoplite shield is strapped to her arm by the porpax, her hand having fallen free from its grip. At the left, tilted towards the figures, a spear, and in front of this a double-axe leaning in the opposite direction. Overlapping the hatched border is the plume of Achilles' helmet (the surface of the intaglio is slightly chipped at this point), the tip and the base of the spear, the fingers of Penthesilea's right hand, and one of the axe-blades. It is not unusual on late archaic and early classical Etruscan gems to find heads and, less often, feet interrupting the border, but there is generally a preference for containing the rest of the composition within it. Here the border on the left is consistently broken by these details, whilst on the other side, the contours of the figures are kept well clear. The hatched border is cut in rather shallow light strokes and is interrupted by the exergue filled with alternate diagonal hatched lines. The exergue has been cut very deeply and in impression this has the effect of setting the figures on a shallow stage: contrast the low relief of Achilles' right leg with the swelling form of Penthesilea's. By the second quarter of the fifth century, exergues are not common, belonging more properly to the late archaic series, although there are odd examples later on⁴⁶⁴.

This remarkable intaglio has received much attention in studies on Etruscan gem-engravings and on the iconography of the Achilles and Penthesilea motif. For Furtwängler it was a fine example "des klassischen strengen Stiles in jüngerer Zeit" and

he suggested that it was derived "auf ein bedeutendes griechisches Gemälde um 480 v.C."⁴⁶⁵. This dating and interpretation was followed by Zazoff, who observed that the duo is not extracted from the more populous versions of the Amazonomachy on Greek vases, and that it aims at something with more pathos, "das Thema ist eine friedliche Idylle auf dem Schlachtfeld"⁴⁶⁶. The famous tondo by the Penthesilea Painter in Munich⁴⁶⁷ was mentioned by Zazoff as a favourable comparison, which led him to the conclusion "daß der Skarabäus das anspruchvollste Bild trägt, mit dem nur die Penthesileaschale vergleichbar wäre"⁴⁶⁸. So far as inspiration from wall-painting is concerned, it has already been demonstrated that none of the famous contemporary illustrations of Amazonomachies described the Trojan battle, excepting Panainos' minor study at Olympia. It is unlikely that yet another existed which has left no trace either in surviving contemporary vase-painting or in literature. The Penthesilea Painter's tondo does not support the exclusive interpretation of Achilles killing the Amazon queen: that it represents a Greek killing an Amazon - a detail from the Athenian Amazonomachy - is a valid suggestion, if indeed not a more probable interpretation, since the important illustrations were of that campaign. In any case it cannot be stated conclusively that the vase-painter was simply copying a wall-painting; as von Bothmer observed, what this tondo does illustrate is "the new feeling of the age for heroic grandeur"⁴⁶⁹. Whether or not the vase-painter intended an Achilles and Penthesilea, there is in fact little similarity in iconography between the cup and the London intaglio: the painter depicts the Greek as he plunges the sword into the Amazon's breast; he looks beyond her, not at her, as is so often asserted, and she, looking up at him, attempts to push him away; she neither carries weapons

nor wears armour. On the intaglio, Penthesilea, wearing a helmet and a shield, has breathed her last, her head sunk down on her breast, her fingers lifeless; Achilles, though supporting her, looks away - which surely does not suggest "Ethos und Pathos Polygnots"⁴⁷⁰. Achilles' sideways glance is distracting, and with the slant of the axe as well as the dead fingers pointing to the left directing the eye out of the composition, one is encouraged to speculate on what is going on beyond the immediate context of the intaglio. The state of the Amazon queen, the important element in the composition, is consequently a secondary observation. This gives the impression that the artist had little sympathy with, or understanding of, his subject. In investigating the possible reason for Achilles' glancing away, Zazoff refers himself to literature and suggests that it is because the sly Thersites is in the neighbourhood, jeering at the hero, and that Achilles' look is in response to those jibes. Apart from a general caveat in seeking literary precedents for every iconographic deviation, it is strictly unnecessary with reference to this particular detail on engraved gems, since individuals frequently 'look round' - it is an acknowledged compositional device even when inappropriate to the subject. The iconographic analysis of the Penthesilea cup and of the London intaglio exposes the differences between the two works, which cannot be said to derive from the same model.

A fragmentary statue of a dying Amazon in Vienna⁴⁷¹ has also been compared with the London intaglio, and this is a more justifiable association indicating a rather different iconographic pedigree. Before pursuing this line of investigation, however, a more detailed analysis of the intaglio is required.

Taken at face value this is an attractive, well-executed

piece, rich in detail and interesting for its iconography. If the date assigned to it by Furtwängler and others after him is correct, then it should be possible to place it stylistically within one of the workshops active during the first half of the fifth century - yet it does not even come close to any other Etruscan gem of this period, and it stands quite alone.

In submitting this representation to close scrutiny, several odd features emerge which have previously eluded detection and have not even been commented on. Starting with the figures' attire, the helmets will be considered first. Achilles' helmet, with its embossed decoration, is tilted away from his face, and it has a bushy plume tapering into a fine wavy line terminating in a blob. Penthesilea's helmet is of the type commonly worn by Amazons when not fitted out with oriental headdress; just beneath the lowest reach of the plume, two curving lines - streamers - emerge. These detached streamers and the blob terminals do not belong to the second quarter of the fifth century; and Achilles' helmet is not Attic⁴⁷², but Etrusco-Corinthian of the type common from the third century on⁴⁷³. A helmet of exactly this shape (though lacking the relief decoration) and with streamers is worn in the same way by a warrior on a cornelian of the third century, which is in a private collection⁴⁷⁴. Although decorated helmets were of course known in the sixth and fifth centuries, they were exceptionally popular in the second and first centuries, as the numerous representations of them on contemporary coins and gems demonstrate.

Turning now to Penthesilea's shield, positioned rather high, this could be understood as being in fuller than profile view because of the angle at which the rim curves. The description

of the left hand, free from the ἀντιλαβή, is odd, even if it does suggest successfully rigor mortis, since it does not conform to either of the two ways in which dying figures are normally attached to their shields on gems of the "Strenger Stil" (the hand is either completely obscured by the shield⁴⁷⁵, or, with the interior view of the shield displayed, the limp fingers are still held in place by the hand-grip⁴⁷⁶). The detail of the loose hand as it is observed by the engraver of the London intaglio, is also found on the warrior on the cornelian in the private collection (above and n.474), and on another intaglio in London, stylistically related to that cornelian⁴⁷⁷. Note too the similarity in the representations of the shields.

The chitoniskos worn by Penthesilea is that commonly associated with Amazons from the fifth century on, and it is the alternative garment to the oriental dress otherwise donned. A thick fold of fabric detailed with hatched lines runs diagonally from the right shoulder to under the left arm; around the waist is a similar, narrower band, which might represent an overfall. The diagonal line has been interpreted as the edge of a himation⁴⁷⁸, but Amazons never wear himatia, and it is more likely that this is a baldric. The dot visible just in front of the two middle fingers of her left hand could be the tip of a scabbard, although it could equally be interpreted as the terminal blob at the edge of the fold of the skirt.

As an offensive weapon the London Penthesilea used a double-axe, so carefully placed here that it is difficult to believe that it has just fallen from her hand. This double-axe, the bipennis, is a most striking intrusion⁴⁷⁹. In the sixth century Amazons were armed with one or a pair of spears, rarely

a sword; in red-figure vase-painting (Greek, Etruscan and South Italian) there are more bows, still some spears, and slings as well as axes of the ice-pick variety, inherited from the armoury of the Scythians. The vast majority of axes had only one blade, which tapered to a point on the other side of the handle; there are no exceptions to this type in an Amazon context. The double-bladed axe of the London intaglio is the same as that wielded by the warrior on the Etruscan grave stele of Avle Feluske, from Vetulonia, which could be as early as the seventh century⁴⁸⁰, and also as the real axe, again from Vetulonia, around which the supposedly earliest fascēs were tied, and which is dated to the late seventh or early sixth century⁴⁸¹. Apart from rare instances such as these, the bipennis is not commonly seen until Roman Republican times when it was the weapon par excellence of Amazons, illustrated on gems⁴⁸², glass-pastes⁴⁸³, and the numerous sarcophagi⁴⁸⁴. The bipennis was also one of the many mint marks of Roman Republican coinage⁴⁸⁵.

And finally, is not the successful foreshortening, "eine perspektivische Wirkung"⁴⁸⁶, of the left leg of the Amazon queen rather too advanced for an Etruscan intaglio of the 450s?

It was stated above that there is no concrete evidence which would support the view that the iconography of the London intaglio was influenced by, let alone copied from some major wall-painting. In sculpture, on the other hand, there are examples of the motif, the prototype of which is found on two mid fourth-century Italian vases⁴⁸⁷ which echo strongly the representation on the gem⁴⁸⁸. There are several copies of a splendid statuary group of the Hellenistic period, convincingly reconstructed by Berger⁴⁸⁹, in which Achilles, catching the slumping body of the

Amazon turns his head away from her and lifts his gaze heavenwards - this attitude is expressive of despair, of remorse at his deed. Penthesilea's life ebbs away, and her head would have fallen forward except for Achilles' supporting hand. This group is found time and again with slight variations on the many Roman sarcophagi decorated with Amazonomachies⁴⁹⁰. These representations show Penthesilea either still alive, apparently walking alongside Achilles, though she is weak and puts her arm around his neck for support, or, as in the free-standing group, collapsing to her knees. The motif is also used as the reverse type (a warrior raising up a fallen female) on the denarius serratus of 71 BC, which commemorated the beneficia conferred on Sicily by Mn. Aquillius, consul in 101 BC, who was responsible for ending the slave war⁴⁹¹. Although no one piece reproduces exactly the iconography of the London intaglio, it is clear that the gem is closely related to them.

This analysis suggests that the intaglio, by virtue of its iconography, belongs at the earliest in the third century, and possibly even as late as the first century. And there are further considerations which support this conclusion. First, the material and shape of the stone. The majority of fifth century Etruscan scarabs are of cornelian, although onyx and banded agate (as here) are by no means rare. Banded stones and glass-pastes did, however, enjoy a great vogue from the third century onwards, and were especially common in the first century. The white band in a darker stone would be set at the centre of a ringstone - precisely in the position it is on the London scarab. There are few such stripes on Etruscan gems of the fifth century. The oval shape of the stone is also that preferred in the later periods. Secondly, the style of the beetle. There is nothing of comparable summary treatment

in the fifth century, but such a scarab would not be surprising on a late fourth or early third century gem; after this time, interest in the scarab shape declined, and a beetle even as summary as on the London stone would be unusual as late as the first century. Finally, the curious semi-circular cut up the face of the intaglio. This must have occurred at the very beginning of the execution before even the border was cut, and it is, therefore, difficult to believe that any fifth century engraver who was going to lavish so much care and attention on the figures, would not have discarded the stone on seeing the undesirable result of this short-cut; indeed, is it at all likely that an engraver of any quality would have resorted to such a cheap and lazy method in the first place? It is an unsatisfactory approach more easily attributed to a later hand, perhaps more used to dealing with a convex than a flat surface.

If this gem is assigned a date of the third century or later, then the iconographic peculiarities can be explained in the context of an engraver working in a deliberately archaizing style, using a motif familiar to him from contemporary sculpture and reliefs. The style of the intaglio is closest to the third century cornelian in a private collection referred to above⁴⁹², and to the gems associated with that piece. In conclusion, therefore, it is suggested that the London intaglio of Achilles supporting the dead Penthesilea belongs not to the second quarter of the fifth century, but is an archaizing work of an engraver of the third century, perhaps later, whose hand is betrayed by iconographic anachronisms and technical improbabilities.

