

ABSTRACT

An Iconographical Study of the Works of the Meidias Painter
and his associates

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The Introduction surveys previous work on the Meidias Painter and his Associates, and outlines the form that the present study is to take. In Chapter I the Painter and his Associates are introduced; their style is briefly assessed, and an attempt is made to establish their dates and their artistic, social and historical background.

In the following Chapters, the Meidian scenes are grouped together by subject and mood. Each group of scenes is similarly treated; the representations are first described and then discussed. Reference is made to the literary and artistic traditions behind each subject, and attempts are made to account for any unusual or especially interesting features of the scenes, and to determine the factors which influenced their design.

In Chapter II the more violent scenes are discussed, the Amazon-, gigant- and centauremachies, the Minotaur, Persians chasing women and Oedipus slaying the sphinx. Chapters III and IV discuss the 'heavenly garden' scenes which are most characteristic of the Meidian group, scenes set in paradise gardens from which all violence is excluded. In these Chapters the Meidias Painter's name vase and related scenes, Phaon and Adonis, Thamyris, Marsyas and Mousaios, Personifications, Chryse, Apollo and Artemis, Asklepios, Eleusinians, Dionysos and Aphrodite are all discussed. Chapter V is reserved for non-violent yet non-heavenly garden scenes - Nausikaa, Anyone, Ixion and Trojan themes. Chapter VI deals with non-mythological scenes, those of women and cult.

In the Conclusion it is suggested that the two major characteristics of Meidian iconography are its interest in nature and its concern to soften and romanticize mythology, and it is argued that both may derive from the contemporary social and political climate.

A catalogue of vases attributable to the Meidias Painter and his Associates is appended.



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PREFACE

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INTRODUCTION

The Meidias Painter's vases reminded Sir John Beazley of 'the hostess who adds so much sugar that one does not know if one is drinking tea or coffee':¹ this was, perhaps, one reason why he never devoted a monograph to the Meidian style. Most other English scholars seem to have found the subject equally repulsive, but continental art-historians and archaeologists have shown rather more enthusiasm.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards there were sporadic publications of individual Meidian vases, such as Minervini's Illustrazione di un vaso Ruvese;² early in the twentieth century several vases were included in Furtwängler and Reichhold's monumental work; and in 1908 and 1909 the first two monographs on the Meidian vases appeared, Nicole's Meidias et le style fleuri and Ducati's I Vasi dipinti nello stile del ceramista Midia.³ The aim and scope of the two books is similar, though their strengths and weaknesses differ; both collect a number of vases which relate to the London hydria (MP 5),⁴ and both concentrate on style to the virtual exclusion of iconography. Nicole and Ducati were followed in 1930 by Hahland with Vasen um Meidias; Hahland's major contribution here is his identification of the two main lines of development in later fifth century vase painting, but he also makes many perceptive comments on the style and subjects of the vases included in his study.

In 1947 Becatti's Meidias: Un Manierista antico introduced a

new approach to the subject with its claim that the Meidias Painter and his colleagues were entrenched in an exaggerated style of painting which contained an artificial reflection of the characteristics of a greater artist, Pheidias. Becatti offers a brilliant account of the style and its practitioners, votaries of Love, Beauty and Poetry, but the subject matter of the paintings is not treated in any depth.

After Becatti, interest in the Meidias Painter lapsed until Real produced Die Entwicklung der Vasenmalerei in der ausgehenden 5 Jahrhundert v.Chr. in 1973. This work is disappointing, for after criticizing the approaches of Hahland and Beazley, Real proceeds to rely heavily on them both, and the result, apart from the occasional interesting comment on style and iconography, contains little that is new. Of far greater significance are the contributions of Knigge and Cramers, which will be discussed in Chapter I; but these too are almost exclusively concerned with style, and the only recent comments on aspects of Meidian iconography are Simon's discussions of MP 2 and MM 45 in Die griechischen Vasen (1976).

Despite his antipathy to the Meidian style, it is Beazley who, with his lists of Meidian vases in ARV and Paralipomena, has provided the greatest assistance towards the writing of this thesis, which moves away from previous studies of the Meidias Painter by concentrating not on style but on iconography. The aim is to examine the iconography of all vases attributed on stylistic grounds to the Meidias Painter and his associates, and so to determine what were their major interests and sources of inspiration, and how, if at all, their scenes relate to the contemporary background of late fifth-century Athens.

The main part of the work is contained in Chapters II - VI,

which provide detailed descriptions and discussions of the iconography of groups of scenes related in theme and mood: Chapter I introduces the Meidian group by identifying its artists and their chief characteristics of style, establishing their dates and surveying the artistic, historical and intellectual background against which their vases should be seen.

CHAPTER I

THE MEIDIAS PAINTER AND HIS ASSOCIATES

The Meidias Painter is named from the potter signature
ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ:ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ on the shoulder of a large red-figure hydria
in the British Museum (MP 5); potter and painter may or may not have
been the same man. In ARV and Paralipomena Beazley attributed
twenty-two vases or fragments of vases to the painter of the London
hydria, the Meidias Painter, along with two more pieces which he
thought could be by the same hand. In Attic Red-figured vases in
American Museums he remarked that 'It is sometimes difficult to be
certain whether a particular vase is by the 'Meidias Painter' him-
self...or by one of his adherents and imitators';⁵ yet amongst the
associates of the Meidias Painter he was able to distinguish several
individual artists and groups - the Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris,
the Group of Naples 3235, the Painter of the Frankfort Acorn, the
Painter of the Athens Wedding, the Group of Boston 10.190, Aristo-
phanes, the Painter of Athens 1243, the Painter of Louvre MN 558,
and the Group of Athens 12144. Besides the vases he attributed to
these artists and groups, there are a large number which Beazley
placed under the heading 'Manner of the Meidias Painter'. The total
number of vases and fragments he attributed to the Meidias Painter
himself, to particular artists or groups among his following, and to
those painting in his manner, is one hundred and ninety-one.


Several vases which have become known since the publication of Paralipomena have been included in this study. These may be found in the Catalogue; the most important additions are two vases which may be attributed to the Meidias Painter himself, MP ADD 13A with its scene of Amymone surprised by satyrs, and MP ADD 23, on which the infant Asklepios appears in the arms of Epidauros.

The Meidian style

Although this is an iconographical study, a brief discussion of certain aspects of the Meidian style may serve to introduce the Painter and his followers.

So far as shapes of pot are concerned, the favourite large vase of the Meidias Painter and his followers was the hydria, while among smaller shapes squat lekythoi, Shape 3 oinochoai and a range of pyxides and lekanides were preferred. The style of the floral and pattern decoration of the Meidian vases lies outside the scope of this survey; the figure style has been so adequately described and discussed by Nicole, Ducati, Becatti and Cramers that only its essential characteristics will be summarized here. It is easiest to concentrate on the figure style of the Meidias Painter himself, for that of his followers is usually a weaker version of his own. Meidian heads are distinctive, the profiles long and noble, the eyes large, the mouths small, the chins heavy and rounded, and there is a fondness for three-quarter faces. Meidian women are slim and long-legged, while the men incline to plumpness. Both sexes have remarkably elegant hands and feet, with long, tapering toes and fingers. There is much elaboration in the hair-styles and dress of the women: the hair may be fastened up under a diadem to which leaves are attached, concealed beneath a richly patterned sphenone, or left to hang

loose in prolific curls and ringlets, while the transparent, multi-pleated drapery may be enlivened with stars or scroll designs, as it alternately clings close to the body and swirls away in exaggerated, almost calligraphic flourishes. All the women wear gold ear-rings, necklaces, hair-ornaments and bracelets, and their girdles too are tipped with gold.

One aspect of the Meidias Painter's style which has not received much attention and therefore deserves a fuller discussion here is his manner of composition. This is 'Polygnotan' in that no single ground line is observed, but the figures are set at different levels over the surface of the vase, occasionally shown only in part, as if emerging from behind a hillock. Waving white lines suggest rocks or irregularities in the terrain, while trees, shrubs and flowers also contribute to the outdoor effect. At a casual glance it might appear that the figures are scattered at random through the field, but in fact the arrangement is extremely careful, and results from the application of certain principles. One of these is a determination to use space to maximum advantage. The Meidias Painter shows an unusually clear appreciation of the size and shape of the fields at his disposal, and an ability to use the shape to enhance the scene, and vice versa. This may be observed on the shoulders of his hydriai, potentially an awkward shape to deal with. The area to be filled is roughly an inverted isosceles triangle with blunted corners (); this shape the Meidias Painter exploits to focus attention on a low central point. On MP 5, for example, the eye follows the chariot teams up and away from the centre over the horizontal handles to left and right, but it is then drawn back along the length of the horses towards the main action in the centre, and towards Aphrodite, seated below beside her altar. MP 1 and MP 2 share the same low central focus: Phaon and Demonassa, or Aphrodite and Adonis,

each in their leafy bower, occupy low central positions and are framed by women, single or in groups, who turn or gesture towards the centre. As well as exploiting the triangular field to secure a strong central focus, the Meidias Painter also makes skilful use of the handle areas to draw attention to the elegant shape of the vase. On MP 5 the handles seem to bear the weight of the chariot teams, while on MP 1 and MP 2 they support the outstretched legs of seated women.

Other determining principles of composition are those of symmetry and balance. These may be seen in the arrangement of figures on MP 1 (fig. 1). Above and to the left of the central couple, Aphrodite and Adonis, is set the single figure of Eurynoe: she is balanced by Pannychis, below and to the right, and with each woman an Eros is associated. Next, Eudaimonia and Eutychia (below left) are balanced by Hygieia and Paidia (above right), and Pandaisia (above right) by Chrysothemis (above left). There is nothing rigidly symmetrical about the arrangement: seated figures can balance standing ones, and the correspondences between them are often quite complex. Chrysothemis, for example, talking to an Eros, balances not only Pandaisia but also Pannychis, who beats a tambourine for another Eros to dance, and at the same time, as a single figure, she is connected with Eurynoe too. Similarly, the two pairs of women, Eudaimonia and Eutychia, and Hygieia and Paidia, not only balance each other, but simultaneously relate to the central couple, so that in the end the field is effectively crossed by two diagonal lines, one of three couples, reaching up from bottom left to top right, and the other of three single figures, stretching from top left to bottom right, and the two lines intersect on the central couple, Aphrodite and Adonis.

The principle of symmetry is undoubtedly essential to the design,

but it is so subtly and unobtrusively applied that the links and correspondences make themselves felt only gradually. The initial impression is simply one of perfect balance. There is, after all, no rigid division of the characters into single figures or couples; Pandaisia is closely attached to Hygieia and Paidia, Eurynoe to the central couple. All the figures are carefully linked, so that the eye does not rest on any one for too long, but is drawn gradually from one person to the next, passing round each in turn. The couples are closely linked: Adonis leans back against Aphrodite's knees, and Eutychia puts her hand round Eudaimonia's neck, while Paidia sits comfortably on Hygieia's lap. But at the same time one couple may be linked more casually with another: Hygieia and Paidia are linked with Aphrodite and Adonis by the way Hygieia's hand overlaps Aphrodite's arm, and by Paidia's pointing fingers. Again, Eurynoe is connected with the central couple, for they look at her, or at the ixn-spinning Eros in front of her, and all together form an enclosed group of their own. Eudaimonia's outstretched legs form the link between her, her companion Eutychia and the central couple, a link strengthened by the fact that Eutychia, like all the figures on the edges of the scene, faces in towards the centre. This lends the scene cohesion, preventing it from disintegrating at the edges and also enhancing the central focus, because once the eye has travelled out to the edges, the direction of the outer figures' gaze compels it to return back along the chain to the centre again. With all this careful organization, the composition yet manages to appear spontaneous rather than contrived - surely not the least of the Meidias Painter's achievements. It may be added that none of his followers were equally skilful.

I do not propose to give a detailed account of the characteristics of the individual painters who worked in the style or manner of the Meidias Painter, but I shall offer a few general observations about the more significant members of the group. The two whose work is so close to the Meidias Painter's that it is sometimes thought to be by his hand are the Painters of the Karlsruhe Paris and the Athens Wedding. Beazley described the Karlsruhe Paris Painter's efforts as 'laboured copies of paintings by the Meidias Painter'⁶: of the painter's name vase he remarked that 'The drawing of this vase is extraordinarily like the Meidias Painter, but so dead that I prefer to think of it as a copy'⁷; all the stylistic details find parallels in the work of the Meidias Painter, but the overall impression is quite different, for the painting is dull and excessively contrived. The masterpiece of the Painter of the Athens Wedding is not his name vase, but a bell krater which shows the Judgement of Paris (AW 3, figs. 74, 120-122) - a scene remarkable for the intricacy of its detail, and its dense assembly of richly dressed persons.

Amongst the other Meidian artists the only outstanding personality is Aristophanes, distinguished by the shape of vase he evidently preferred, the cup, and by the heroic scenes of giants and centaurs which he liked to paint. The vases painted in the general manner of the Meidias Painter vary enormously in style and quality, ranging from some which could almost be attributed to the painter himself to others which are hastily and scrappily executed.

Dating the Meidias Painter

Before attempting to relate the Meidias Painter's work to its social and historical context, it is clearly necessary to establish what this was. It is generally agreed that the Meidias Painter was at work during the last two decades of the fifth century, and that

his followers continued the Meidian tradition into the early years of the fourth.⁸ But since the dating evidence is largely unsatisfactory, it seems advisable to review it before accepting the conventional chronology.

There is a general shortage of securely dated contexts which provide fixed points for dating in the later fifth century, and those few which are secure are usually less helpful than might have been hoped. One fixed point is provided by the Rheneia graves. In 426/5 the island of Delos was purified and the contents of its graves transferred to neighbouring Rheneia.⁹ This means that the contents of the Rheneia graves can be no later than 426/5. The Rheneia vase which has been judged on stylistic grounds the latest is a neck amphora painted by the Shuvalov Painter, and placed on grounds of shape, pattern and figure style at the beginning of the later part of the painter's middle period.¹⁰ It is not until the later period of the Shuvalov Painter's work that the influence of the Meidian style becomes apparent. If it is accepted that the Shuvalov vase was buried shortly before 426/5, the implication for the Meidias Painter is that he is unlikely to have been active much before this time. But the peculiar nature of the Rheneia find makes it dangerous to place too much reliance upon it. The very small quantity of late archaic red-figure vases suggests conservatism on the part of the Delians or their suppliers in the earlier part of the century, and this conservatism may have remained a constant feature; at all events it is perfectly possible that the vases buried between 430 and 420 were not those currently in production at Athens. The mediocre overall quality of the Rheneia vases should also be observed: they can hardly be seen as a representative sample of Attic vases of any period.¹¹ The Rheneia evidence, then, is not very helpful for the Meidias Painter: all that it really shows is that none of his vases were

buried on Delos before 426/5.

The grave of the Corcyrean ambassadors of 433/2¹² has provided little helpful dating evidence. A black-glaze chous, similar but not identical in shape to a red-figure piece by the Eretria Painter, was found in the grave, but this does little more than confirm the already established view that the Eretria Painter was probably active around this time, from which it follows that the Meidias Painter might have been about to embark on his career.

Dated contexts are slightly more helpful in establishing the lower limits of Meidian activity. The grave of the Spartans who fell near the gates of the Kerameikos in 403¹³ has produced fragments of pottery in the Meidian style, though of very poor quality, and a fragment in the style of the Pronomos or Suessula Painters, both likely to have been younger contemporaries of the Meidias Painter working outside his group. These finds suggest that the Meidian group was still in production late in the century, but that the high point of the Meidias Painter's own career may well have been rather earlier. The finds from the grave precinct of Dexileos also help to establish that later members of the group were still active in the 390's. The five choes from the enclosure (MM ADD 41B-F) all have a general connection with the Meidian group, one possibly with Aristophanes. The only problem here is the absence of proof that the choes were deposited at the time of Dexileos' death in 394, since he himself was buried not there but in a public grave, and the precinct was used for various members of the family at different times. It has recently been argued, however, that the scenes on the vases would have made them a peculiarly appropriate offering for Dexileos,¹⁴ and if they were purchased at the time of his death, they may be taken as an indication of continued Meidian activity into the fourth century.

It may be asked if the Meidian vases themselves offer any help on the dating question. The Meidias Painter's two plates (MP ADD 23, MP ADD 24) might be relevant here, since red-figure plates are extremely rare at this time, and the pair may be related to the series of black-glaze plates excavated in the Agora and the Kerameikos.¹⁵ The black-glaze plates are placed by reference to related finds in the last thirty years of the century, and the earliest examples are much less refined than the more developed shape with which the Meidian pair may be associated. But since the precise chronology of the black-glaze series has yet to be established, the Meidian examples can only tentatively be placed in the later part of the century.

It would be helpful if any of the Meidian scenes could be associated with dated events, such as the first production of a play or the winning of a battle. But here again, the only possibility seems to lie with MP ADD 23, which may be connected with a dithyramb celebrating the arrival of the god Asklepios in Athens in 420.¹⁶ It seems fairly certain that the plate would not have been painted before 420 - but neither plate nor dithyramb need have followed immediately on the introduction of the cult to Athens. Again, it has been suggested that the portrayal on MP 1 of Adonis reclining in the lap of Aphrodite may reflect the paintings commissioned by Alkibiades to commemorate his victories in the games around 420.¹⁷ These paintings, variously ascribed to Aglaophon and Aristophon, showed the personifications of the Olympic and Pythian games bestowing wreaths on Alkibiades, or Alkibiades seated on Nemea's lap: Alkibiades was more beautiful than the women. But the resemblances between the descriptions of the paintings and the Meidian scenes are too general for any theories to be built upon them.

If the Meidian vases themselves provide few dating clues, the

name piece of the Pronomos Painter¹⁸ is of more positive assistance. The Pronomos on this vase has been associated with the famous Theban flautist mentioned in an inscription of 384/3 and in Aristophanes' Ekklesiazousai,¹⁹ produced in 393 or 392. It seems likely, at least, that the vase is roughly contemporary with the play. And since the style of the Pronomos Painter clearly represents a development from that of the Meidias Painter, it would appear that the latter's activity must have been just about over by the 390's.

Contemporary monumental painting and sculpture

There is a possibility that the Meidias Painter's works could be dated by their relationship with contemporary large-scale painting and sculpture; these are in any case worth reviewing here, since both may well have had some influence upon both the style and the subject matter of the paintings executed by the Meidian group.

The major difficulty in any attempt to show a connection between vase painting and large-scale painting is the absence of any extant examples of wall or panel paintings; added to this are the problems of determining the meaning of the accounts of the ancient art historians and the precise dates of the painters involved. Pliny's account, however, makes it clear that the late fifth and early fourth centuries saw major developments in painting, especially in the rendering of perspective and chiaroscuro. The two greatest artists of the time were Zeuxis and Parrhasios, famous for their different approaches to the creation of an illusion of three-dimensionality. Where Zeuxis achieved the effect by his clever use of light and shade, Parrhasios relied on his subtle treatment of line. It is possible to find reflections of both solutions in later fifth century vase painting. Shading is employed to good effect, for example, on the Huge lekythoi. But Parrhasios' method would clearly have appealed

more to red-figure vase painters, whose fundamental instrument had always been the line. The nature of Parrhasios' achievement lay in his ability to create an effect of depth on a flat surface by outline alone. In Pliny's words,

... he is unrivalled in the rendering of outline... where an artist is rarely successful is in finding an outline which shall express the contours of the figure. For the contour should appear to fold back and so enclose the object as to give assurance of the parts behind, thus clearly suggesting even what it conceals. 20

In other words, Parrhasios' line created an illusion of the extension of the forms turning back into space where they are out of sight to the viewer. Surely this same technique is to be observed in the work of the Meidias Painter,²¹ in, for example, his fore-shortened views of frontal figures, like Phaon or Thamyris on MP 2 and MP 16. And parallels for other aspects of Parrhasios' style may be found in the Meidias Painter's works. Parrhasios was famed for adding 'vivacity to the features, daintiness to the hair and comeliness to the mouth',²² all of which are equally characteristic of the Meidias Painter. The effeminacy of Parrhasios' youths is suggested by the account of Euphranor's comparison of his own and Parrhasios' Theseus: his own appeared to have fed on meat, Parrhasios' on roses.²³ Even the reports of Parrhasios' personal habits and tastes strike echoes in the Meidian scenes - he was fond of luxury, and given to wearing purple robes and golden crowns.²⁴

There are links too between Zeuxis and the Meidias Painter, in subject if not in technique. Zeuxis was famous for the beauty of his women: his Helen of Croton was one of many. And the report that he painted a rose-garlanded Eros in a temple of Aphrodite at Athens recalls the Erotes who are a constant feature of the Meidian scenes.²⁵

The techniques and subjects of Zeuxis and Parrhasios, then, appear to have had something in common with the work of the Meidias

Painter. The larger-scale painters may or may not have influenced the vase painter, but in any case it seems reasonable to suggest that they were contemporaries. Quintilian dates both Zeuxis and Parrhasios to the time of the Pelopnesian War²⁶ and this date is confirmed by Plato and Xenophon, who represent them conversing with Socrates.²⁷ Pliny describes them as contemporaries of each other, and he places Zeuxis' floruit in 397.²⁸ Despite the problems created by the report that Parrhasios worked with Mys on the designs for the shield of the Athena Promachos, around 440, it is generally agreed that both painters were most probably active in the last two decades of the century.²⁹ This may help to confirm the general impression that the Meidias Painter's activities were largely concentrated in the same period.

Connections between sculpture and vase painting are, in general, of two kinds. The vase painting may copy a particular work of sculpture or a particular sculptural motif; alternatively, painting and sculpture may share general features of style, such as drapery or anatomical proportions. In the case of the adoption of a particular figure or motif, it is generally impossible to determine how close in time the painting should stand to the sculpture; the motif may have been adopted directly from the sculpture or via the intermediary of other paintings; it may have been borrowed as soon as the sculpture was completed, or several years later; and once borrowed, it could obviously be exploited repeatedly over a period of years. So the only conclusion which it is legitimate to draw from the appearance of a particular sculptural motif on a vase is that the vase must post-date the sculpture - unless, of course, there is a source behind the sculpture too. So if the Meidian artists appear to be drawing some of their ideas from the Parthenon (as, for example, on MM 36), this tells us no more than that they had seen the Parthenon

and that their work post-dates its completion. It certainly does not entitle us to suppose that their work is contemporary with Pheidias'.

It would be reasonable to expect that more helpful connections could be made between the general style and temperament of sculpture and vase painting, and that, allowing for the differences arising from the different media and from the particular characteristics of individual artists, both would to some extent reflect the common mood and style of the period. But with the Meidias Painter, this reasonable assumption is rendered less valid by the problem of mannerism. If, as has been claimed,³⁰ the Meidias Painter was consciously imitating and exaggerating the sculptural style of an earlier period, the links between his style and that of the sculpture in question are of no more help in narrowing down the dates of the painter than is his use of particular motifs. However, the Meidian style is not pure mannerism: it is, rather, eclectic, and if mannerist in part it draws inspiration from several sources. Parrhasios may well have been one of these; there has also been a suggestion that the style may show the influence of metal working;³¹ and contemporary sculpture too might well have left its mark.

It is with the sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet, and with the Fréjus Aphrodite,³² that the work of the Meidias Painter has the strongest affinities. The sculptors of the Parapet were as fond as the Meidias Painter of thin, transparent and flowing drapery, clinging or swirling away in scrolls and flourishes. Like the Meidias Painter they were interested in such minor details of dress as the buttons which fasten the chiton along the upper arm, and in their effect on the drapery below: compare, for example, the Sandal Binder from the Parapet³³ with Herosora on MP 2 (fig.46). And like the Meidias Painter they depicted frozen instants of action: compare,

for example, the Nike to the right of the bull³⁴ with Peitho on MP 5 (fig. 22), both arrested in mid-flight. The Fréjus Aphrodite, surviving only in copies, may derive from a work of Alkamenes. With her the Meidian paintings share, again, the light, clinging drapery which outlines the limbs beneath. Aphrodite's gesture, too, as she raises a fold of material from one shoulder, is very characteristic of Meidian women.

It is likely that the Nike Temple Parapet, the original of the Fréjus Aphrodite, and doubtless other contemporary works of the same style which have not survived, exercised a certain influence on the Meidias Painter; at all events, the characteristics shared by the sculptures and the vase paintings make it legitimate to suggest that they are the products of a similar era. The date of the original Aphrodite is, of course, uncertain, though Alkamenes is generally placed in the last two decades of the century. Most of the work on the Nike Temple appears to have been done between 427 and 423, but the balustrade was quite probably executed at a slightly later date, possibly during the Peace of Nikias.³⁵

There is, then, very little direct evidence for the secure dating of the Meidias Painter. But the indirect evidence of dated contexts, the shapes and scenes of the vases themselves and their relationships with painting and sculpture, combine to suggest that the dates traditionally assigned to the painter's career, 420-400, are very probably correct.

The Meidias Painter and later fifth century vase painting:
predecessors and contemporaries.

Having made all possible efforts to establish the absolute chronology of the Meidias Painter, we may now turn to his position

in the development of later fifth century vase painting. The most important forerunners of the Meidias Painter were the Eretria Painter and Aison. The close links with the Eretria Painter have been seen for some time: those with Aison have only recently been observed.

It has frequently been stated as a matter of fact that the Eretria Painter was the teacher of the Meidias Painter.³⁶ It is clear that they were two of the most significant painters of the later century, and their work does have certain characteristics in common. Although the Eretria Painter decorated more cups than anything else, some of his best work is found on the squat lekythoi which were also a favourite shape of the Meidias Painter. They shared too a fondness for women and for scenes of women; both liked to dress them in fine, multi-pleated chitons and to place them in peaceful twos and threes, leaning on one another's shoulder, or playing with a bird. The same characteristics distinguish the name vase of the Heimarmene Painter,³⁷ a close associate of the Eretria Painter; here we see the same fine, densely pleated garments, and the same groups of women, seated on one another's knees, or with their arms around each other's shoulders - the subject too is one favoured by the Meidias Painter, Helen, brooding over her imminent betrayal of house and husband, surrounded by the personifications of fate, destiny and divine retribution. Even the bird on the finger of Heimarmene's companion appears in Meidian scenes (such as MP 1), while the group of Paris and Himeros recurs on MM 38. The introverted melancholy of the scene is also very Meidian.

The link between the Meidias Painter and Aison was first expounded by Knigge. Her theory is that Aison and the Meidias Painter are one. This idea arose from the study of a chous recently excavated in the Kerameikos, painted with a lively scene of Amymone surprised by satyrs (MP ADD 13A, figs. 103-107). Knigge was at first inclined to

attribute it to the Eretria Painter, characteristic of whose style are the wide spacing of the figures and the delicacy of the draughtsmanship. But on reflection she found this attribution unsatisfactory. The strong diagonal lines of the composition, the alert and lively satyrs with their wiry, muscular bodies stretched out in athletic poses, and the way Amymone's chiton swirls and flourishes with a life of its own, are all quite foreign to the work of the Eretria Painter. His figures tend to sit or stand quite still: any movement is gentle and restrained, and drapery clings limply to the body. Once the Eretria Painter is rejected, the Meidias Painter is naturally next in line for consideration. Amymone herself is in all respects so thoroughly Meidian that it is hard to imagine she could have been painted by anyone other than the Meidias Painter himself. Her slender proportions and delicate profile, her hair style, the treatment of her drapery, all find parallels on, for example, MP 6 (figs. 124-126). On the other hand, the wide spacing of the figures and the strong diagonal lines are certainly at variance with the Meidias Painter's normal practice. Like the Eretria Painter he preferred to group his figures in peaceful couples; and like the Eretria Painter he had a general aversion to liveliness. His naked youths are soft and plump, their muscles rarely seen in action. With few exceptions, movement is not favoured, and violent actions are almost totally excluded. But there is a painter for whom these features are very characteristic, and this is Aison: for athletic figures or a fondness for the diagonal, it is necessary to look no further than the Theseus of A 1 (fig. 5) or the heroes of A 6 (figs. 2-4).

Knigge's effective and economical way of reconciling the Meidian and Aisonian features of MP ADD 13A is to amalgamate the artistic personalities of Aison and the Meidias Painter as limited and defined by Beazley. She suggests that Aison was 'der junge Meidiasmaler',³⁸

and introduces further evidence to support her theory. The women on A 11, for example, with their three-quarter faces, finely pleated chitons and affectionate embraces, are so close to their colleagues on MP 6 and MP 3 that they, no less than Anymone, should be by the same hand; and the same goes for the youth on A 11, a youth on a chous attributed to Aison,³⁹ and Dionysos on the lower frieze of MP 6. While admitting that anyone comparing one of Aison's earlier works, such as the Chantilly amphora,⁴⁰ with one of the masterpieces of the Meidias Painter's mature style, such as MP 5, would be reluctant to see them as the work of one painter, Knigge argues that in the course of a career of thirty or forty years not only did the painter develop and refine his artistic style, but his personality too, as reflected in the subject and mood of the paintings, underwent a transformation, one corresponding to the contemporary transformation of Athenian society. The change was, as she expresses it, 'die Wandlung einer einziger Künstlerpersonlichkeit in einer sich wandelnden Welt'.⁴¹

Knigge's theory undoubtedly has its attractions. The stylistic agreements to which she draws attention are undeniable, and her examples seem convincing. The discrepancies between the earlier and the later works, moreover, are largely off-set by the number of pieces which link the earlier and later styles: as well as MP ADD 13A, MP 6 and an oinochoe in a Japanese private collection⁴² both stand mid-way between the later works of Aison and the more developed pieces of the Meidias Painter. The subjects favoured by the two painters might at first appear to argue against their common identity. Where Aison favoured heroic scenes such as the deeds of Theseus, athletes, or youths and warriors leaving home, the Meidias Painter avoided heroism and athletics, preferring to concentrate on women and Erotes, or languid youths fingering the strings of a lyre. But he did paint

an occasional lively scene, such as MP 12 (fig. 162) with its dancers, or MP 14 (figs. 81-83) with the women who dance ecstatically round Aphrodite's chair. Nor did Aison exclude women altogether from his repertoire; they appear, after all, in many of his departure scenes. And with the Meidias Painter he shared an interest in obscure subjects; where the Meidias Painter depicted Phaon (MP 2), Aison was inspired to introduce Nausikaa (A 48). It is interesting that both were attracted by the legend of Adonis and by the Attic tribal heroes. Aison was one of the very few artists before the Meidias Painter to have shown any interest in Adonis, who appears in person on A 7 (figs. 35-38) and is represented by his gardens on A 11.⁴³ For the Meidias Painter and his colleagues, Adonis, along with Phaon, was a frequent source of inspiration. As for the Attic heroes, Aison may have learned to use them from his teacher, the Kodros Painter, another artist with an interest in obscure, often Attic, mythology. In any case, Aison introduced various heroes into his Amazonomachy (A 6), while the Meidias Painter made free use of them in the Garden of the Hesperides and elsewhere (MP 5, MP 17).

Knigge's theory is, however, rejected by two people who have devoted close attention to the subject. Lezzi-Hafter's position will be made clear in her forthcoming monograph on the Eretria Painter, but she kindly sent me some provisional conclusions in a letter of the 16th of October, 1979:

...there is a lot to be said for Frau Knigge's theory. But at present I am convinced that Aison and the Meidias Painter are not identical, but rather teacher and pupil. I also think that in the Eretria Painter's later period Aison and the Meidias Painter worked harmoniously side by side. These two were very close, the Eretria Painter not far distant... 44

And Cramers, in a thesis which acknowledges Lezzi-Hafter's help, comes to the same conclusion. He sets out to test Knigge's theory through

a rigorous survey and comparison of the shapes, pattern decoration and figure style of the vases assigned by Beazley to Aison and the Meidias Painter. Shape and pattern decoration are easily disposed of. In the case of shapes, he demonstrates that Aison, the Eretria and the Meidias Painter all decorated some vases made by the same potter, as well as others made by different potters.⁴⁵ His survey of pattern decoration, on the other hand, shows that none of the extant vases of Aison and the Meidias Painter were decorated by the same hand: the closest link is that both of them appear to have had vases decorated in the Shuvalov Painter's workshop, Aison two by the 'second hand' and the Meidias Painter one by the 'third hand'.⁴⁶ So far, then, there is little or no reason to suppose Knigge is right. But clearly it is through an examination of the figure scenes that the question must be determined.

Cramers analyses every detail of the figure style of the vases attributed to Aison and the Meidias Painter, and he concludes that for all the similarities observed by Knigge there are fundamental differences in everything from anatomy and poses to drapery and bracelets. Not all his arguments are convincing. Several of the differences he notes could well be due to the different subjects painted by the two artists. He observes, for example, that the Meidias Painter's sandals are nearly always low and Aison's high - but this could arise from the high proportion of women in the Meidian scenes and of men in Aison's; when Aison gives a woman sandals, or the Meidias Painter a man, Aison is likely to make them low, the Meidias Painter high. But the majority of the details he observes do afford convincing proof that Aison and the Meidias Painter were not one but two. In the paintings attributed by Beazley to the Meidias Painter, the combinations of clothing and the head-dresses are far more elaborate than in those attributed to Aison. Aison, on the

other hand, painted a wide variety of types of bracelet, while the Meidias Painter was content with a simple bar. Slight but significant differences may also be observed in anatomy and dress, in, for example, the representation of three-quarter and frontal faces, in the design of the male torso, knees and feet, in the way mantles are draped around the thighs of seated figures, in the types of girdle, or in the way the chiton is fastened on the shoulder. Details such as these are deeply rooted elements of each painter's style, parts of his personal hand-writing. The obvious similarities in the work of Aison and the Meidias Painter being, however, equally undeniable, their relationship is best explained in terms of teacher and pupil.⁴⁷

It seems to me most probable that Cramers and Lezzi-Hafter are right, and that Aison was the teacher of the Meidias Painter. In this case, the Kerameikos chous (MP ADD 13A) can be seen as an early work by the Meidias Painter, still under the influence of his teacher. I have, however, decided to include certain works by Aison in this study, because they seem at least as Meidian as the vases of Aristophanes or other painters from the Meidian group, and must have been produced at a time when the pupil-teacher relationship was perhaps developing into one of mutual influence. These works are the cup with the deeds of Theseus (A 1), the squat lek-ythoi with the Amazonomachy and Adonis (A 6, A 7), the acorn lek-ythos with the Adonis gardens (A 11), and the pyxis showing Nausikaa's encounter with Odysseus (A 48).

Inter-relationships between the contemporaries of the Meidias Painter from other groups are very hard to establish. This is partly because of the absence of adequate dating criteria, and partly because the potential of red-figure was by now so well explored that

individuals were free to express their tastes and inclinations just as they wished, and it is scarcely possible to trace any linear development in their style.

Alongside the Meidian workshop there appears to have been a more traditional school, continuing in the style of the Kleophon Painter. The leading artist in this group was the Dinos Painter, and associated with him were such artists as Polion. The painters of the larger pots may show an allegiance which wavers between the more traditional style and that being pioneered in the Meidian group. Such wavering may be seen, for example, on a twisted-handled amphora in Arezzo,⁴⁸ where the main scene of Pelops and Hippodameia shows Meidian touches in the three-quarter faces, the features and the drapery: but the large scale of the figures on their single ground-line, and the serious, statuesque qualities of the scene create a far more restrained and severe effect than any Meidian work, while the three draped figures on the reverse would certainly never appear on a Meidian vase. Another artist who combined elements of both styles was the Kadmos Painter. His figures are large and more statuesquely posed than those of the Meidias Painter; on the other hand, they are scattered around the field at various levels in a stiffer version of the Meidian style. Other contemporaries of ambivalent status were the Kekrops and Kiev Painters, probably slightly earlier than the Meidias Painter, and the Nikias and Pothos Painters, probably slightly later.

All these painters concentrated on decorating the larger shapes of pot. In addition, there were several workshops producing oinochoai, lekythoi, and other smaller shapes of vase. The later phases of the Shuvalov Painter's workshop were contemporary with the Meidias Painter, and this workshop was succeeded by others. And finally there were the painters of white lekythoi, the later Phiale Painter,

the Reed Painter, and Group R.

The political and intellectual background.

Lastly, we may ask what was the historical and social background against which the Meidias Painter and his associates were operating. The political events of the last twenty years of the fifth century are too well known to require rehearsal here. The loss of Athens' empire and her defeat in the Peloponnesian war were largely due to the lack of leadership, for no-one emerged to take the place of Pericles. Nicias was able, but over-cautious, Alkibiades unscrupulous and quite unreliable. It was Alkibiades, engineering his return to Athens, who provoked much of the political turmoil of the last decade of the century. But in spite of the unstable political situation, the Meidian period witnessed many of the greatest achievements of Athenian poets and philosophers. This was, after all, the age of Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes, the time when the authors of the Hippocratic treatises were initiating the scientific study of medicine and disease, while Socrates conversed with the youth of Athens on the nature of the Good and the immortality of the Soul.

It is easy to get the impression that Athenian society of the period was exclusively composed of high-minded people intent on serious and noble aims, and against such a background the Meidian scenes of languid idleness might seem strangely out of keeping. However, brilliant intellectualism is only part of the picture. Aristophanic comedy, with its down-to-earth characters, its mockery of philosophers, poets and politicians, and its vulgar jokes, demonstrates that there were other sides to the literary and dramatic tastes of Athenian society. Nor did all tragedians use their plays to wrestle with concepts of destiny, free-will and duty. One of the most popular tragedians of the time was Agathon, of whose

character and honeyed rhetoric Plato's Symposion offers a vivid impression.⁴⁹ He is handsome and charming, but vain and empty-headed, a master of the flowery phrase; his panegyric of Love proclaims the youthful, soft and sensitive nature of the god, who, graceful and well-proportioned, dwells in soft and pliant souls and among the flowers - he is the father of delicacy, voluptuousness, all the graces, longing and desire. Agathon's love, and Agathon himself, are surely mirrored in the youths, Loves and maidens on the Meidian vases. And given that the Athenian public liked Agathon, it is easy to imagine that they found a place for the Meidias Painter too.

If Agathon's vacuous elegance received the same welcome as the restrained yet impassioned eloquence of Sophocles, the rational speculation of philosophers and scientists also had its counterparts in magic, superstition, and a new interest in exotic cults. Magic and superstition were on the increase in the later fifth century, filling the vacuum left by the decreasing faith in the power of the old gods, itself due in part to the efforts of the rational thinkers, and in part to the cheerful irreverence of the comic poets. The Hippocratic treatises, no less than Aristophanes, provide evidence of the existence of magicians, magic rings and magic potions, and the historical accounts of the Sicilian expedition offer numerous examples of popular superstition: before the expedition sailed, oracles cited by Alkibiades prophesying a glorious victory in the west were balanced by the ill omen of the mutilation of the herms or the collapse of an Athenian Palladion at Delphi,⁵⁰ and the final disaster at Syracuse was precipitated by Nikias' refusal to move camp during an eclipse of the moon.⁵¹ And just as the Meidian vases make it easier to understand the appreciation of Agathon, so there are aspects of Meidian iconography which corroborate the

literary evidence for superstitious beliefs, and so contribute towards a more complete picture of the period.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to introduce the Meidias Painter and his associates, and to isolate certain characteristics of their style. It has reviewed the evidence on which dates may be assigned to the period of these artists' activity, and it has discussed the Meidias Painter's relationship to his contemporaries and his predecessors. Finally, it has summarized the artistic, historical and intellectual background of late fifth century Athens. In the following chapters the iconography of the Meidian scenes will be subjected to detailed examination: attempts will be made to relate the scenes to their artistic and social context, and so to assess the nature of the Meidian achievement.

CHAPTER II

FIGHTS, RAPE AND MONSTERS

This chapter groups together Meidian representations of the Amazonomachy, Theseus and the Minotaur, the Centauromachy, the Gigantomachy, Persians chasing women, and Oedipus with the sphinx. The common characteristic of these scenes is that all are violent, with fights, rape or monsters. With the possible exceptions of the scenes with Persians chasing women, and one of the centaur scenes, none are painted by the Meidias Painter himself. Two are the work of Aison, three of Aristophanes, one is painted by the Painter of the Group of Naples 3235, and the others by members of the general Meidian circle. There are five cups, three squat lekythoi, two lekanides and one pelike.

THE AMAZONOMACHY

1. Description

A 6 LEK(S) figs. 2-4.

Seven Amazons and six Greeks are engaged in combat or else retreating from it. The combatants, with one exception, are arranged in an upper and a lower row; the exception is the central Amazon, who spans both rows. On the far left in the upper row an Amazon, Laodoke (ΛΑΟΔΟΚΗ),⁵² flees from the battle, spear in hand. Below kneels an Amazon archer, aiming to the right. To the right of Laodoke in the top row Theseus (ΘΗΣΕΥΣ) advances to the right, armed with helmet, sword and spear, his left leg bent and his right fully extended as if he is moving uphill to the attack, his opponent being Antianeira or Antiope (ΑΝΤΙΑΝΕΙ[ΡΑ] or ΑΝΤΙΟΠ[ΕΙΑ]), who carries a bow but prepares to defend herself with the sword she holds behind her back, ready to strike. Below this couple Kreusa (ΚΡΕΟΞΑ) is forced down on one knee: only her shield protects her from the onslaught of Phylakos (ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ), who prepares to slash down on her with his sword, which he holds in the same way as Theseus' opponent. Between Antianeira(?) and Phylakos crouches the central figure of Klymene (ΚΛΥΜΕΝΗ), half sitting and half cowering with one leg doubled under her and the other outstretched; her body is turned to the left, but she twists round to look up at the hero who threatens her from above right. This is Phaleros (ΦΑΛΗΡΟΣ), who, in a position almost the mirror image of Theseus', is about to plunge his spear down into his victim; she turns to face him, her only refuge the shield that she raises in a last effort to deflect the final blow. Behind Phaleros, Aristomache (ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑ[Χ]Η) and Monichos (ΜΟΝΙΧΟΣ) are engaged in equal combat, spear to spear. And

below them, Astyochos (ΑΣΤΥΟΧΟΣ) approaches the archer Okyale (ΟΚΥΑ[Λ]Η) with levelled spear, while she takes aim in his direction. On the far right, in the bottom corner of the scene, a wounded hero, Teithras (ΤΕΙΘΡΑΣ) has collapsed with his head sunk on his chest and his right hand clutching at the wound in his side.

The heroes are naked except for their armour. The two Amazon archers wear short tunics, one with sleeves and the other without. The other Amazons wear leggings and sleeved tunics, decoratively patterned with spots and zigzags; some have shoes, while others are barefooted; some have caps with ear-flaps, and others regular helmets.

Waving white lines suggest a rocky or mountainous terrain; on the far right, beyond Teithras, is a partially preserved tree.

The composition is careful: the double row of figures is linked by the central figure of Klymene, by the way Phaleros and Theseus move from the lower row to the upper, and by the balanced contrast between Laodoke's flight in the top left and Teithras' collapse in the bottom right, both turning their backs on the battle. Within the lower row, a central focus is effected by the way the two archers aim in towards the centre, and the repeated pose of Theseus and Phaleros has the same effect above. There is, however, plenty of variety: the weapons, the attitudes and the stage of each combat differ, and the naked heroes alternate with the decoratively clad Amazons to provide contrasting plain and patterned areas.

2. Discussion

Theseus' abduction of Antiope appears on vases from about 525 onwards.⁵³ But not until the classical period does the Athenian Amazonomachy in which Theseus plays the leading part replace Herakles' Amazonomachy as a popular subject for vase painting: this is almost certainly due to the parallel which could be drawn between the

repulsion of the Amazon attack on Athens and that of the Persians, as well as to the general encouragement and promotion of Theseus by Kimon. The monumental paintings of the Athenian Amazonomachy which adorned the Stoa Poikile and the Theseion, paintings attributed to Mikon and Polygnotos, appear to have influenced those painters who adopted the theme with the greatest enthusiasm, the Niobid Painter, the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, Polygnotos and his followers.⁵⁴ These painters executed their Amazonomachies on large vases, especially kraters, and while their paintings have much in common with each other, they differ in important respects from A 6. Whereas, for example, the Polygnotan Amazonomachies nearly always include at least one mounted Amazon, Aison's Amazons fight on foot. On Polygnotan Amazonomachies the Greeks regularly attack from the left and the Amazons from the right, an arrangement which may anticipate the Amazon defeat. But on A 6 both sides move from both directions. And while on the Polygnotan Amazonomachies certain motifs such as the mounted Amazon spearing a fallen Greek recur, none of these feature on A 6.⁵⁵ In two respects Aison's scene is linked with the earlier Amazonomachies. The arrangement of the figures on different levels occurs on several Polygnotan vases. And if Theseus' opponent on A 6 is Antiope, the duel is the same one painted by, amongst others, the Achilles Painter and Polygnotos.⁵⁶

If Aison's Amazonomachy is, on the whole, unlike the Polygnotan versions, it does have strong affinities with the scene painted by the Eretria Painter on the lowest stripe of his red-figure and white-ground lekythos.⁵⁷ The Eretria Painter's scene has eighteen figures, arranged like Aison's thirteen in two rows, with rocky ground suggested by the same undulating white lines. The general impression of the two scenes is very similar; none of the combatants is on horseback, and within their two-tier compositions both scenes isolate

the participants in twos and threes, and both give precise and meticulous details of dress and armour. Three of the names are the same on both - Theseus, and, more surprisingly, Klymene and Phaleros. The two scenes share a number of the same poses. On both, for example, a hero is shown in three-quarter back view, armed with helmet, spear and shield, and moving uphill (Monichos on A 6, the nameless hero pursuing the Amazon who grasps at the wound in her back on the Eretria Painter's scene). On both a hero holds his sword behind his back in an attitude designed to give weight to the blow (Phylakos on A 6, Eudoros on the Eretria Painter's scene). These similarities are striking, although Aison's work is far superior in both design and execution. The Eretria Painter's lacks the cohesion of Aison's: his figures are repetitive, and the general effect is more of a frieze than a unified design.

It is interesting that both Aison and the Eretria Painter painted a second Amazonomachy, Aison on his Chantilly amphora, and the Eretria Painter on a lekythos in Boston.⁵⁸ Aison shows Hippolyte, supported by Deinomache, facing Theseus from a rearing horse; on the Eretria Painter's version both Hippolyte, again on horse-back, and Theseus, have allies in support. The compositions are again very close, but this time the correspondence is less remarkable, since both scenes stand very firmly in the Polygnotan Amazonomachy tradition.⁵⁹ Both were produced at an earlier stage of their respective artists' careers than the smaller scale, more detailed Amazonomachies we are now considering.

Was there, perhaps, some external factor which prompted either or both painters to abandon the tradition which had satisfied them at an earlier time? Such a factor might be found in the representation of the Amazonomachy on the shield of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, completed by 438/7. Despite the obvious differences deriving from

the differences in the media and in the intentions of the works, resemblances between the Amazonomachies on the vases and that on the shield (as far as it may be reconstructed from its various copies) can be looked for in composition, in the attitudes of the participants, and, perhaps, in their names. The following remarks owe much to the recent discussion of the Shield by Hölscher and Simon.⁶⁰

The composition of the Amazonomachy on the Shield was clearly different from that on either of the vase paintings, since on the Shield the field at the artist's disposal was large and formed a ring around the central boss, while on the vases the space is both smaller and more compact. However, the arrangement of the figures in pairs, which is a feature of both paintings, recalls the composition of the Shield, and is different from the Polygnotan scenes, where the battle is usually more general and confused. The way the figures fight up and down hill on the vase paintings is also characteristic of the Shield. There is more overlapping of figures on both paintings than on the Shield, but this could be due to the difference of technique,⁶¹ and to the influence of contemporary painting on Aison and the Meidias Painter.

Are any of the figures on the vases replicas of those on the Shield? On A 6 a number of figures strongly resemble people on the Shield, without, however, being exactly identical. This is the case, for example, with Theseus and figure 4 on the Shield:⁶² both lunge forward in the same way, drawn swords in hands, but the hero on the Shield is pulling an Amazon by the hair, and holds his sword at a less purposeful angle than Theseus, and, since he has no free hand, he has no shield. Again, the fleeing Amazon, figure 9 on the Shield, is almost a mirror image of Laodoke, but she holds no weapon, and has her front leg bent under her. Monichos' pose is close to that of the

Amazon, figure 10, and Antianeira is very like the axe-swinging Amazon, figure 22. But in none of these cases is the resemblance sufficient to justify the conclusion that Aison's figures derive directly from the Shield. There are, however, two more significant correspondences. One of the most striking figures on A 6 is the central Amazon, Klymene, and she is an exact replica of the Shield's figure 18, the opponent of the stone-thrower.⁶³ They sink to the ground in exactly the same way, with one leg doubled under and the other outstretched; both look round at their opponents, above them to the right; even the attitude of their right arms and hands is the same, although the figure on the Shield appears to have no spear. The second correspondence is between the wounded hero Teithras and figure 7 on the Shield. On the Shield the figure faces left instead of right, and is helped by a companion,⁶⁴ but the attitude of his head, sunk on to his breast, and of his outstretched legs, is very similar. Neither Klymene nor Teithras appear in earlier Amazonomachies.

On the Eretria Painter's Amazonomachy too there are some striking resemblances to figures on the Shield. His Amazon seized by the hair recalls figure 5 on the Shield; his Aynomene, wearing a longish tunic and clutching her axe in both hands, echoes figure 22, and the Amazon who collapses and gropes at the arrow or wound in her back is not unlike figures 25 and 27 on the Shield. The Eretria Painter also includes a stone-thrower, a figure known from the literary sources to have been represented on the Shield.⁶⁵

Are the resemblances between the Shield and these two vase paintings sufficient and of such a nature to warrant the suggestion that the Shield had any influence on Aison and the Eretria Painter? Amazon axe-brandishers like figure 22 on the Shield are standard participants in many Polygnotan Amazonomachies.⁶⁶ But Amazons seized by the hair, Teithras and Klymene figures, are, so far as the existing

evidence allows us to say, first introduced into the Amazonomachy on the Shield.⁶⁷ This makes it likely, then, that the Shield was influential.

The names which Aison gives his heroes may also be connected with the Shield, though here the arguments tend to become circular and confusing. On the Eretria Painter's Amazonomachy Theseus' comrades are, with one exception, given standard hero names - Alkandros, Eupolis and Eudoros: the exception is Phaleros, who re-appears on A 6. Here one hero, Astyochos, has a standard name, but Teithras, Phylakos, Monichos and Phaleros⁶⁸ are of greater interest. Teithras and Phylakos were both heroes of Attic demes, and local legends may have given them a part in the expulsion of the Amazons from Attica. Phaleros and Monichos were the heroes of the harbours, Phaleron and Monichion. Monichos, son of Akamas and so grandson of Theseus, is strictly anachronistic here. Phaleros belonged to the generation between Theseus and Monichos; he had a cult and an altar at Phaleron, probably in association with Akamas and Demophon (with whom he appears on a pelike attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Athena⁶⁹). That Phaleros was associated with the Amazonomachy before the Shield is shown by a Polygnotan Amazonomachy vase⁷⁰ on which he supports Theseus against Antiope. But when he appears on Aison's vase in the company of Monichos, his significance is most likely to be topographical; Simon argues from the evidence of A 6 that Phaleros and Monichos also appeared on the Shield, and that their inclusion there was, like that of Ajax and Teucer, Periclean propaganda, designed to stress the importance and significance of the harbours and the sea in Periclean policy.⁷¹

It is impossible to prove that Phaleros or Monichos was present on the Shield.⁷² But if they were, what would their significance have been for Aison? The date of A 6 is likely to be eight or ten

years after the completion of the Athena Parthenos; in any case, it seems unlikely that Aison was interested in spreading Periclean propaganda. But he must have had some reason for choosing the names of these eponymous heroes, in preference to the rather neutral hero names favoured by the Eretria Painter. One certain effect of the inclusion of the heroes is to make the battle less remote than it might otherwise have seemed to Aison's contemporaries. Since the eponymoi were all heroes in their own right and mostly related in one way or another to Theseus, there is no detracting from the legendary glamour of the episode. But as deme heroes, Phaleros or Monichos relate the Amazonomachy to the present day, reminding Athenians that their own ancestors, whose names were in common use as place-names, were responsible for the expulsion of the Amazons. At the same time, the Athenian nature of the victory is stressed. On the Shield, this Athenian glorification would be one manifestation of the self-esteem of Periclean Athens, perhaps an incentive to future achievement. Aison's intention is probably less serious. The deme heroes on A 6 are comparable to the heroes of the tribes on MP 5, relaxing with Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides: potential customers might, I think, feel a vicarious enjoyment and involvement in the battle - or they might simply enjoy spotting the hero in whose deme they lived and in whose cult they participated.

Aison and the Eretria Painter's Amazonomachies share only one figure in common with each other and the Shield. This is the Amazon figure 22 on the Shield, who has a slight resemblance to one of Aison's Amazons and a stronger resemblance to one of the Eretria Painter's. This would seem to suggest that if both artists borrowed from the Shield, they did so independently. On the other hand, they do have two more figures in common with each other, neither of whom seems to have featured on the Shield: Monichos on A 6 is very like one

of the Eretria Painter's nameless heroes, and Phylakos is like Eudoros. These resemblances could be fortuitous, but to me at least they suggest that there were close contacts between the two painters at a certain time in their careers.

The possible influence of the Shield of Pheidias' Athena is one of the most interesting aspects of Aison's Amazonomachy. If the existence of such influence is tentatively accepted, it may be seen that a work of sculpture, by introducing new motifs, had the power to revive interest in a theme which had been fairly thoroughly worked by previous generations of painters. But both Aison and the Eretria Painter were at least as eclectic in their use of the Amazonomachy on the Shield as their predecessors had been in their adaptation of the monumental paintings of the Theseion and the Stoa Poikile, so that the Shield and its influence remain as elusive as the works and influence of Mikon and Polygnotos.

THESEUS

1. Descriptions

A 1 CUP(B) fig. 5 (I)

The outside of the cup shows six of the deeds of Theseus. On one side are the Bull of Marathon, Prokrustes, and Kerkyon, and on the other Skiron, the Krommyonian sow, and Sinis. In every case, Theseus attacks from the left. The tondo shows Theseus and the Minotaur, with Athena. The goddess stands on the left, armed with helmet, spear and aegis. She relaxes with her weight on her left foot, to watch the end of Theseus' struggle with the Minotaur. Theseus, naked and holding his sword in his right hand, moves to the left, while looking back over his shoulder at the Minotaur, whose body he drags by the left horn. Behind Theseus are a pair of columns supporting a pediment, and behind the columns a stepped structure. A vertical band of meander and chequer squares frames the scene on the right; it is from behind this barrier that Theseus appears to drag the monster, of whom only the head, shoulders, and arms are visible. On the exergue is the painter's signature,

ΑΙΞΩΝ:ΕΓΡΑΨΕΝ .

NA 3235 3 PEL (side B)

Theseus (ΘΗΣΕΥ.), naked, grasps the right horn of the Minotaur in his left hand and prepares to strike with the sword he holds in his right. The Minotaur stands with his back to an Ionic column. His right hand clutches at Theseus, his left flails above his head. His left leg is bent at the knee, and it is clear that he is failing. Between him and the column is a low rock, beside which springs a small plant. Ariadne (ΑΡΙΑΔΑ)⁷³ holds a phiale vertically in her left hand and moves away from the fight towards the right.

2. Discussion

We may deal first with the simpler scene, that on NA 3235 3. Here, Theseus and the Minotaur adopt one of the attitudes in which they are represented in black- as well as red-figure versions of the scene.⁷⁴ The single column behind the Minotaur, an indication of the labyrinth or of the palace of Minos, is often shown,⁷⁵ and rocks too are common,⁷⁶ though plants are rare. Ariadne is not usually found on the scene at this date, for Athena has, by now, usurped her place.⁷⁷ The way that Ariadne starts away from the fight, and the phiale in her hand, are also unusual. The phiale may perhaps represent a misunderstanding of the clue or wreath that Ariadne sometimes carries in her hand.⁷⁸ Her attitude recalls that of the figure, variously interpreted as Medea or the Nymph of Marathon, who starts away on scenes of Theseus and the Bull.⁷⁹ It does, however, recur on one of the few later representations of Theseus and the Minotaur, on a vase belonging to the late calyx krater group.⁸⁰ This scene differs from the Meidian one in important respects: the Minotaur is forced to his knees, and Theseus, who has him by the horn, is about to lower his club for a vicious blow, while a small Nike flies up with a fillet of victory. The columns to left and right, however, the rock at the Minotaur's feet, and the tree behind Theseus, are all links with the Meidian scene. And on the right is a woman who hurries away with uplifted hands, looking back at the struggle as she goes.

Aison's cup, A 1, is interesting for several reasons. The first is that it is part of a small but closely connected group of later fifth century cups decorated with the deeds of Theseus. The other three cups in the group are by the Kodros Painter and two related artists.⁸¹ The Kodros and the Harrow Cup Painters' vases (now in

London and Harrow) have been thoroughly discussed by Hudeczek, along with A 1.⁸² Only a fragment of the third cup survives (in Berne), but it is clear that it had strong affinities of both style and subject with the others. Like the London and Harrow cups, the fragment bears the deeds of Theseus not only on the outside, but inside too, in a ring around the tondo. The outside of the fragment shows part of the Skiron episode, the inside parts of Sinis and the Bull of Marathon. The London cup shows the same six deeds as Aison's on the outside; on the inside they are repeated around a tondo of Theseus and the Minotaur. On the Harrow cup the same six deeds appear encircling the tondo, but on the outside Kerkyon and the Bull are missing, and each side of the cup bears just two deeds.

Apart from the close stylistic connections, the repetition of the same seven deeds is striking evidence of the close links between these cups and their probable reliance on a common source or sources, since an examination of the other 'cycle' vases shows that there is considerable variation in the deeds selected or omitted by other painters.⁸³ Few are in fact so comprehensive as these cups, the major exception being the Penthesilea Painter's cup, which shows all the deeds on our cups and others as well.

There are, however, interesting differences between A 1, the London and the Harrow cups, and probably the Berne fragment too. The last three are more closely related to each other than to A 1. All three have a ring of deeds around the tondo, which is missing on A 1, and there are closer connections between the tondi of the London and the Harrow cups as well: both show one column and part of a Doric entablature, where Aison paints elaborate Ionicizing architecture with two columns and a pediment, and a stepped structure behind. And neither of the other two cups includes Athena. On the outside of the cups, the most significant difference seems to be that

on the London, Harrow and Berne cups Theseus adopts a 'Harmodios' pose for his encounter with Skiron, whereas on A 1 his weapon arm is differently held, in a position found on earlier representations of the theme.⁸⁴ To explain the similarities and the differences between the cups, Hudeczek designs a stemma.⁸⁵ He suggests there was an original cup x, and from this derive on the one hand A 1, and on the other, through an intermediary, y, the London and Harrow cups (and presumably the Berne fragment too): y was responsible for the introduction of the 'Harmodios' pose. This is one of several ways in which the relationship may be envisaged; that there was a contest between the different painters is another possibility.⁸⁶ Whatever the true explanation, the close connections are very interesting; and between them the four cups form the last and one of the most ambitious representations of the Theseus cycle now extant.

The most remarkable features of A 1 lie in its tondo, which Hudeczek does not discuss at any length. Some of these features are shared by the London and the Harrow cups: others are unique to Aison.

The treatment of the Minotaur on all three is worth remarking, as a classical interpretation of a theme which would have had a more immediate appeal in the archaic period. In archaic scenes, the Minotaur is variously depicted. He may flee before Theseus, sink on one knee, fight back with rocks or fall on the ground, but he is always alive, however close to death. In the classical period representations are sparse. But in general, as on the Penthesilea Painter's cup, the Minotaur is still alive, if only just, and Theseus prepares to give the coup de grace. But on A 1, as on the London and Harrow cups, the Minotaur is dead. The different moments chosen by archaic and classical artists exemplify their

change in outlook. Where archaic painters favoured the sack of Troy, Polygnotos chose to paint the morning after the destruction. So too the classical painters are less interested in Theseus' fight with the Minotaur than in the result of the struggle.⁸⁷ A further classical feature of Aison's tondo, which the other two omit is the regal presence of Athena.

The architecture of Aison's tondo differs from that of the other two cups. Where the Kodros and Harrow Cup Painters were content with one Doric column and part of a standard Doric entablature, Aison's scheme is more elaborate. He seems to show the left hand corner of a temple-like building, complete with pediment. Two slender Ionic columns with carefully drawn ribbon fluting rise from long, flat plinths and terminate in complex capitals: below the meander-patterned neck bands, the fluting finishes in a row of petals, and between the volute member and the architrave is a rather large and spreading abacus. The entablature is narrow, apparently consisting only of an architrave, and decorated with sets of guttae. The corner of the pedimental sima and a small acroterion are also shown. Behind the columns are three steps, the top one with battered margins.

Wolters⁸⁸ suggested that the steps are the crepidoma of a temple building, that the problems of perspective were too much for the artist, and that he put the crepis behind instead of below the columns. But as Elderkin remarked, 'it seems strange that a painter who took pains to indicate correctly the Ionic fluting and who put a neat acroterion on the pediment should have placed the temple steps above and behind the stylobate, where they do not belong.'⁸⁹ He suggested instead that the steps were designed to represent an altar inside the temple, and he went on to claim that Aison chose the Ionic order because 'he had fallen under the spell of the recently erected Erechtheum'.⁹⁰ The columns, then, are those of the

north porch and the altar that of the thyechoos referred to in the building inscriptions of 409/8.⁹¹

The theory seems initially implausible. Apart from the inherent improbability that an artist would reproduce an actual building, there is the artistic nature of the architecture itself, with its elongated plinths, ring of petals below the capitals, and strange entablature. The north porch could, however, have exerted a general influence; without attempting any kind of accurate reproduction, Aison might still have used and adapted elements of the building to suit his own convenience: a broad neck band, though decorated with lotus and palmette rather than meander designs is certainly a feature of the north porch columns, and meanders are both more appropriate in the circumstances and easier to draw.⁹² As well as the columns and the altar, the presence of Athena in an attitude which suggests the Athena Parthenos, is a further link with the Acropolis. And such an emphasis on the Acropolis would serve to underline Theseus' Athenianism.

A major problem with the north porch theory, however, involves the dates of the Erechtheion and A 1. While the accounts of 409/8 suggest that when work on the temple was halted the north porch was almost complete, lacking only rafters and tiles, the most likely date for the initiation of work on the Erechtheion is around 421/20, in the Peace of Nikias.⁹³ But Aison's cup belongs nearer to 425 than 420. It is, however, possible, that another Ionic building exerted some influence on Aison. One of the most striking uses of the Order at this time was on the inner columns of the Propylaia, thought to have been constructed between 437 and 432 B.C. Might not Aison's columns and the stepped structure behind them be taken together as an artistic allusion to the Ionic columns of the Propylaia and the steps of the same building?

Connected with the general question of the architecture on A 1 is the problem of the vertical meander band which frames the tondo on the right. Some have dismissed this as purely decorative. Elderkin, for example, saw it as the result of the difficulty experienced by many artists in filling a tondo, and others have been equally dismissive.⁹⁴ There are, however, reasons to connect both the meander stripe and the meander band around the columns with the labyrinth.⁹⁵ The connection between meander and labyrinth is based not only on the classical and Hellenistic coinage of Knossos, which bears the Minotaur on one side and a meander on the other, but also on black-figure paintings of Theseus and the Minotaur, Theseus and Athena, or Theseus alone, on which a rectangular block of meander and zigzag patterns appears.⁹⁶ The earlier discussions of A 1 and the Kodros Painter's cup seem to have recognized the labyrinth-meander connection. Wolters, for example, suggested that on the black-figure scenes the meander block was a ground plan of the scene of action, the labyrinth, and that the red-figure meander strip was an elevation of the same structure.⁹⁷ Smith suggested the strip was the decorated door-jamb of the labyrinth,⁹⁸ and Eilmann proposed that in both black- and red-figure examples the meander was the pattern on the curtain hanging before a stage door.⁹⁹ This idea was adopted by Lehmann.¹⁰⁰

This theory has its attractions, but there is no evidence that Theseus and the Minotaur were ever the subject of any dramatic production, and the theme would scarcely lend itself to any of the standard forms of drama. It seems unlikely that the meander stripe is intended as a literal representation of the labyrinth, or as a curtain. It is, however, perfectly feasible to see it as a poetic allusion to the lair of the Minotaur, where the struggle whose outcome we are shown took place.

THE CENTAUROMACHY AND CENTAURS

1. Descriptions

AR 2, AR 3 CUPS (B)

These two cups are almost exact replicas of each other, both inside and out. Outside is the Centauromachy at the wedding feast of Peirithous, and in both tondi Herakles rescues Deianeira from the centaur Nessos. AR 2 bears in the exergue the signature of potter and painter, ΕΡΛΙΝΟΣ: ΕΠΟ[ΙΕ]ΞΕΝ ΑΡ[ΧΙ]ΣΤΟΦΑ[ΝΕ]Σ: ΕΛΡΑΦΕ. Beazley's detailed account of the two cups makes descriptions of the activities shown, the names of the characters and the differences between the two unnecessary.¹⁰¹

MM 116 CUP(S) FR

The fragmentary tondo shows a centaur carrying off a woman. Unlike Deianeira on AR 2 and AR 3, this woman tries to release herself with her right hand, while holding up her left arm gracefully swathed in drapery. The exergue is defined by a wavy line covered with small plants.

2. Discussion

We may look first at the tondi of AR 2 and AR 3. Aristophanes' design appears to combine elements of two artistic traditions, the first Herakles rescuing a woman from a centaur and the second Theseus rescuing Hippodameia from Eurytion at the Wedding of Peirithous. Herakles' bride rescue is popular in black-figure scenes, but rare in red-figure. On the four extant red-figure examples which pre-date Aristophanes',¹⁰² the identity of the woman or the centaur is never certain. In each case the centaur moves to the right, lifting up the woman, who may or may not have her feet still

on the ground, and who stretches out a hand imploringly to Herakles. Herakles approaches from behind, grasps the centaur by the hair with his left hand, and prepares to strike with his right. These red-figure examples all belong to the early classical period. At about the same time, the second tradition emerges. Closely modelled on the first, this is part of the new iconography established, probably in the 470's, for the Centauromachy at the Feast.¹⁰³ At the wedding feast of Peirithous, Theseus may attack a centaur who has not got hold of a woman. But often he usurps the role of bride-rescuer which should properly belong to the bridegroom, Peirithous. In this case, Theseus approaches from behind, just like Herakles, and pulls the centaur's hair, and the woman stretches out her hand to Theseus, just like the woman on the Herakles scenes. Theseus is, however, distinguished from Herakles by his lack of club, and by a significant detail of his clothing, the cloak that hangs around his left arm, crosses behind his body and clings to his right thigh as it slips to the ground. As Shefton observes,¹⁰⁴ this detail is uniquely suited to the circumstances of the Centauromachy at the Feast, and likely to have been invented especially for it.

The inscriptions in Aristophanes' tondi show that the hero is Herakles, the woman Deianeira and the centaur Nessos. But the iconography shows the influence of the Centauromachy at the Feast. That Aristophanes felt the bride-rescue in his tondi was an appropriate counterpart to the Centauromachy at the Feast on the outside of the cups is one indication of the influence, whether conscious or unconscious, of the later tradition. There is a second indication too: the Herakles of the tondi has no lion skin - instead he is equipped with the slipping himation peculiar to the Centauromachy at the Feast and to its hero, Theseus.

Why did Aristophanes name the figures in the tondi Herakles,

Nessos and Deianeira, rather than Theseus, Eurytion and Hippodameia? Dugas, discussing the red-figure scenes where Herakles rescues a woman, points out that the general theme interests the painters more than the precise identity of the participants: '...le nom du centaure et celui de la femme, le lieu et les circonstances de l'épisode peuvent varier...Hérakles, le centaure, la femme, voilà donc les acteurs du drame...' ¹⁰⁵ But if Aristophanes had not cared about the identity of his characters, he could have left the names out altogether. Shefton suggests that some artists may have felt unhappy about calling the bride-rescuer Theseus, because the bride-rescuer at the Wedding Feast should have been Peirithous, even if he was Theseus in the Theseion. He thinks that Aristophanes' tondi demonstrate the hesitation and inconsistency that can arise from this unease: after painting what is in effect Theseus rescuing Hippodameia Aristophanes 'boggles' and writes Herakles, Nessos and Deianeira against his figures, not forgetting to give Herakles his club, yet leaving him with a cloak falling off in the manner...peculiar to Theseus. He prefers to change the subject rather than face what he might feel to be faulty mythology.' ¹⁰⁶ Some such explanation is certainly required to explain the confusion of iconography and nomenclature; it is, however, possible that Aristophanes was just confused, or did not greatly care about the niceties of Herakles and Theseus iconography - for him the hero who rescued a woman from a centaur was primarily Herakles, and if the Theseus schema came more readily to mind, he simply used it without too much thought.

Many of the motifs found in the six groups of centaur and Lapith on the outside of Aristophanes' cups recur in other representations of the Centauromachy at the Feast, and may derive from the painting in the Theseion. Peirithous and Aiolos or Kretheus on side A are basically the back-to-back pair whom Shefton and Barron identify as a

a major element in the Theseion iconography. At Olympia the couple are Peirithous and Theseus, as they are again on Shefton's 9.¹⁰⁷ The Peirithous figure is an almost exact replica of the Herakles from the tondi, minus club and bride. Theseus wrestling with a centaur on side A repeats a group found on Shefton's 16, 1, 10, 11, 12, and 25, but only on Aristophanes' cups is the wrestler Theseus. On Shefton's 16 he is Peirithous, and elsewhere he is nameless. The axe-man on side B is another recurrent figure; at Olympia he is Theseus, and his prominent position on Shefton's 4 suggests he may be Theseus here as well. The boy cup-bearer is found at Olympia and elsewhere; on Shefton's 4 he is seen from behind, but like Aristophanes' figure he holds one hand muffled in his mantle, and this detail could derive from the Theseion painting. The mantle of Aristophanes' cup-bearer falls in the same way as that of Herakles in the tondi, that is, in the manner properly appropriate to Theseus.

As Beazley points out, the names which Aristophanes gives his figures are varied and obscure, and sometimes unexpected.¹⁰⁸ If the hair-puller on side A is to be Peirithous, not Theseus, surely the axe-man, rather than the wrestler, could be Theseus? Why does the obscure Asmetos acquire this major role? Barron's remark seems to offer the most likely explanation: '...for the vase painters the identity of the figures was flexible...in terms of the original, axe-man and hair-puller cannot both at once be Theseus, and perhaps neither was. But the derivative artists reproduce a figure or group which takes their fancy, and feel themselves under no obligation to maintain the same identification as in the original.'¹⁰⁹

One final point of interest about AR 2 and AR 3 is that they are replicas. Replicas are not in fact so rare in vase painting as might have been expected: the Kleophon Painter produced two pairs of virtually identical stamnoi, and other examples include a pair of

olpai by the Mannheim Painter and two pointed amphorae by the Oreithyia Painter.¹¹⁰ Several of these pairs come from the same tomb; Aristophanes' too are said to have been found in the same grave in Tarquinia.

MM 116 is far finer in execution than AR 2 and AR 3. As Beazley pointed out, the style 'compared with Aristophanes', is lighter, purer, and nearer to the Meidias Painter, who may, indeed be the artist.¹¹¹ The centaur on MM 116 does, however, have a family resemblance to Aristophanes'. Like them, he has a tuft of hair growing at the junction of his human and equine parts, a characteristic of later classical centaurs, and one which may be influenced by depictions of satyrs' tails.¹¹² The identity of the woman and the centaur on MM 116 is uncertain. They might be Deianeira and Nessos, but they could equally well be any other woman carried off by any centaur. That the scene is set outside is slightly in favour of the Deianeira-Nessos interpretation, but in the absence of Herakles, it is not possible to be certain.¹¹³

THE GIGANTOMACHY

1. Descriptions

AR 1 CUP(B)

figs. 6-12

Sides A and B each show three pairs of gods and giants. In the centre of side A (figs. 6-8) is Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ), facing right and brandishing his thunderbolt; in his left hand is his sceptre, and his head is wreathed. He wears a falling himation. His opponent, the giant Porphyrion (ΠΟΡΦ[Υ]ΡΙΩΝ) turns to flee, but looks back over his shield to Zeus. He clutches a rock in his right hand, but is also armed with helmet and shield. To left and right of the central pair, Artemis (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ) and Athena (Α[ΘΕ]ΝΑ[Ι]Α) attack with vigour. Artemis, on the left, applies her torches to the body of Gaion (ΓΑΙΩΝ): he has sunk on to his knees, and while his right hand tries to push Artemis' wrist away, his left flails desperately, swathed in the spotted animal skin with dangling legs and tail which serves him as a shield. He has no weapons. To the right of Zeus Athena, armed with helmet, spear and aegis, stabs downwards at Ekelados (ΕΚΕΛΑΔΟΣ), who, stunned by the aegis, collapses on to one knee, fumbling for his sword. He is also armed with shield and helmet. The central figure on side B (figs. 9-11) is Apollo (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ), who attacks towards the left, his sword held high above his head to deliver a mortal blow. In his left hand he holds his bow, and his cloak is swathed around his left arm and right thigh. His head is wreathed with laurel. His adversary, Ephialtes (ΕΦΙΑΛΤΗΣ), sways away from him, still levelling his lance: like his colleagues he has a helmet and a shield. Apollo is flanked by Ares (ΑΡΗΣ) and Hera (ΕΡ[Α]). Ares, armed with helmet, spear and shield, is about to despatch Mimōn (ΜΙΜΩΝ), who has collapsed on one knee

and holds his sword uselessly in one hand. Hera, armed only with a spear and with a veil hanging down her back, has Phoitos (ΦΟΙΤΟΣ) at her mercy; with her left hand she restrains his sword arm, while preparing to stab him with the spear in her right hand. Phoitos is armed with shield, helmet and sword.

Inside the cup (fig. 12) Poseidon (ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ) fights Polybotes, while Ge (ΓΕ) looks on. Poseidon is in the centre, naked except for the wreath on his head and the cloak which hangs off his left arm and crosses behind his left thigh. His weapon is his trident, and with this he is preparing to stab the giant, who has fallen on one knee and only tries to restrain Poseidon's left arm, which the god has got around his neck. Polybotes is fully armed with sword, spear, helmet, shield and cuirass. He looks up at Poseidon, waiting for the blow to fall; his spear hangs loosely in his left hand.

Behind Poseidon on the far left is Polybotes' mother Ge. She rises out of the ground as far as the knees; her upturned face is seen in three-quarter view, and her hands are uplifted, as she begs Poseidon for mercy. In the exergue are the signatures of potter and painter:

ΕΡΓΙΝΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣ(Ε)Ν ΑΡΙΣ[ΤΟ]ΦΑΝΕΣ:ΕΓΡΑΦΕ.

MM 64 LEK(S)

fig. 13

Artemis is shown with two giants. The goddess, wearing a tunic and a flying mantle, is recognizable by her hunting boots and by the torches she is applying to the body of the giant who writhes in front of her. He and the second giant are both armed with crudely drawn spears or staffs; one wears a cloak, the other an animal skin.

2. Discussion

The Artistic Tradition

The gigantomachy was a popular vase painting subject for almost

two hundred years before Aristophanes.¹¹⁴ Among the earliest extant gigantomachies are the Acropolis fragments by Lydos and others, from scenes of massed battles with numerous participants.¹¹⁵ In the mid-sixth century these give way to individual combats: the most popular figures are Athena, who attacks her giant with or without the support of Herakles and a chariot, and Poseidon, who threatens his assailant with the rock of Nisyros.¹¹⁶ In archaic red-figure, the preference for duels is maintained, but it becomes common to show not just one, but two pairs of god and giant together, and there are several cups, such as the Brygos Painter's,¹¹⁷ which illustrate a whole series of combats. In the later archaic period, a few new motifs are introduced, such as Hephaistos' adoption of a pair of tongs as his weapon.

The subject remains popular in the classical period: the Altamura Painter, Hermonax, the Niobid Painter and various members of his circle all painted gigantomachies.¹¹⁸ They were especially favoured for two-tier calyx kraters,¹¹⁹ on which a series of combats could be arranged in a single line with the gods moving from the left so that the eye is naturally drawn to follow their victorious progress around the circumference of the vase. The same motifs and attitudes recur - snakes coil themselves around the legs of Athena's victims, Artemis draws an arrow from the quiver on her shoulder, and Hekate waves a torch in either hand. One later classical scene, perhaps by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, stands apart from the others.¹²⁰ It includes numerous traditional features, such as the thunderbolt of Zeus or the torches of Hekate, but it also introduces innovations: instead of being contained in a single narrow frieze, the participants are allowed to range at various levels across the whole vase. Zeus is separated from his opponent by a chariot, and Athena adopts a new method of attack: with her aegis fastened shawl-like around her

shoulders she grips her spear in both hands to stab at her opponent, who, instead of falling as her victims usually do, turns to flee. The crescent moon above the shield of Zeus' opponent is also new, as is the attitude of the warrior collapsed upon his shield behind Athena. There is no record of any large-scale painting of the gigantomachy, but it seems not impossible that one might stand behind this scene.¹²¹

In the last years of the fifth century and the first of the fourth, a further group of gigantomachies appear, closely connected with each other and markedly different from what has gone before. This group consists of an amphora, a pelike, and two fragmentary kraters painted by the Pronomos and Suessula Painters and their associates.¹²² On all four the figures are arranged at different levels over the surface of the vase, and the fighting is vertical instead of horizontal, with the gods attacking from above. The giants are wilder and shaggier than before, and skins and boulders replace their normal armour and weapons. The four scenes vary in complexity; they introduce new characters, including an Amazon, Demeter and Kore, and new motifs, such as Poseidon fighting on horse-back, the arch of the heavens, or Ge, rising up out of the earth with her hands uplifted in supplication, as on AR 1. It is possible that these scenes were influenced by the gigantomachy on the shield of the Athena Parthenos:¹²³ but since nothing is certain about this gigantomachy beyond the fact of its existence, the question of its influence on vase painting is highly speculative. The gigantomachy also appeared on the east metopes of the Parthenon,¹²⁴ but these are too badly damaged for their relationship with vase painting to be ascertained.

Despite the occasional introduction of new motifs or arrangements, the artistic tradition of the gigantomachy is remarkably static over the archaic and classical periods. This may be partly

due to the absence of literary or dramatic treatments of the theme.

Aristophanes and the gigantomachy tradition

Aristophanes' gigantomachy combines traditional features with occasional innovations. His choice of shape is in itself old-fashioned. While both Aison and the Eretria Painter had decorated cups, these were, with notable exceptions, small and trivial pieces: the Meidian group executed its more ambitious works on vases of other shapes. To decorate a large cup with heroic deeds is an archaic fashion, and Aristophanes' gigantomachy does have affinities with those of the Brygos Painter or the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy.¹²⁵ Both show a series of duels; the Athenas on the Brygan cup and AR 1 attack in identical fashion; and Poseidon is chosen for the tondo by the Paris Gigantomachy Painter as well as Aristophanes. Aristophanes' composition too is old-fashioned, but here the shape of the fields at his disposal has virtually dictated the necessity of splitting the combatants on sides A and B into pairs and making them fight in the horizontal rather than the vertical dimension. Had he been aware of the new arrangement favoured by the Suessula and Pronomos Painters, he could hardly have employed it on a cup. Sides A and B are competently, if monotonously, arranged. They are contrasted in that the central figures, Zeus and Apollo, face in opposite directions, and in that Zeus is flanked by two goddesses, Apollo by a goddess and a god. In other respects the composition of the two sides is virtually identical. The central pair on either side is almost upright, while at each handle sprawls a collapsed giant, facing inwards to the god or goddess who looms above him. There is a great deal of over-lapping on both sides, with the motif of the extended leg set against a background of drapery employed almost to excess.¹²⁶

Parallels may be found in various parts of the gigantomachy

tradition for several features of AR 1. Athena occupies the position she has held since early black-figure gigantomachies, and so does her opponent.¹²⁷ Zeus, with falling cloak and thunderbolt, his sceptre in his left hand, is familiar from earlier red-figure scenes,¹²⁸ and Apollo's 'Harmodios' attitude, with sword held ready to strike, is associated with the gigantomachy from the earlier fifth century on.¹²⁹ Zeus, Apollo and Poseidon all offer versions of the hero with the slipping himation, who may have originated in the Polygnotan painting of the Centauromachy at the Feast.¹³⁰ It is unlikely that the motif is significant here; Aristophanes was fond of it, as AR 2 and AR 3 make clear, and he may have used it indiscriminately for gods and heroes alike. Artemis's torches are paralleled by Hekate's on classical gigantomachies,¹³¹ and her mantle swings up over her shoulder like Hekate's on the Woolly Satyrs' Painter's vase.¹³² Hera's veil finds a parallel on the same vase, where she wears it drawn up over her head. Turning to the giants, the skins worn by Artemis's opponents on both AR 1 and MM 64 appear on archaic giants, but seem to go out of fashion in the classical period.¹³³ The same is true of the rocks some giants hold: rocks and skins reappear with the Pronomos and Suessula Painters. The attitudes of Athena's, Hera's, Ares' and Artemis's opponents on AR 1, collapsing with one leg fully extended and the other doubled under them, seems to have been a popular one for giants throughout the gigantomachy tradition.¹³⁴ The way Zeus's opponent turns to flee is paralleled on the Niobid Painter's vase;¹³⁵ and the three-quarter faces of two of Aristophanes' giants, while the kind of detail to be expected from a follower of the Meidias Painter, also find echoes in the frontal faces of some archaic giants,¹³⁶ as well as in the three-quarter faces of two of the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs' giants.

Though much of AR 1 is very traditional, there are a few features

of considerable interest. The first concerns the figure of Artemis, who, here as on MM 64, is armed not with the bow and arrows she bears on earlier gigantomachies, but instead with torches. Vian speaks of 'une curieuse contamination avec Hécate',¹³⁷ and it does seem to be the case that the first torch bearer in the gigantomachy is Hekate: she appears on the Niobid Painter's and other classical versions of the scene, and her identity can be in no doubt when Artemis, traditionally equipped with bow and arrows, is also present. The Pronomos and Suessula gigantomachies give Artemis torches as a matter of course, but Aristophanes' representation seems to be the earliest extant.

The most interesting part of AR 1 is its tondo. The composition, in the first place, is ingenious, especially as regards the exergue. For Ge this is the earth from which she rises, and for Poseidon the ground he strides along. It also marks the formal boundary of the scene, so that when Polybotes' foot projects across it, this, combined with the way his spear crosses the tondo border, emphasizes the insecurity of his position and suggests he is falling out of the picture. At the same time the exergue provides a clear area for the signatures of potter and painter. Poseidon and Polybotes are pleasingly linked by Poseidon's trident, and by their interlocking arms and legs, which form a series of diagonal lines leading the eye down from the end of Poseidon's trident to the body of his victim. Ge, although a striking enough figure in her own right, does not really contribute to the success of the composition. A satisfactory triangle is formed by the three heads, with Poseidon's, as the character in overall control of the situation, as the apex. And the ineffectiveness of Ge's prayers is emphasized by the way Poseidon turns his back on her. But she overcrowds the tondo, and the shortage of room is emphasized by the way her left hand is pressed

up against Poseidon and her right hand raised close to her own body.

Ge appears three times on the fragmentary black-figure gigantomachies from the Acropolis, supplicating Zeus on behalf of her sons and touching his beard in entreaty.¹³⁸ But then she drops out of the gigantomachy until she reappears here on AR 1. Here, as on the Pronomos Painter's scene,¹³⁹ she rises up out of the ground, her arms uplifted and her face shown in three-quarter view. The major difference between the two figures lies in their hair styles, for Aristophanes gives Ge hair which is tidily controlled under a diadem, but on the Pronomos vase it falls in snaky ringlets over her shoulders, like that of the Ge who rises up into the fray on the Pergamon altar.¹⁴⁰

If Ge is rare in the gigantomachy, she is sufficiently familiar in other contexts, and the artistic derivation of Aristophanes' figure can be traced to scenes of the birth of Erichthonios and of Apollo and Tityos. Her emergence from the ground derives from the former scenes,¹⁴¹ her supplicating function from the latter.¹⁴² It is doubtful that Aristophanes himself was responsible for the re-introduction of Ge into the gigantomachy; but that this was the achievement of Pheidias on the shield of Athena Parthenos is a theory which is not susceptible of proof.

PERSIANS CHASING WOMEN

1. Description

MP 21 LKN LID(FRR) fig. 14

MP ADD 21A LKN LID(FRR) figs. 15-16

Both scenes are set in sanctuaries, as is clear from the altar and the tree on MP 21, the altar and the statue on MP ADD 21A. Both show men pursuing women. The men, who are beardless on MP 21 and have full beards on MP ADD 21A, wear patterned tunics over decorative sleeves and leggings, shoes and flapped caps. They carry spears, but they are attempting to carry off the women, rather than to injure them. The women, who wear chitons or peploi, try to evade their assailants in various ways. On MP 21 one has taken refuge on an altar and another runs to join her, her outstretched arms indicating her terror and her desperation. A third is on the point of being seized, and a fourth is being dragged away. On MP ADD 21A two of the women take refuge by the altar and the statue. One kneels with her arms flung around the statue, but a man drags her away by the shoulder; another woman leans over the altar to reach the statue from the other side. The other two women on MP ADD 21A are both about to be seized by their attackers.

2. Discussion

Who are the attackers, and who are their victims? The men's dress makes it clear that they are orientals, and such details as their shoes and soft caps indicate that they are likely to be Persians, who are in any case the most common orientals to appear in vase painting at this period.¹⁴³ The beards of the men on MP ADD 21A are very characteristic of Persians, but beardless Persians

are also found at this date.¹⁴⁴ The identity of their victims depends on the interpretation of the scenes as a whole, for which there are several possibilities.

The scenes could, firstly, refer either to a specific incident in the Persian wars, or to the wars in general. Representations of historical events are rare, but they do exist, especially those involving orientals, including Persians.¹⁴⁵ Scenes of Greeks and Persians are fairly popular from the late archaic period onwards; most of these are combat scenes, with the Greeks getting the upper hand, but again there are exceptions, and especially late on in the century there are Persian symposia, Persian huntsmen, sleeping Persians or Persians caught in embarrassing situations on vases.¹⁴⁶ Persians chasing women, however, do not seem prominent, though there is one Persian head vase on which a Persian pursues a woman.¹⁴⁷ Schauenburg points out that the iconography of the scenes, especially that of MP ADD 21A, with the women clinging to the statue, is reminiscent of the Ilioupersis.¹⁴⁸ There were many historical occasions reported by Herodotos on which the Persians sacked a Greek city, destroyed its sanctuaries and raped its women. In Athens itself, when the Persians gained the Acropolis, they slaughtered those who had fled for refuge into the shrines before plundering and burning everything in sight.¹⁴⁹ In Eretria they stripped and burned the temples and looted all they could.¹⁵⁰ To Phokis they brought total devastation by fire and sword: temples were plundered and women raped, some by so many Persian soldiers in succession that they died.¹⁵¹ It seems, however, rather unlikely that any Attic vase painter would be anxious to commemorate the sack of his own city, or that of one of the allies. And although it is likely that some of the paintings which show Persians were executed for Persian customers,¹⁵² it seems improbable that raping women in a sanctuary

would be something of which even a Persian would care to be reminded.

The scenes could, alternatively, be mythological rather than historical. Sanctuaries were obviously convenient places for rape, since women might be there on their own, without armed protection. That it was a reasonably common practice is suggested by Herodotos' account of the Chians who escaped from the battle of Lade: they reached Ephesos at nightfall, and the women of the place were celebrating the Thesmophoria; the Ephesians leapt to the conclusion that the Chians were armed brigands after their women, rushed to the place and slaughtered the lot of them.¹⁵³ Various heroines of mythology were snatched from sanctuaries - the daughters of Leukippos, for example, or Oreithyia. Multiple seizures do not, however, spring to mind: the fifty daughters of Danaus were married against their will, but not actually abducted.

One rape which is part historical and part mythological would seem to fit the circumstances of MP 21 and MP ADD 21A. This is the rape of the women of Athens by the Pelasgians, which traditionally took place in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. Herodotos describes how the Pelasgians, resenting their expulsion from Attica, returned from Lemnos to Brauron when the women of Athens were celebrating the festival of Artemis, and carried them off back to Lemnos.¹⁵⁴ This episode is not certainly attested in art, but it may possibly be the subject of part of the sculptured frieze from the Temple on the Ilissos. Here again, women are attacked in a sanctuary, and one kneels clinging to a column, while her assailant drags her by the hair.¹⁵⁵ Studniczka suggested¹⁵⁶ that the scene may represent the Pelasgian attack, and although his idea has not met with much enthusiasm, no better one has been put forward.

On the Ilissos frieze the assailants wear normal heroic dress:

since Pelasgians are not known elsewhere in art, it is doubtful whether or not the Persian costume of the invaders on the Meidian vases presents an insuperable barrier to the proposed identification. Schauenburg wondered if the scenes might have some connection with a dramatic performance;¹⁵⁷ there is no record of any play involving the Pelasgian attack, but if such had existed, it could explain the costume, since actors portraying foreigners of any kind tend to wear this type of dress by the later fifth century. The Pelasgian theory has the further advantage of helping to explain the unusual choice of subject for the shape of vase. Lekanides are associated with weddings, and at first sight violent scenes of rape might seem decidedly inappropriate as decoration. But Artemis at Brauron was intimately linked with brides and newly-married women;¹⁵⁸ it is even possible that the rape of the women of Athens, like that of Aymone or any other heroine of mythology, was in some ways seen as a paradigm for more conventional marriages.

OEDIPUS AND THE SPHINX

1. Description

MM 49 LEK(S)

figs. 17-19

In the centre of the scene, before a column on a stepped base, is the youthful, beardless Oedipus (ΟΙΔΙΠΟΣ). His face is shown in three-quarter view to the right, and his left arm embraces the column, while in his right hand he holds a spear with which he stabs down at his victim. His right foot rests on an outcrop of rock, and his right leg is bent at the knee; his fully extended left leg makes a strong diagonal line parallel to that of his spear. He wears sandals and a mantle which flies off in his exertions: this is painted so that part seems to pass in front of the column and part behind, so that his left hand is muffled in it and it flies up behind his right shoulder. A sword hangs in a scabbard at his left side, suspended from a baldric. Below him and to the right crouches the sphinx (ΣΦ...). Her back legs are still erect, but her front ones have collapsed. Her head rests on the ground and is twisted to one side so that only a tangled mass of hair is visible. Her wings, shown in relief with gilding, are raised. Several onlookers are present. Above and to the right is Apollo (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ), seated left with his legs crossed at the ankles and his head turned over his left shoulder. He sits on a mantle which covers his right thigh and falls between his legs, and in his right hand he bears a laurel staff. Apollo looks down towards Kastor (ΚΑΣΤΩΡ) and Polydeukes (ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΗΣ), whose youthful appearance recalls that of the heroes on MP 5. Both wear mantles and carry spears; Kastor is bare-footed while his brother has sandals. Kastor stands facing the centre; Polydeukes sits to the right but also turns back slightly towards the centre.¹⁵⁹

To the left of the central column and of Oedipus are Athena (ΑΘΗΝΑ) and Aineas (ΑΙΝΕΑΣ). Athena stands right, her left hand supporting the upper rim of her shield and her right holding her spear. Over her white-painted peplos she wears the aegis, and on her head is a helmet: aegis, helmet and shield are all shown in relief, with gilding, as are her necklace and her bracelets. Behind her grows an olive sapling, and behind this again is Aineas, dressed like the other youths on the vase and leaning forward to watch Oedipus with his left foot propped up on a hillock.

2. Discussion

The major points of interest in this scene are that Oedipus, in defiance of the normal version of the myth, appears to be killing the sphinx, and that he is surrounded by a curious miscellany of gods and heroes, most of whom have little obvious relevance to him or his situation.

Oedipus killing the sphinx

It would seem fairly clear that Oedipus is killing the sphinx. He stabs at her with his spear, and she lies crumpled at his feet. Is this, however, the end of a straight fight, or is Oedipus just finishing her off after her suicidal leap from the column? The second alternative has been favoured by Jahn and Murray, on the grounds that Oedipus should overcome the sphinx not by force but wit.¹⁶⁰ In Murray's opinion, the crumpled legs, broken neck and raised wings of the sphinx show she has fallen from a height; Oedipus looks scared and clings desperately to the column - he cannot have slain the sphinx outright, since only fear has brought him as far as this. Murray suggests that Oedipus has answered the riddle, the sphinx has cast herself down, and the hero, terrified for no good reason, is about to deliver the coup de gr[^]ace. This view has recently been reiterated

by Papastamos,¹⁶¹ who, like Robert,¹⁶² sees the column as decisive evidence that the riddle has been asked and answered.

The painting itself will support either the theory of the straight fight, or that of the suicide with Oedipus just finishing the sphinx off. While it is true that the hero clings to the column, Murray is surely wrong to attribute this attitude to fear; he is merely saving himself from slipping down the slope to join his victim. Nor can his expression really be described as one of terror: to me his features seem fairly empty of emotion, just like those of the other characters on the scene. And his attitude finds parallels both in figures delivering a final blow and in those engaged in combat: he strongly recalls the Theseus of A 1 (fig. 5), but his downward thrusting action is also that of Zeus on the Suessula Painter's gigantomachy,¹⁶³ where the god aims his thunderbolt towards a giant who fights back with a torch. The attitude of the sphinx does not encourage speculation on whether she has jumped or been stabbed to death. If the column is likely to be that on which she was, until recently, seated, this is hardly conclusive proof of the riddling, since sphinxes sat on columns long before Oedipus became involved.¹⁶⁴

It has been maintained that there was a version of the myth in which Oedipus killed the sphinx outright instead of answering her riddle. The literary tradition for this is weak. Euripides refers to Oedipus as σφιγγὸς ἰοιδοῦ σῶμα φονεύσας ... , and Sophocles as κατὰ μὲν φθίσας τὴν γαμφώνυχα παρθένου χρησμῶδον ... ,¹⁶⁵ but both poets were well aware of the riddle, and in both cases the explanation of the Euripidean scholiast is quite adequate, that φονεύσας (or κατὰ...φθίσας) is used ἀντὶ τοῦ φόνου καὶ ἀνακρεσείως γενομένου αἵτιος : whether or not he slaughtered her, Oedipus was in the end responsible for her death. There are, however, a few artistic representations of Oedipus killing the sphinx. Among

the earliest Oedipus scenes is one on a Boeotian kantharos¹⁶⁶ of the second quarter of the sixth century, where the hero attacks the seated sphinx from behind with his sword. On a black-figure Campanian amphora,¹⁶⁷ also of the sixth century, Oedipus is shown running forward with drawn sword, while the sphinx retreats before him. On the basis of this evidence Robert¹⁶⁸ and others suggested that originally Oedipus just killed the sphinx in a straight fight, and that the riddle was a refinement introduced in the classical period. But recent research makes this unlikely. Apart from the fact that riddles are quite in keeping with the epic tradition, a recently discovered papyrus contains lines which probably belong to Euripides' Oedipus and which include the partial hexameter couplet

ἔστι δὶπουν
ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπουν οὐ μίᾳ φωνῇ, καὶ τρίπουν.....¹⁶⁹

- this, it is thought, could derive from the epic Thebaid. Hausmann, in the latest discussion of the Oedipus theme in art and literature,¹⁷⁰ puts forward a strong case for the inclusion of the riddle in the epic tradition. His argument rests in part on the new artistic evidence he brings forward: the most significant piece is a Chalkidian amphora on which Oedipus ponders before the sphinx, surrounded by a chorus of mourning women,¹⁷¹ a scene he convincingly relates to an early dramatic production.

If the riddle was part of the epic tradition, how are the scenes where Oedipus attacks the sphinx to be explained? Schefold suggests that early artists did not have the means to show Oedipus answering the riddle¹⁷² - but some of them, such as the artist of the Chalkidian vase, clearly did have the means;¹⁷³ and in any case this explanation cannot account for a lekythos painted in Six technique around 470,¹⁷⁴ on which the sphinx bounds along her rock towards Oedipus, who raises one hand to fend off the attack, brandishing a threatening club in the other. On a Sam Wide Group cup, again, though neither Oedipus

nor the sphinx looks ready for a fight,¹⁷⁵ the hero's drawn sword may suggest the artist's acquaintance with a version in which the sphinx is overcome by force.

The scenes where Oedipus attacks the sphinx remain, then, enigmatic. But the alternative explanation for MM 49, that Oedipus is finishing the sphinx off after she has leapt to her death is hardly very satisfactory. Perhaps the best explanation of the scene is that it represents an amalgamation of two artistic traditions. Oedipus' resemblance to the Theseus of A 1 has already been remarked; a column too is a common feature in scenes of Theseus and the Minotaur. The artist of MM 49 may have wished to show the triumph of Oedipus, rather than the moment favoured by earlier classical painters where he has not yet solved the riddle; with no artistic tradition of a triumphant Oedipus to draw on, he drew instead on that of Theseus, and produced the confusion of the scene we possess.

Oedipus' companions

On earlier Oedipus scenes the hero is either alone, or else accompanied by Theban youths or elders.¹⁷⁶ But the distinguished company of gods and heroes assembled on MM 49 is unique. Their appearance may be due in part to the Meidian fondness for overcrowding scenes and for introducing collections of deities.¹⁷⁷ But it is possible that the particular figures selected for inclusion here have some special connection with Oedipus.

Apollo's presence is not hard to explain, in view of the crucial part played by his oracles in Oedipus' career, but that of Athena is harder to account for. Although she often stands by to encourage Herakles or Theseus, there is little evidence that she had a special interest in Oedipus. Murray suggested¹⁷⁸ that since there was a sphinx on the helmet of the Athena Parthenos there may have been an

Attic tradition connecting her with Oedipus, but this is very speculative. Perhaps the influence of Theseus scenes has prompted the inclusion of the goddess here.

Aineas' connection with Oedipus is that of opposites, for his character and destiny are the antithesis of Oedipus'. Where Oedipus kills his father, Aineas is the embodiment of filial piety, and where Oedipus ends his days in exile and blindness, Aineas lives to fulfil his glorious destiny of founding a new and greater Troy. Aineas has no place at all in the Theban cycle: when he appears on other Attic vase paintings it is as the companion of Paris. The Dioskouroi have little connection with Oedipus either. But as gods on whom people called at times of need, at sea or in the heat of battle,¹⁷⁹ their presence here is reasonably well-motivated. And after his death Oedipus became, like them, a σωτήρ ; like them he was a foreigner, adopted as an Athenian citizen and worshipped as a god.¹⁸⁰ The common features in their histories may have influenced the inclusion of the Dioskouroi here; on the Niobid vase too the three may appear together.¹⁸¹ The Dioskouroi are also linked with Aineas: all were connected with Samothrace and its mysteries,¹⁸² and they were painted together by Parrhasios.¹⁸³

The white and gold Athena, recalling the accounts of the chryselephantine Athena Parthenos, and the olive tree at her back, lend the scene a peculiarly Athenian air. Were there any special connections between Oedipus and Athens? According to Knox, for Sophocles 'the character of Oedipus is the character of the Athenian people';¹⁸⁴ one a τύραννος and the other a πόλις τύραννος, they share the same characteristics, good and bad, and Oedipus' fate is a warning to Athens. The analogy is probably too literary to find any reflection in the paintings of the time. It is, however, certain that Oedipus was a hero and a σωτήρ at Athens and in Attica, with cult places

on the Areopagos and at Colonos.¹⁸⁵ Sophocles' Oedipus at Colonos, produced in 406/5, is full of allusions to the mysterious blessings and protections which Oedipus will impart to Athens if he is allowed to die in the grove at Colonos.¹⁸⁶ There is little contemporary evidence for the cult, but the orator Aristeides may reflect the endurance of popular tradition when he remarks (around 170 A.D.) that those heroes who in the past fell in battle for Greece have become guardian spirits of the dead 'and protect the country no less surely than Oedipus who sleeps at Colonos'.¹⁸⁷

It would, finally, be pleasing if the deities assembled around Oedipus could be linked geographically with either of Oedipus' cult places. Athena was worshipped at Colonos (as Athena Hippias), but none of the others appear to have had shrines or altars there. It is just possible that all had shrines in the area of the Agora closest to Oedipus' altar on the Areopagos, but there is no evidence for this.¹⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

Although centaurs, Amazons, giants and the rest were hardly central preoccupations of the Meidian Group, these scenes are not trivial and may not be overlooked. In conclusion we may summarize and attempt to account for their dominant characteristics.

One striking feature of the scenes is their Athenianism. This is especially marked on A 1, with its possible allusions to the Acropolis, and on A 6, with its introduction of Attic heroes; but MM 49 too is lent an Athenian air by the presence of Athena. Aison's Athenianism may stem from the atmosphere of the time, the Periclean era when the Athenian empire and glory in its achievements reached their peak; partly stimulated by Pheidias' example, Aison's Athenianism is in part a direct expression of civic pride.

A second characteristic of the scenes of violence is their old-fashioned appearance. Heroic deeds themselves are old fashioned, and the motifs found in Aristophanes' centaur- and gigantomachies scarcely differ from those of the earlier classical period; moreover, cups with heroic scenes reached the climax of their development in the late archaic period. Aristophanes was, perhaps, a rather conservative member of the Meidian Group, and his work demonstrates the difficulty of reconciling heroic subjects with the Meidian style.

A third characteristic of these scenes is that their violence is generally half-hearted. With the exceptions of the Persians of MP 21 and MP ADD 21A, and the heroes and Amazons of A 6, heroes, giants and centaurs are languid in their attack. This is due in part to the Meidian tendency to plumpness and softness, but also to the artists' fondness for frontal and three-quarter faces: when Oedipus or Nessos turn their faces towards us, this slows down the

action and also produces a curiously self-conscious effect, as if the characters are fighting less for their own benefit than for ours.

The final characteristic of these scenes is their capacity to produce surprises, like the mysterious orientals of MP 21 and MP ADD 21A, or the sphinx-slaying Oedipus of MM 49.

CHAPTER III

THE HEAVENLY GARDENS, PART 1

This chapter and the next contain all the 'heavenly garden' scenes for which the Meidian Group is famous. The chief characteristic of these is their idyllic, pastoral nature. The ostensible subject may be Adonis, Thamyris or Aphrodite, but almost every scene is filled with beautiful women and hovering Erotes, who idle away their time in paradisiacal surroundings. In this chapter a discussion of the Meidias Painter's name vase, MP 5, and related scenes, is followed by consideration of Phaon and Adonis, and of the legendary musicians, Thamyris, Marsyas and Mousaios.

THE LONDON HYDRIA AND RELATED SCENES

A. THE RAPE OF THE DAUGHTERS OF LEUKIPPOS

1. Description

MP 5 HYD (shoulder area) figs. 20-22

The upper part of the scene is occupied by two chariot teams, between which stands an archaic statue on a plinth, the ancient cult-image of a goddess. She wears a peplos with a patterned central panel, a fringed mantle and a fillet around her head; she holds a phiale in her right hand, while her left is raised. Her stiff, unseeing presence is in striking contrast to the swirling activity around. The four horses of each team face upwards and outwards from the centre. The chariot on the left is already in motion: the horses move at a gallop and toss their heads, hooves and tails flying in the air. The driver is Polydeukes (ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΤΗΣ), who crouches low over the reins with his mantle billowing out behind him in a rapid curve, which underlines the speed of the chariot's progress. His patterned tunic also swirls out at the hem. Beside him on the chariot is Elera (ΕΛΕΡΑ). She stares dreamily downwards, her head shown in three-quarter view to the left. Her finely pleated chiton has an overfall, and she is decked out with bracelets, necklace, and a diadem in her hair. Her right hand holds the chariot bar, while her left draws a fold of her veil from her shoulder - the end of the veil floats out past Polydeukes' head.

The chariot on the right is stationary, the horses held in check by the charioteer Chrysippos (ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ). Holding the reins and a goad, and wearing a richly patterned tunic, he looks down and round at Kastor (ΚΑΣΤΩΡ) and Eriphyle (ΕΡΙΦΥΛΗ), immediately below

the statue. Eriphyle puts up a slight and elegant resistance: Kastor has her round the waist, and her left arm flails in the air. Her mantle flies out behind her head, as does Kastor's, and she draws a fold of it away from her left thigh. Her dress is almost identical to Elera's, as Kastor's is to Polydeukes'.

Kastor and Eriphyle bridge the upper and the lower areas of the scene. The presence of the statue suggests a sanctuary, an impression which is enhanced by the altar in the centre of the lower part of the scene. Beside the altar sits Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ); she faces left, but looks back up over her shoulder to Kastor and Eriphyle, leaning on her left arm while raising her right hand towards her head. On the right Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ) flees from the scene, clutching her flying mantle in both hands and looking back as she goes. On the left, another of the Leukippidai, Chryseis (ΧΡΥΣΕΙΣ), goes on picking flowers, while a fourth girl, Agave (ΑΓΑΥΗ) starts up in flight, holding out her veil in both hands. Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ) closes the scene on the far left: sitting with a mantle over his knees and with his sceptre leaning against his shoulder, he watches his sons' misdemeanours with calm satisfaction.

Trees grow to right and left, and beside the altar; flowers, shrubs and undulating ground lines are marked in white.

The scene is remarkable for its balanced and vigorous composition. As the chariot teams lead the eye up and away from the centre, the striking group of Kastor and Eriphyle re-focuses attention in the middle, and though both Peitho and Agave flee out towards the edges of the scene, they look back inwards as they go, which pulls the composition together and emphasizes the central figures of Kastor, Eriphyle and Aphrodite.

2. Discussion

The Rape of the Leukippidai may have been recounted in the Cypria, but the extant literary sources are late.¹⁸⁹ There are two main traditions concerning the incident. In the older version, the rape was separate from the quarrel between the Dioskouroi and the Apharidai: the Dioskouroi carried off the Leukippidai from their native Messenia, and later quarrelled with the Apharidai about some cattle, a quarrel which resulted in their fateful duel. In the later sources the rape was directly linked to the quarrel between the two sets of brothers: the girls were betrothed to the Apharidai, but the Dioskouroi bribed Leukippos to break his oath to the Apharidai and let them have the girls instead. Alternatively they abducted the girls from their wedding feast. The date of the second version is uncertain, but the earliest extant account is in Theocritus' twenty-second idyll.¹⁹⁰

Pausanias mentions two archaic representations of the Rape of the Leukippidai, on the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, and in the shrine of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta.¹⁹¹ There are two possible representations extant in archaic sculpture: two metopes from the Heraion at Foce del Sele show two running women and two youths who might be in pursuit, and on the south frieze of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi a man lifts a struggling woman on to a chariot.¹⁹² This last scene strongly resembles the earliest extant painting of the rape, on a fragmentary Chalkidian vase, where Polydeukes lifts Phoibe on to a chariot, the identity of the pair secured by inscriptions.¹⁹³

The Leukippidai do not appear in any extant Attic vase painting until the early classical period. Then, a small group of painters from the circles of Polygnotos and the Niobid Painter become interested in the theme.¹⁹⁴ The Leukippidai were also adopted by the early South Italian painters, the most notable representation being the

Sisyphus Painter's.¹⁹⁵ The early classical paintings may have been inspired by Polygnotos' painting in the Anakeion, described by Pausanias as ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς (the Dioskouroi) ... γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου.¹⁹⁶ There has been some discussion as to whether Polygnotos showed the older or the newer version of the incident. The 'Polygnotan' vases, like the Meidias Painter's, make no reference to the Apharidai or any wedding feast; this, combined with the absence of any literary evidence for the existence of the second version by this date, makes it likely that Polygnotos followed the earlier tradition. This was, after all, less discreditable to the Dioskouroi, whose shrine the painting decorated. But Benndorf¹⁹⁷ argued from Pausanias' terminology and from his own interpretation of the rape on the sculptured frieze from the late fifth or early fourth century Heroon at Gjölbaschi Trysa that the painting in the Anakeion showed the abduction of the Leukippidai from their wedding feast. He maintained that the word γάμος cannot be used for rape, and he pointed out that when Pausanias refers elsewhere to the rape he uses the normal word ἀρπαγή.¹⁹⁸ The Gjölbaschi Trysa scene is set in a sanctuary, where elaborate preparations for a sacrifice are in progress beside a temple building; Benndorf thought the preparations were for the wedding feast, and he identified the horsemen in pursuit of the chariots of the Dioskouroi as the Apharidai. But the reliance of the Heroon artist on Polygnotos is uncertain; the sacrifice may be unconnected with any wedding feast (which might in any case have been expected to take place in the house of Leukippos); and there is no reason to see the horsemen as the Apharidai.¹⁹⁹ On the whole, it seems preferable to suppose that Polygnotos' painting showed the older version of the abduction, and that the vase paintings, including MP 5, to some extent reflect his work - and if Euripides could call rape γάμος, so could Pausanias.²⁰⁰

The 'Polygnotan' paintings share a number of features in common with MP 5: some may derive from the painting in the Anakeion. Most of the scenes show one or both chariots; there are instances in which both Dioskouroi are departing with their brides, but usually the Meidian version is preferred, whereby one brother drives off while the other is still picking up the girl. As on the Gjölbaschi Trysa frieze, the scene is usually set in a sanctuary, and this may derive from the literary tradition.²⁰¹ The sanctuary may be indicated by trees, or, as on the Niobid Painter's scene,²⁰² by a tripod on a column and an archaic statue like the one on MP 5. Corresponding in compositional terms to the seated Zeus on MP 5, a number of the paintings include a seated figure, probably Leukippos; and the startled flight of Peitho and Agave is echoed by numerous figures on the earlier scenes.

At the same time, the Meidias Painter makes important innovations. One is his inclusion of Peitho, Zeus and Aphrodite. Zeus, father of the Dioskouroi, and Aphrodite, patroness of amorous adventures, look on with evident approval, and when her superiors are so undismayed, Peitho's flight need not be taken seriously. The connivance of the gods sets the tone of the scene, which is more light-hearted than its predecessors. The Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, it is true, includes a hovering Eros, suggesting the happy ending of the affair,²⁰³ but on most of the other scenes there are no amorous undertones, and instead signs of distress, fear and reluctance. The Dioskouroi may lurk menacingly under palm trees, ready to leap out on their unsuspecting victims; the Leukippidai struggle to escape; their aged father is sunk in grief as distraught messengers bring him the news; onlookers try to check the chariots. But on MP 5 there is no ancient Leukippos left desolate, no-one rushes to stop the horses, and Chryseis goes on picking flowers. The Leukippidai themselves are calm and make no

real efforts to escape, their primary concern being rather to present their faces to advantage and to hold out their drapery with becoming elegance. The rape is transformed into a romantic elopement, and for once Herodotos' disparaging remarks on the general willingness of women to be abducted seem amply justified:

δηλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἥρπαζοντο. 204

One strange feature of MP 5 is the name of Kastor's bride, Eriphyle. The usual names of the Leukippidai are Hilaeira, of which Elera is a tolerable version, and Phoibe.²⁰⁵ Eriphyle, on the other hand, was the wife of Amphiareus. While reluctant to accuse the Meidias Painter of carelessness or indifference in the matter, it is hard to explain his selection of this name in any very meaningful way.

The archaic cult statue which occupies a prominent position in the centre of the scene is of especial interest. Most discussions of the figure have concentrated on the attempt to decide whether or not she represents an actual cult statue from an Athenian sanctuary, and if so, which. It seems quite probable that she does represent a real statue. That she is Aphrodite is suggested by the context of the scene, by the absence of bow or spear which would enable her to be identified as Artemis or Athena, and by the remarkable resemblance she bears to another statue, this time almost certainly Aphrodite, on MM 51 (figs. 84-86). The close resemblance of the two might in itself suggest that both represent an actual statue, and further support is offered by Pausanias' description of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens by the Ilissos, where there were two statues of the goddess, one by Alkamenes, and the other more ancient, 'square and like the Herms'.²⁰⁶ But whether or not the statue is intended as a representation of an actual cult image, the implications of her presence are very interesting. Statues of

gods are not common in vase paintings.²⁰⁷ With such notable exceptions as the Trojan Palladion, in earlier paintings they are contemporary rather than archaic in style, and male divinities outnumber female. In the penultimate quarter of the fifth century, the Palladion is the only statue to appear in vase painting, and then only rarely. But from around 425 onwards, statues start to appear in considerable numbers, and they are now almost exclusively female, and archaic in style. The statue on MP 5, then, like that on MM 51 and possibly those on MP ADD 21A and MM 67, is part of a widespread phenomenon.

The grounds for the sudden surge of interest in archaic statues may perhaps be looked for in the religious and moral outlook of the time, characterized in part by conservatism and retrospection. As their imperial power declined, there was a natural and well-attested tendency for the Athenians to look back and glorify the deeds of their ancestors, the heroes of Marathon. The gods of their ancestors too might come to seem of greater status than their own. Athens no longer had the divine protection she once enjoyed: the gods who had fought at Marathon were conspicuously absent from the harbour of Syracuse. And since the power of the gods was manifest in their statues, it might come to be thought that old statues were more powerful than new ones. Such superstition was at all events a characteristic of the general Nikias, said by Plutarch to have dedicated a 'Palladion' on the Acropolis, and mocked by Aristophanes for his use of the word *βρέτας*, an ancient wooden statue.²⁰⁸ The archaic statues on MP 5 and other vases of the period may perhaps be taken as further evidence for this kind of attitude.

B. ERICHTHONIOS

The parallel growth of interest in Erechtheus-Erichthonios, marked by the construction of the Erechtheion, by the numerous scenes

of his birth in the later century,²⁰⁹ and by such plays as Euripides' Erechtheus or Ion, may also be symptoms of the same retrogressive or archaizing tendencies in the religious thought of the era. The Meidias Painter and his associates shared in the general enthusiasm for Erechtheus; the fragmentary scene on MP 15, and the perfectly preserved one on MM ADD 66B both show the birth of Erichthonios,²¹⁰ and the fragment CP 3, which preserves parts of two or three women, one named Aglauros, may possibly derive from a similar scene, for Aglauros was one of the daughters of Kekrops to whom the infant was entrusted.²¹¹ Two more Meidian scenes may be associated with the hero:

1. Descriptions

MM 66 LEK(S)

Three women watch a child in a garden. The child, in the centre, crawls forward on a mantle spread beneath an olive or a laurel sapling. The women stand around; they wear fine chitons, two of them patterned, necklaces and bracelets. One reaches out towards a hydria set on a rock, one holds a necklace, and the third draws the child's attention to the bird perched on her finger.

MM 65 LEK(S)

fig. 23

The scene is similar to the last, though simpler: three well-dressed women attend a crawling child in a garden. They have no toys to amuse him, and there is no tree.

2. Discussion

Beazley described the scene on MM 66 as 'women and child' and that on MM 65 as 'mother and child with two women', but the rarity of children in vase painting, combined with the rich attire of the women and the hydria to which one of them reaches out on MM 66, suggests that the children are no ordinary children, the women no

ordinary nurse-maids. Moreover, both scenes, but especially MM 66, have strong affinities with one painted by the Eretria Painter.²¹² Here again there are women who attend a child in a garden; as on MM 66 one draws his attention to the bird on her finger, and another dangles a necklace. Inscriptions on the Eretria Painter's scene show that the child is the infant hero Kephalos, and that four of the women are Antheia, Paidia, Peitho and Eunomia. The Meidian child too could be Kephalos, or another Attic hero, but it is not impossible that the tree on MM 66 is the olive of the Erechtheion, the child Erechtheus, and his nurses nymphs associated with the Kourotrophos cults of the Acropolis.²¹³

Since Erechtheus was the most ancient of the Attic heroes, the late fifth century interest in him may be attributed, in part, to the nostalgic and retrospective tendencies of contemporary religion and morality. Erechtheus was also an emblem of Attic patriotism,²¹⁴ and this he shared with the other Attic heroes to whose appearance on the lower frieze of MP 5 and related scenes we may now turn.

C. HERAKLES, HESPERIDES AND HEROES

1. Descriptions

MP 5 HYD (lower frieze) figs. 25-30

When the vase is seen from the front, seven figures can be seen at once, and these form the largest and the most important group. Slightly to the right of centre stands the apple tree with its golden fruit and scaly serpent. To the left of the tree are two Hesperides, Chrysothemis (ΧΡΥΣΟΘΕΜΙΣ) picking apples and Asterope (ΑΣΤΕΡΟΠΗ) leaning on her shoulder. To the right of the tree, another Hesperid, Lipara (ΛΙΠΑΡΑ), holds some apples in the fold of her peplos and looks round at Herakles as if in doubt whether to surrender them or

not. With her right hand she lifts a fold of her veil from her shoulder. To the right, sitting on his lion-skin and resting on his club, is Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ), looking towards Lipara; and behind him is Ioleos (ΙΟΛΕΩΣ), standing right, but looking back in towards the centre. On the far left are Klytios (ΚΛΥΤΙΟΣ) and Hygieia (ΥΓΙΕΙΑ), Klytios pointing towards the tree and its guardians, Hygieia turning to follow his gesture, while the sceptre leaning in the crook of her arm points in the same direction. Like Lipara she pulls^a a fold of her veil from her right shoulder. (These characters may be seen in figs. 25 and 26.)

Though at a casual glance the composition of this group seems rather loose, it is in fact quite complex, and much skill has been expended to produce a balanced and natural-looking effect. The unity of the group is largely achieved by the way that all the figures face towards the centre and the tree, with the exception of Lipara, and even she is standing to the left - only her head is turned to Herakles. The scene is not symmetrical. The tree is slightly to the right of centre, and there are four figures to its left, only three to the right. But the greater numbers of the left are balanced by the greater emotion of the right, where Herakles and Lipara gaze into one another's eyes: the physical linking of the two Hesperides to the left of the tree also detracts from any possible heaviness on the left, for their combined weight is less than that of two separate figures. The balance and cohesion of the scene are further promoted by the great number of correspondences in subject and attitude between the groups on the two sides of the tree: these are too numerous to list in full, but among the more important are that Klytios and Ioleos both stand and look towards the centre and so frame the composition, that Klytios and Herakles both look straight towards the centre, that Hygieia and Herakles both sit facing the centre,

that Hygieia and Lipara both turn their heads over their shoulder and lift a fold of drapery, and that Klytios and Hygieia, and Herakles and Lipara, are both couples, one member of which sits while the other stands, absorbed in each other's speech or gesture.

When the vase is turned through an angle of 180° , the figures in the centre and at the sides form three groups, a larger flanked by two smaller. In the centre are three of the tribal heroes of Athens, Akamas (ΑΚΑΜΑΣ), seated, Hippothoon (ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝ), standing, and Antiochos (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ), seated. Linked with these three heroes are two more, Philoktetes (ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ) on the left, talking to Akamas, and Klymenos (ΚΛΥΜΕΝΟΣ) on the right, moving away from the centre but looking behind him and stretching out a hand to summon Antiochos or Hippothoon. These five (who may be seen in figs. 27 and 28) form the central group, but Klymenos links them with the smaller group of three on the right. These are the heroes Oineus (ΟΙΝ[Ε]ΥΣ) and Demophon (ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝ), who approach a seated Hesperid, Chrysis (ΧΡΥΣΙΣ). (See fig. 29.) This small group is linked with the central group in subject too, for it contains two more Attic heroes; and the Hesperid provides a link with the scene on the front of the vase.

To the left of the central group is a small group isolated in composition and theme. It consists of Medea (ΜΗΔΕΑ) in oriental costume, carrying a small casket and flanked by two attendants, Elera (ΕΛΕΡΑ) and Arniopse (ΑΡΝΙΟΠΣΗ). They all move to the right, but the leading attendant, Elera, turns back towards Medea, so that the three are quite detached from the central group. (See fig. 30.)

Five related scenes may be described before we proceed to discuss this one. The first two are connected with the Apotheosis of Herakles, while the others present various heroes in paradisiacal surroundings.

MP 7 PEL (side B)

Herakles (ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ) sits on his mantle facing right. He has a fillet around his head, and his club hangs from his right hand. He looks at his wife, Deianeira (ΔΗΙΑΝΕΡΑ), who stands before him; with an unusual gesture she lifts her veil from her shoulders with both hands. Framing the scene on either side are un-named women, one standing and the other seated.

MM 54 LEK(S) figs. 31-33

Herakles (recognizable by the club at his back) sits in the centre on a low, two-stepped block. Though the figure of the hero is damaged, he seems to have been sitting on his mantle, and his left hand reaches out to the Nike who stands in front of him with phiale and oinochoe. Behind his seat stands a woman leaning on a sceptre(?) and with one foot raised as if propped on a hillock: she holds a wreath out towards Herakles' head. Framing the scene on either side is a wreathed youth dressed in a chlamys with a petasos slung round his neck and grasping a pair of spears.

MP 17 IKN fig. 24

Pandion and Antiochos are attended by Nike and other women in a garden sanctuary. Pandion (ΠΑΝΔΙΩΝ), loosely draped in a mantle and with a wreath on his head, sits left on a rocky outcrop. A small bird perches on the forefinger of his right hand. Myrriniske (ΜΥΡΡΙΝΙΣΚΗ) attends him, and between them on the ground stands a plemochoe. Epicharis (ΕΠΙΧΑΡΙΣ) approaches from behind with a tray of grapes. The three other women are grouped around the second hero, Antiochos (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ), who, dressed like Pandion, stands before the only seated woman, Nike (ΝΙΚΗ). She offers him a phiale, while Klymene (ΚΛΥΜΕΝΗ) approaches with a casket, and behind him Nikepolis (ΝΙΚΗΠΟΛΙΣ) stretches forward to hang a wreath over a thymiaterion. The garden setting is indicated by the white lines

marking rocks and hillocks, and by the small shrubs and the sprawling tendril behind Pandion. That the garden is, at the same time, a sanctuary, is shown by the altar between Myrriniske and Klymene, and by the thymiaterion.

FA 4 LEK(S)

The scene shows Hesperides(?) in their garden. Four women are shown, with Pan and Artemis riding in a chariot drawn by deer. Pan stands below the chariot, a deer skin draped around his torso and his arms uplifted. Two tall spindly apple trees stand in the centre. One of the women picks fruit from the tree on the left, holding out a fold of her dress as a receptacle. Two more women stand between the trees; one points to the left, perhaps to the epiphany of Artemis, and in her left hand she holds a phiale. The second woman is resting, with one foot propped on a hillock and her elbows resting on her knee. A hydria stands before her, a loutrophoros at her back. The fourth woman stands to the right of the trees. She too has her right foot propped up, and she supports a hydria on her knee, as she looks up at her companions between the trees.

AW 2 KBL

fig. 34

A tall apple tree stands in the centre. An Eros presses vigorously against its trunk, to bend the branches, and the apples on the ground and dangerously close to his head demonstrate the success of his efforts. Above him a youth and a woman are set one on either side of the tree. The youth, seated on his mantle and naked except for the wreath on his head, grasps a branch in his left hand, bending it down to facilitate the efforts of his companion. She stretches to reach the fruit, picking with her right hand and holding what she picks in her left. Grouped around are another Eros, reaching out to the branch held by the youth, three more women, and two more youths. Two of the women hold baskets, one of which contains apples. All

look towards the central tree, and one couple link arms.

2. Discussion

The common themes which link these scenes are Herakles, Hesperides, apples and heroes. The discussion will concentrate on MP 5, on the Garden of the Hesperides, orchard scenes, the Attic heroes and Medea. But first we may consider the two apotheosis scenes, MP 7 and MM 54.

The Apotheosis of Herakles

In the fourth century, and to some extent already late in the fifth, vase painters tend to blur the distinctions between Herakles' apotheosis and his trip to the Hesperides; in any case, the two are the most popular parts of the Herakles legend.²¹⁵ The scene on MM 54, though of limited artistic value, has features which are to become characteristic of the next generation of apotheosis scenes. The identity of the woman with the wreath is uncertain, since it is not clear if she holds a spear or a sceptre - if a spear, she must be Athena, but if a sceptre, she could be Hebe, who appears on most fourth century apotheosis scenes. The two youths are likely to be the Dioskouroi. Where earlier scenes had concentrated on the narrative aspects of the story, and on the surroundings and trappings of Olympos, the later scenes, like ours, are much more interested in Herakles himself, and in his attainment of immortality. The Sosias Painter, for example, showed Herakles led by Athena before a packed assembly of divinities: Zeus offers a libation, and the hero himself looks stunned by the glory of his surroundings.²¹⁶ But the scene on MM 54 is starkly simple. Only the presence of the Dioskouroi, Nike and Hebe (or Athena) shows that the setting is Olympos, and the libation is offered not by Zeus, but by Nike, who symbolizes Herakles' victory over death.

The scene on MP 7 may only tentatively be connected with the apotheosis. But its Herakles bears a strong resemblance to the hero on MP 5: in both cases he sits back as though resting at the end of his labours. Herakles is rarely shown with Deianeira; they appear together in a few departure scenes, and (possibly) with the centaur Nessos,²¹⁷ but MP 7 is without parallel in the artistic tradition. It does not seem to illustrate any particular episode in Herakles' career, but rather has a timeless quality, like MP 5, and this is what suggests a link with the apotheosis: Deianeira takes the place of Hebe as Herakles, in a peaceful garden, prepares for the enjoyment of eternal bliss. A scene so totally devoid of action would be inconceivable in the archaic period, but its romantic nature is perfectly suited to the style and temperament of the Meidias Painter.

We may now turn to MP 5, which has something of the same atmosphere, and consider first

Herakles and the Hesperides: the Meidias Painter and the artistic tradition

The artistic tradition of Herakles and the Hesperides has been discussed by Brommer.²¹⁸ As he observes, it is surprisingly unpopular in vase painting before the fourth century. The few black-figure scenes concentrate on the deed itself, the fight with the serpent and the collection of the apples. They show Herakles picking the fruit, encouraged by Hermes and Iolaos, supporting the heavens while Atlas gets the apples, or making off with the fruit. The Hesperides themselves appear only once, gesticulating in protest on the far side of the tree from Herakles, who is calmly departing with the fruit.²¹⁹ There are few archaic or classical red-figure illustrations of the theme. The liveliest is also the earliest, the fragmentary Kleophradean scene where Herakles battles with a fearsome serpent in the presence of Atlas and Athena. One of the two fully extant pre-Meidian

classical examples, by the Providence Painter, combines the trip to the Hesperides and the Introduction to Olympos. On one side of the vase Herakles offers Zeus an apple, in the presence of Poseidon, Hera and Athena. On the other side the serpent-hung tree appears, along with an aged man (Atlas? Okeanos?), a Hesperid, and Iris or Nike. The second scene is attributed to the Syracuse Painter. Here, as on the black-figure representations, Herakles is again a thief, making off with the apples and raising his club threateningly at the Hesperid who tries to remonstrate with him; a second Hesperid looks helpless, while a third scolds the snake.²²⁰

From the early fourth century onwards, the theme becomes increasingly popular in vase painting. Now the actual procuring of the apples is much less important: although the tree and the snake still appear, usually near the centre, they are no longer prominent, but merely add to the decorative interest of the scene. Herakles is always seated now, while numerous women hang around and offer apples. Erotes can assist them, and Aphrodite herself may appear on the scene. The serpent never interferes, and generally the visit to the garden has ceased to involve any effort.²²¹

If there are few extant classical vase paintings of the theme, there are at least two sculptural representations. The most famous is the Olympia metope,²²² where Atlas brings the apples, while Herakles, assisted by Athena, holds the sky. Later in the century belongs the original of the three-figure relief,²²³ where Herakles sits between two Hesperides, who seem to hesitate before surrendering the fruit. Herakles and the Hesperides may also have been among the subjects represented in the sculptural decoration of the Hephaisteion.²²⁴

Where the Providence Painter had stressed the connection between the Hesperides and the apotheosis, the Meidias Painter and his fourth

century successors virtually amalgamate the two episodes. On MP 5, while Herakles waits for the women to do the work, he is free to enjoy their garden, a pleasant place which anticipates the surroundings of his apotheosis. This is the first representation to show Herakles sitting back: the actual deed pales in significance against the garden filled with Hesperides whose names evoke harmony and various kinds of beauty and well-being. Although there are no Erotes here, the silent communication of Herakles and Lipara, and her bridal gesture, recall the confrontation of Herakles and Deianeira on MP 7, and may anticipate the more obvious love element introduced by later artists.

As well as his emphasis on the restful nature of the labour, a major innovation of the Meidias Painter is his introduction of the Attic tribal heroes and Medea. To appreciate the full significance of their presence here, we may consider first the nature and antecedents of the Garden of the Hesperides.

Hesperides and Orchards: the artistic tradition

Certain representations of the Garden of the Hesperides can only be identified by the presence of the apple tree and its serpent. On this criterion, the only published vase painting of the Garden without Herakles is that on a late archaic red-figure pyxis,²²⁵ where Hesperides fill hydriai at a fountain house, and the serpent-hung tree stands at the side. The hydriai recall those on FA 4, and so suggest that the women in this garden, visited by Pan and Artemis, may also be Hesperides. There are, in addition, several scenes of women in orchards, and though they are in general unlikely to be Hesperides (they are usually picking the fruit, while the duty of the Hesperides was to conserve it), the similarity of these scenes to those of the Hesperides makes it legitimate to consider them here. Most of them seem to derive from everyday life, but there are more

or less tangible elements in a few which suggest some mythological idyll. On FA 4, after all, the intrusion of Pan and Artemis show that this can be no ordinary orchard; and on the most famous of the apple-picking scenes, the Sotades Painter's,²²⁶ there is a remoteness and mystery which suggests a mythological, rather than a mundane orchard. The red-figure orchard scenes are mostly undistinguished works by minor artists.²²⁷ There are more black-figure orchard scenes, and the subject is popular on later black-figure lekythoi, where two standard versions are found. Either the women sit one on either side of the tree, each with a large basket in front of her, or else they shake the tree to make the apples fall. These scenes are very common on lekythoi found in graves.²²⁸

Hesperides and apple-picking in Greek thought: love and death

What ideas would scenes of the Hesperides and apple-picking have inspired in fifth century Athenians? The literary references to the Hesperides go back to the Theogony,²²⁹ but evidence for the Greek fascination with gardens in general, orchards and fruit trees in particular, can also be found in Homer. The descriptions of Alkinous' Phaiacian estates, or of the fertile homeland of the swineherd Eumaios, Syria, are both vivid evocations of semi-magical, unattainable, far-away places of shade, water and immense fertility.²³⁰ The sea-faring nature of the Greeks must bear part of the responsibility for the popularity and the diffusion of such tales, possibly inspired by the great gardens of the east, Babylon and Syria.²³¹ But the hot, dry and barren nature of large areas of Greece accounts for the attraction of these stories, part escape from, and part compensation for, reality.

The Garden of the Hesperides had two main associations for the Greeks. One was with love and fertility. The apple was one of Aphrodite's attributes, and apples were gifts between lovers. These associations are clearly expressed by the lyric poets, by Sappho's

invitation to Aphrodite to descend to her orchard, or her reference to a young girl as the apple left by the harvesters at the top of the tree,²³² or by Ibycus' description of the Kydonian apples which grow red in spring in the untouched garden of the maidens, while his love knows no season.²³³ There were numerous mythological apples with erotic connotations, from the apple of the Judgement of Paris to those which Hippomenes rolled before Atalanta or Akontios before Kydippe. And the apples of the Hesperides were strongly associated with all this, because they were symbolic of the love of Zeus and Hera, their wedding present from the earth. So when the fourth century vase paintings introduce Aphrodite and Eros into the Garden of the Hesperides, they are drawing on a long tradition of associations.²³⁴

But the Garden of the Hesperides had a second implication. There is ample evidence in the Greek anthology, or indeed in tragedy, to show that love and death were closely connected in Greek thought.²³⁵ The imagery of death is that of love: girls who die young are the brides of Hades; instead of wedding torches, they are lit on their way with funerary flares; the bier is the wedding couch, the tomb the nuptial chamber. The association of death and marriage is to be found not only in poetic imagery, but also in funerary custom: wedding vases were laid in the tombs of unmarried girls, and funerary dirges were remarkably similar in form and content to wedding hymns. When the association was so marked, it is hardly surprising to find that the apple, part of the imagery of love, is closely associated with death too. The Garden of the Hesperides and its apples were especially associated with death, and the life beyond, because they were practically assimilated to the Islands of the Blessed. The literary sources demonstrate the similar nature of the two paradises. They were both located in the same place, beyond the Ocean, or at the ends of the earth.²³⁶ Their attributes were almost identical: both were blessed

with wonderful fruitfulness, cool orchards and flowing springs, and both grew crops of gold, the apples of the Hesperides balanced by the golden flowers described by Pindar in the Islands of the Blessed.²³⁷ Though the garden of the Hesperides belonged to the gods, the life led by the heroes in the Islands of the Blessed was god-like: the Homeric epithets for the gods are *μάκαρες* and *ῥέα ζῶοντες*, while the heroes in the Islands of the Blessed also enjoyed an easy life, *ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες*, for the bountiful earth provided them with honey-sweet fruit three times in the year.²³⁸

The similarity of the Garden of the Hesperides and the Islands of the Blessed is easy to establish; the apples provide, I think, a vital link in the proof that they were, to all intents and purposes, the same place. The apples of the Hesperides conferred immortality upon their possessor. While Herakles was to live with the immortal gods on Olympus, the other heroes enjoyed their immortality in a garden at the ends of the earth, where golden blossoms hung from the trees. Surely their garden was the same one where Herakles had obtained the means to immortality? Although there is no specific literary evidence for the equation of the Islands of the Blessed with the Garden of the Hesperides, there is a passage in Euripides' Hippolytos which gains added weight if the equation is presupposed: Phaidra has entered the house to hang herself, and the chorus dreams of escaping from the troubles of the present to the Garden of the Hesperides, the apple-sown cape at the ends of the earth;²³⁹ their wish becomes more poignant, and the irony more intense, if their words are seen as a prayer for death, a transfer to the place where heroes go to rest from their mortal labours.

There is a small amount of archaeological evidence to support the association of the Garden of the Hesperides with death and

immortality. The appearance of Herakles and the Hesperides on one of the Three-figure reliefs, a series of reliefs whose subjects are all concerned with death and immortality, is one such piece of evidence.²⁴⁰ Then there is the Hesperides pyxis mentioned above, which Rutherford-Roberts suggests was one of a pair designed as grave goods:²⁴¹ the second shows preparations for the wedding of Iphigeneia, and taken together the joint imagery of the pair suggests both death and immortality.

If we turn from the association between the Hesperides and death to that between death and apple-picking, there is little in the literary sources, beyond the legend of Persephone, carried off by Hades when picking not fruit but flowers, and consuming fateful seeds of an apple-like fruit: but the archaeological evidence is more helpful. On the sculptured base of a marble lekythos of the later fifth or earlier fourth century, a youth and a woman pick apples from a tree, while Hermes waits for them to follow.²⁴² This base is in itself a sufficient demonstration of the funerary association of apple-picking, and it encourages the supposition that the black-figure lekythoi with apple-picking scenes, many of which were found in tombs, were thought especially suitable offerings for the dead.²⁴³ Such evidence as this may be taken as corroboration of the theory that the Islands of the Blessed and the Garden of the Hesperides were the same.

Hesperides and Heroes

So far, then, we have established that the Hesperides scene on MP 5 is innovative in its emphasis on the Garden rather than the deed, and in the absence of effort on the part of Herakles. We have suggested that to contemporary Greeks, the Garden of the Hesperides and apple-picking scenes would suggest both love and death, and we have proposed that the association with death includes the assimilation of the Garden with the Islands of the Blessed. We may now turn to the

implications of including heroes in the Garden of the Hesperides.

Apart from strengthening the contention that the Garden of the Hesperides is the same place as the Islands of the Blessed, one major effect of the inclusion of the heroes is the Athenianization of the Garden. Philoktetes has no Athenian connections, and Klymenos is a general hero-name, but the other five are all associated with Athens. Akamas, Antiochos, Oineus and Hippothoon are all eponymous heroes of the tribes, and Demophon, brother of Akamas, was the son of the city's greatest hero, Theseus. The presence of the tribal heroes makes the garden more real and more immediate for contemporary Athenians. There can be little doubt that the Athenians of the time were very much aware of their tribal heroes. The hero monument in the Agora was probably erected, or at least refashioned in the last decades of the century,²⁴⁴ and a reference in Aristophanes suggests it served as a popular meeting place, as well as a notice-board for expeditionary lists of citizens required to report for military service.²⁴⁵ In times of war, the tribes were more significant than ever; the Athenians mustered and fought by tribe, they listed their dead by tribe. So when the average member of the tribe of Pandion saw his hero as a warrior leaving for battle on a vase painted by the Dinos Painter,²⁴⁶ he would surely identify with the figure, and in the warrior taking leave of wife and family he would recognize himself. As suggested in the previous Chapter, when on Aison's lekythos (A 6) he saw tribal and deme heroes participating in the rout of the Amazons, he would recollect the part his tribe or deme, and by extension he himself, had played on that occasion. And when, finally, he saw the heroes lounging around in the Garden of the Hesperides, he would again see them as his representatives - in them he would see himself. So by introducing the heroes into the Garden, the Meidias Painter has created a vision of beautiful women and apple trees which provides an escape for the

members of the tribes from the tedium, or even the privation and suffering of contemporary life in Athens.

The Athenianization of the heavenly garden is still more pronounced on MP 17. The two tribal heroes, Pandion and Antiochos, are shown not in the Garden of the Hesperides, but in a garden sanctuary, and with the exceptions of Klymeme and Epicharis, whose names are merely evocative of general pleasantness, the women with whom they appear are all shown to have a connection with Athens and the Athenian Acropolis. Nike herself, whose temple by the Propylaia was largely constructed between 427 and 423²⁴⁷ is the senior figure here, the only woman to be seated, and the one who offers a libation to Antiochos as if it is her territory that he enters. Nikepolis, Victory of the City, may be another, specifically Athenian, form of Nike. The name of the third woman is Myrriniske; it is known that there was a famous contemporary priestess of Athena Nike named Myrrine,²⁴⁸ and if the Meidias Painter's Myrriniske alludes to her, she too has a strong connection with the Acropolis and the temple of Nike. The shrine of Pandion appears to have been located on the Acropolis;²⁴⁹ on MP 17 he appears well-established in the sanctuary, while Antiochos, who probably had no independent shrine of his own, is shown on the point of entering, being received by Nike herself. Surely the combined effect of all these allusions to the Acropolis is to establish a very Athenian kind of paradise, so that here, even more than on MP 5, the average member of the tribe of Pandion or Antiochos could imagine himself in the place of his hero, as Beazley put it, 'in glory and joy'.²⁵⁰

On AW 2, nameless youths appear along with the women who pick apples in the orchard, but the youths bear a strong resemblance to the heroes on MP 5: they too may be heroes in the Islands of the Blessed.²⁵¹

Hesperides and Paradise

The exploitation of the tribal heroes for escapist purposes is peculiar to the Meidias Painter. Where his predecessors and his contemporaries depicted mythological events associated with the heroes, or gave their names to warriors departing, he preferred to show them relaxing in paradise. Nor is the escape offered by the heroes merely temporary: MP 5, MP 17, and possibly AW 2 may all be viewed as glimpses of the life to which the ordinary member of the tribe might aspire after death, if he followed the patriotic example of the heroes. The Garden of the Hesperides is the same as the Islands of the Blessed; if this is not yet sufficiently clear, further evidence is afforded by the appearance of the hero Akamas, bearded like an Underworld king.²⁵² Though immortality was once reserved for gods and heroes, Herakles in the fourth century became the paradigm for the ordinary man's potential for immortality; and Plato too shows the emergence of the idea that the Islands of the Blessed are for the souls of all who have led blameless lives on earth, even if they may only be reached after countless years of purification and numerous transmigrations. In the Gorgias, for example, Minos and Rhadamanthys and Ajax are said to sit in judgement at a cross-roads from which one path leads to Tartaros and the other to the Islands of the Blessed; when a particularly virtuous soul approaches, they despatch it straight εἰς μακάρων νήσους... οὐκ εἶν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἔκτος κακῶν.²⁵³ Plato probably imagined the Islands of the Blessed as a rather spiritual place, where the souls of philosophers and great law-givers were absorbed in rapt contemplation of the Good and the Just. The Meidias Painter's is a more physical vision: for him the Islands of the Blessed were a garden of corporeal luxuries, to be enjoyed by those who followed the example of the heroes - as he shows them, they are an incentive to patriotism, and an inspiration for victory.

Medea

The prospect of immortal bliss offered by the Hesperides scene on MP 5 is, however, clouded by the presence of Medea. She was easier to explain when the scene was generally interpreted as the visit of the Argonauts to the Garden.²⁵⁴ But with the general dismissal of this theory, she has become rather an embarrassment, and is ignored in all recent discussions of the vase.

Medea's presence is indeed hard to account for. As we have seen, she and her companions are isolated from the others in the scene, and her oriental dress, which emphasizes her foreign ancestry, sets her further from the rest. The small casket in her hand is her usual attribute as a sorceress, but it does suggest that she is up to no good.²⁵⁵ The names of her companions are Elera and Arniopé: Medea's usual attendants are the daughters of Pelias, but these names are never attributed to the Peliads elsewhere, and in any case, their presence in the Garden of the Hesperides would be as anomalous as Medea's.²⁵⁶

Medea has no obvious connection with any of the other characters on the vase. The eponymous hero whom she is reported to have married is Aigeus, not amongst those present here.²⁵⁷ Robert suggested that as an experienced snake-handler Medea has pacified the serpent with drugs from her casket,²⁵⁸ but there is no literary support for this idea, and no reason why she should be helping Herakles:²⁵⁹ the snake, moreover, if placid and accommodating, looks perfectly wide awake.

If we ask what Medea's presence might have suggested to contemporary Athenians, it seems that though her present notoriety may be due to her murder of her children, in the classical period she was better known as the enemy of Theseus and as a sorceress. Euripides' Aigeus appears to have recounted her hostility to Theseus, and she appears with Theseus and the Bull of Marathon on a series of later

fifth century vases.²⁶⁰ Theseus' sons, Akamas and Demophon, are present on MP 5, and though it is unlikely that any reference to the Theseus episode is intended here, the part she played at Marathon and her treacherous behaviour towards Athens' greatest hero may be borne in mind: it is unlikely that she would be any better disposed towards the other heroes of the city.

It was as a sorceress that Medea enjoyed her greatest notoriety. Her most frequent appearances in art were with the daughters of Pelias,²⁶¹ and her prowess as a rejuvenator aroused a lot of interest. In addition to Pelias and the ram, there were several less notorious experiments with more satisfactory results, including the rejuvenation of Jason, his father Aison, and the 'nurses of Dionysos'.²⁶² Such varied sources as Aristophanes, Plato, Antiphon and the authors of the Hippocratic treatises make it clear that there was a considerable interest in magic and magicians in the later fifth and earlier fourth centuries.²⁶³ The contemporary enthusiasm for rejuvenation is one manifestation of this interest. Eight of Aristophanes' eleven extant comedies show or refer to the rejuvenation of an old man (and one of the other three contains a resurrection). Rejuvenation also occurs in the Bacchai, in the persons of Kadmos and Teiresias.²⁶⁴ That Medea was the best-known rejuvenator of the period is shown by the scholiast's comment on the passage in the Knights where the sausage-seller reports that he has boiled up the Demos and restored his youth and beauty: he explains the word used for the boiling process by reference to Medea's feats of rejuvenation.²⁶⁵ Although it is unlikely that there is any direct connection between the youthfulness of the heroes on MP 5 and the presence of Medea, rejuvenation is an appropriate enough concept to associate with the immortal life of the Hesperides; and all the heroes except Akamas are portrayed as young men, even Philoktetes showing no traces of his long years of suffering and

disease. The contemporary enthusiasm both for the idea of rejuvenation and for witchcraft in general may possibly have influenced Medea's inclusion here; in any case she may be seen as symptomatic of it.

Both Herakles and Medea appear on the Three-figure reliefs, four sculptured panels surviving only in copies, the originals of which are generally thought to have been produced in the last twenty years of the fifth century.²⁶⁶ Medea is shown with the daughters of Pelias, the cauldron, and the knife; Herakles, as mentioned above, sits between two Hesperides, and on a third relief he appears again, rescuing Peirithous and leaving Theseus stuck to his seat in the Underworld. The fourth relief shows Orpheus, turning back to look at and so lose Eurydice - Hermes stands waiting to reclaim her. Not merely in date and subject, but in composition too the reliefs have strong affinities with MP 5. Between one relief and the next, and also inside each individual piece, there are numerous correspondences, balances and contrasts of theme, pose, or gesture; each relief, moreover, has a strong internal cohesion, deriving from the way the figures on the outside always face the centre. All these characteristics of composition, and also the effect of natural simplicity engendered by the complicated structure, have all been found equally characteristic of MP 5. This makes it reasonable to suggest that the reliefs, which must in their time have formed a conspicuous monument, may have exerted some influence on the Meidias Painter. This influence could have been superficial: the association of Herakles and Medea on MP 5 may have come about simply because, on the reliefs, they are associated. But if their association on the vase is in any way significant, it may possibly be connected with the significance of the Three-figure reliefs.

One of the many attractions of the reliefs is that they seem so clearly full of meaning and yet so enigmatic. There have been

numerous attempts, all fascinating but none totally convincing, to discover a unifying theme in the subjects of the reliefs, and to establish the date, purpose and location of the originals. Thompson²⁶⁷ suggested they came from the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora. He proposed that this was also the Altar of Eleos, which he translated Pity, and he pointed out the connections all the reliefs have with death, and their ability to evoke the feeling of pity: he proposed that they commemorated the failure of the Sicilian expedition, and he interpreted the different panels as allegories of various aspects of the campaign. Though his attribution of the panels to the Altar of the Twelve Gods has won general acceptance, objections have been raised to the identification of this altar with that of Eleos; it has also been pointed out that the Altar of Eleos was the Altar of Mercy, not of Pity.²⁶⁸ Harrison²⁶⁹ maintained that the reliefs show the search for youth and immortality, an idea independently proposed by Beschi.²⁷⁰ The figures on the reliefs enjoy varying degrees of success in their search; at one end of the scale is the lamentable failure of the daughters of Pelias to rejuvenate their old father, and at the other, Herakles' achievement of immortality. Between the two extremes come Orpheus and Eurydice, Theseus and Peirithous, who experience elements of both success and failure. The latest contributions to the discussion have been those of Langlotz²⁷¹ and Ridgway²⁷²: Langlotz questioned the accepted attribution to the Altar in the Agora, and stressed the tragic nature of the reliefs which he suggested may have belonged to the funeral monument of a tragic poet. Ridgway questioned the validity of all these approaches by suggesting that the originals were of different dates, and pointing out that there may well have been more than four.

It is, perhaps, legitimate to look once more at the reliefs, and without attempting any comprehensive interpretation, to consider the

possible significance, and the relationship, of Herakles and Medea. Their characters and destinies are clearly contrasted. Where Herakles succeeds in his bid for immortality, Medea fails, admittedly on purpose, to prolong the life of Pelias. Where Herakles wins immortality through honest effort, Medea works through sorcery, and where Herakles (on the Peirithous-Theseus relief) assists his fellows, Medea deceives and injures hers. In short, they represent the opposite extremes in humanity of good and evil, phil- and misanthrope, Greek and barbarian. On MP 5 the same contrasts may be felt. Herakles sits openly in the centre of the scene, while Medea creeps furtively off at the side; Herakles, his Hellenism enhanced by association with the Attic heroes, justifies confidence in humanity and offers hope, but Medea, the enemy of Theseus and so of Athens, introduces an element of evil into the Garden, a threat to the carefree existence of the Attic heroes. Like tragedy, the reliefs illustrate man's greatness, and his limitations; they recall the words of Sophocles, that many are the marvels on the earth, but none more marvellous than man, with his strength and powers of endurance, thought, speech, and ingenuity - which he may use now for evil, now for good.²⁷³ The scene on MP 5 may share something of this reflection.

Conclusion

Finally, we may look back at MP 5 as a whole, and ask how, if at all, the Rape of the Leukippidai relates to the Garden of the Hesperides. Both scenes are peaceful, non-violent and idyllic. But is there any closer connection?

One link may be found in the use to which the vase was put; as part of Sir William Hamilton's collection it was almost certainly found in a tomb. The funerary relevance of the Garden of the Hesperides is clear; given the Greek association between death and marriage,

the Rape of the Leukippidai too becomes fitting decoration for a funerary vessel. But if MP 5 ended life in an Etruscan tomb, it was painted in the Kerameikos at Athens; it may even have been commissioned in Athens, travelling to Italy at a later date. At all events, so large and spectacular a pot would surely have been a conspicuous show-piece in the Kerameikos, and it seems fair to suggest that the choice of subjects would be as meaningful in contemporary Athenian society as in the grave. The very choice of the Rape of the Leukippidai may suggest an aristocratic, even a pro-Spartan attitude on the part of the Meidias Painter or his patron. The Dioskouroi were primarily Spartan heroes, and it was Kimon, the Spartan sympathizer, who had sponsored their introduction to Athens, and the construction of their shrine, the Anakeion, where Polygnotos' painting of the Leukippidai was to be seen. It might equally be argued that the Attic heroes on the lower scene are just as good evidence of a patriotic, pro-Athenian attitude. It has indeed been suggested above that their idyllic existence in the Garden of the Hesperides may be seen as an incentive to patriotism. But Athenian patriots might be aristocrats and admirers of Sparta - look at Xenophon, or even Plato. And the nature and juxtaposition of the two scenes seems to underline the artist's Lakonian inclinations. While the upper scene extolls the exploits of Sparta's divine twins, the lower reveals the Attic heroes idling in threatened paradise, and the comparison is rather to the advantage of Sparta. Further evidence of the Meidias Painter's aristocratic tendencies will be discussed in Chapter IV.

PHAON, ADONIS AND THE ADONIA

1. Descriptions

A 7 LEK(S) figs. 35-38

Adonis (ΑΔΩΝ..) sits facing right, holding a lyre against his left thigh and chest; he is naked except for the mantle he sits on and the wreath in his hair. He turns to look back over his shoulder towards Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ), who stands with a sceptre in her hand. An Eros approaches from the right, bearing a plate of fruit, and behind Aphrodite are two more women, Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) and one who has no name - both toy with necklaces.

A 11 LEK(A)

A woman sits in the centre facing right, her head bowed as though deep in thought; she holds a necklace between her hands. Grouped around her are three other women. One sits on her lap and puts an arm around her shoulder, looking up into her eyes; the second stands behind, but though she too has a hand on the seated woman's shoulder her attention is caught by the figures to the right. These are a naked youth, pouring oil from an aryballos he holds up in his right hand into the palm of his left, and a woman who watches him, leaning against a column. A hovering Eros prepares to crown the youth with a necklace. On the far left is a woman who waters plants which grow in broken pots on a low table.

MP 1 HYD figs. 1, 39-44

Adonis (ΑΔΩΝΙΟΞ), seated on a mantle draped loosely round his right thigh, leans back against Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ)'s legs. His long curls are bound with a fillet whose fringed ends fall on to his shoulders. His right arm reaches up towards Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΞ), who spins a lynx above his head; his left arm hangs down, perhaps

loosely grasping the lyre which is partially preserved at his side. Below his legs, another Eros pursues, and is about to catch, a hare. Aphrodite's hands are on Adonis' shoulders, and her head is bent towards him. Laurel sprays partition the couple off from the rest of the scene. To the left, Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑ.....) turns to look in the mirror held for her by Eutychia (ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ); Eurynoe (ΕΥΡΥΝΟΗ) holds a small bird on the forefinger of her left hand and shakes her right forefinger towards it in an admonitory gesture; and Chrysothemis (ΧΡΥΣΟΘΕΜΙΣ) chats with another Eros. To the right of Aphrodite and Adonis Pannychis ([Π]ΑΝΝΥΧΙΣ) beats a tambourine while Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ) dances; up above, Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) sits on Hygieia (ΥΓΙΕΙΑ)'s lap with Pandaisia (ΠΑΝΔΑΙΣΙΑ) beside them. The women stand or sit in various graceful attitudes. Like Aphrodite, they wear fine, transparent chitons, sleeved or sleeveless, occasionally patterned with palmettes or stars, and some have starred mantles over their knees. Their hair may hang loose, or in a bunch, or else it may be more or less elaborately arranged under a fillet or a sphenone. All have gold ear-rings, necklaces and bracelets.

MP 2 HYD

figs. 45-50

Phaon (ΦΑΩΝ) sits with Demonassa (ΔΗΜΩΝΑΣΣΑ) under an arching laurel spray held for them by Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ). Phaon is dressed like Adonis on MP 1, but he leans against a pair of cushions, and plucks at his lyre, while looking round at Demonassa. Sitting beside him, she holds out a golden fillet. The couple are attended by three divinities and numerous beautiful women. Directly above their heads, Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) passes in her chariot, drawn by Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ) and Himeros (ΙΜΕΡΟΣ). The goddess' crouching stance, and her billowing mantle suggest she is travelling at speed, an impression scarcely enhanced, however, by the loitering Erotes, one bearing a wreath and a phiale, the other a thymiaterion. To the right of

Phaon and Demonassa are Apollo and Leto (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) and (ΛΗΤΩ). Apollo, crowned with his laurel wreath and leaning on a laurel staff, is seated on a starred mantle, and turns to look up at his mother. She, leaning on her sceptre, draws a fold of her veil off her right shoulder as she looks down on her son. Above Apollo and Leto, Hygieia (ΥΓΙΕΙΑ) and Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ) lean comfortably against each other to watch the passage of Aphrodite's chariot, Hygieia fingering a string of beads. To the left of Phaon and Demonassa are Leura (ΛΕΥΡΑ) and Chrysope (ΧΡΥΣΟΠΕ), Leura turning to watch the central couple, and Chrysope leaning on her knee. In the top left hand corner Herosora (ΗΡΟΣΩΡΑ) and Pannychis (ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΣ) also watch the scene in the centre. The appearance of all the women is the same as that of their colleagues on MP 1.

MP 3 HYD

fig. 51

A woman sits in a chair, facing right but with her head turned back over her right shoulder towards another who approaches with a casket. Her left hand is raised to her head, while her right rests on a casket in her lap. To the right are the fragmentary remains of three or four more women, one standing on the rungs of a ladder which another holds steady.

FA 2 LEK(A)

A youth sits in a chair facing left. A mantle is wrapped around his legs, and his feet are propped up on a foot rest. His hair is adorned with a fillet and a wreath. He looks round over the back of his chair at the Eros who leans over him, either whispering in his ear or else about to kiss him. From either side, a woman approaches. Both are richly dressed, one in a starred peplos and a spotted mantle, the other in a finely pleated chiton with overfall and swathes around the waist. One carries a plate of fruit, while the other has a lyre in her left hand and a bird perching on one finger of her right. A

wreath hangs in the centre, above the youth's head.

AR 5 LEK(A)

A youth sits on a chair facing left, with his left elbow propped over the back. A mantle is wrapped around his legs, and his hair falls loose in luxuriant curls. An Eros stands on his knee and points down towards some object on the right. To right and left are women, one advancing with phiale and oinochoe, the other fingering a necklace. There is a cushioned stool beside one of the women, and a wreath hangs above the youth's head.

MM 9 KCA (side A)

Phaon (ΦΑΛΝ ΚΑΙΟΞ) sits to the left in the centre, looking to the right. He has a mantle round his legs, and on his curls he wears the same fillet with fringed ends dangling to the shoulders that Phaon and Adonis have on MP 1 and MP 2. The scene is set outside, among shrubs and rocks, and Phaon is accompanied by five women, two Erotes, deer and Pan. One of the women bends over the hero and lays a hand on his breast: he places a hand rather absently on her shoulder and looks the other way. The other women stand or sit around; one is Chryse (ΧΡΥΞΗ), and another Philomele (ΦΙΛΟΜΗΛΗ). One Eros drives a pair of deer up over the brow of a hill, and a second, larger Eros stands by Phaon; he wears the same head-dress and bends to fasten a sandal. In the top left is Pan, appearing as far as the waist as if emerging over the brow of a hill, and shading his eyes in the gesture of ὑποσκοπέειν.

MM 46 LEK(S) figs. 53-55

In the centre sits a youth who holds a club dangling from his left hand, and props his left elbow in a convenient fork of a tree-trunk beside him. He wears a Phrygian cap, and a mantle secured at the neck. The scene is clearly set outside, among trees, shrubs and rocks. Beside the youth in his garden are four women and an Eros.

The woman to the right of the youth is probably Aphrodite, for an Eros hangs around her neck. Further right are a seated woman holding out a branch, and a standing woman with her arms around the shoulders of the first. On the far left, behind the youth, is a woman who stands with one foot raised on a hillock and one arm hooked around the tree-trunk, as she leans forward to talk to the youth.

MM ADD 71B LEK(A),FRR

The remains of three women and one youth are preserved. From left to right are a seated woman, a woman standing with a casket in each hand, a seated woman (only part of her chair remains, and her lower legs), and, leaning against this last figure, the legs of a youth.

The identity of Phaon and Adonis is secured by inscriptions on A 7, MP 1, MP 2 and MM 9. The ladder on MP 3 and the pot plants on A 11 are evidence, as will be shown, of an association with Adonis. The youths on FA 2 and AR 5 are not certain to be Phaon or Adonis. But their resemblance to those who are, and the fact that it is uncommon for normal youths to have attentions lavished on them by adoring women, suggests they should be one or other of the two. On MM ADD 71B the legs of the youth leaning against the seated woman are too large to belong to an Eros, and so it has been suggested, on the analogy of MP 1, that they could be Adonis's.²⁷⁴ It is doubtful if the youth on MM 46 is Phaon or Adonis. His club and his Phrygian cap suggest rather Paris or Anchises, but the adoration of the women speaks in favour of Beazley's view, that he is Phaon.

2. Discussion

The literary tradition of the myths and cult of Phaon and Adonis

It is generally agreed that Adonis originated in the near east,

his name deriving from the Semitic adon, meaning 'lord'. He was one of several related near-eastern gods, including the Babylonian Tammuz and the Egyptian Osiris, who were the youthful consorts of greater goddesses. They were associated with crops and vegetation, but also with infertility: in the case of Adonis this link was manifest in his connection with aromatic substances - his mother was Myrrha, myrrh - and with plants like fennel and lettuce which had a reputation for sterility. The most striking feature of the cult of Adonis, as of the related near-eastern gods, was that each year he was resurrected in order to die again.²⁷⁵

In view of Adonis's eastern origins, it is hardly surprising that the first references to his name are found in east Greece, in the poetry of Sappho. One of the extant fragments of her work reports to Aphrodite that the gentle Adonis is dying, and asks what the speaker and her friends should do; the answer comes back that they must beat their breasts and tear their clothes. A second fragment, consisting solely of the mournful refrain ὦ τὸν Ἄδωνιν, confirms the funereal character of the rites.²⁷⁶

The story of Phaon is fully preserved only in such later sources as Servius and Aelian.²⁷⁷ These report that he was a Lesbian ferryman of irreproachable character; when Aphrodite came to him disguised as an old woman he ferried her across the straits free of charge and with great courtesy, and in return she gave him an alabastron of oil or unguent: when he anointed himself with this he became the handsomest of men, his youth was restored, and all the women of Lesbos fell irresistibly in love with him. Some versions add that Aphrodite concealed him in a bed of lettuce, as she also hid Adonis, others that he came to a tragic end when caught in adultery. There was also a tradition that Sappho herself was violently in love with Phaon, and that to cure her unrequited passion she threw herself from the rock of

Leukas, as did Aphrodite in her grief for the dead Adonis.²⁷⁸ It is, however, probable, that if Sappho wrote of Phaon, it was Aphrodite's passion that she celebrated; poems written in the first person of Aphrodite's love could easily have given rise to the belief that Sappho was herself in love.²⁷⁹ But the Sappho-Phaon story appealed to the poets of new comedy, and to Roman writers such as Ovid.

It is likely that Sappho did write of Phaon, for he seems to have been a Lesbian Adonis. Like Adonis he was favoured by Aphrodite. Like Adonis he had a connection with aromatic substances. Both were handsome, youthful and seductive, yet simultaneously connected with infertility (lettuce, adultery). For both, infatuated women are said to have thrown themselves from the rock of Leukas. They were also linked by virtue of the contrasts in their destiny, for Adonis was a god who died young, Phaon a mortal who experienced rejuvenation in old age.

The myth of Adonis spread, along with his cult, to the Greek mainland via Ionia and the Aeolian islands; Cyprus too was probably an important intermediary.²⁸⁰ Neither Phaon nor Adonis are heard of in Athens until the mid-fifth century, when both are mentioned in connection with the poet Cratinus, active between 450 and 420. According to Athenaios, Cratinus dismissed a rival as incompetent to write a chorus for the Adonia, and was also responsible for the story of Phaon's concealment in lettuce.²⁸¹ Later in the century Aristophanes' references to the Adonia make it clear that the cult, and hence the myth of Adonis was by now well established.²⁸² Several later comedians, including Philetairos, Sotades, Antiphanes and Diphilos, all wrote an Adonis or an Adoniazousai, but of these little beyond the mere record of their existence now survives.²⁸³ Menander's Samian too was set in the context of the Adonia.²⁸⁴

Though Phaon is ignored by Aristophanes, the contemporary comedian

Plato's Phaon was produced in 391: the surviving fragments suggest the hero is besieged by hoards of Lesbian women whom Aphrodite orders to make suitable offerings to various phallic deities before they are allowed a glimpse of their idol.²⁸⁵ A Phaon is also attributed to the middle comedian Antiphanes, and Menander's Leukadian referred to Sappho's supposed passion for the Lesbian boatman.²⁸⁶

References to the cult of Adonis are sparse in the classical period, being virtually confined to two passages in Aristophanes. In the Peace the Adonia are mentioned in the same line as the Mysteries and the Dipoleia, as one of the great festivals of the Greeks, and in the Lysistrate their enthusiasm for Adonis is cited as an illustration of the moral laxity of women, who wail for the dead god on the rooftops, and so disrupt the serious business of the assembly.²⁸⁷ An adequate picture may, however, be built up from the archaeological sources and from later writers, both those purporting to describe classical practice, and those describing the cult in other places and at other times.²⁸⁸

The sources are united in emphasizing the funerary character of the Adonia. Plutarch describes the atmosphere in Athens on the eve of the departure of the Sicilian expedition as one charged with gloom, for 'the women were celebrating the Adonia, and in many places throughout the city, little images of the god were laid out for burial, and funeral rites held about them, with wailing cries of women...'²⁸⁹ Elsewhere he adds that the women 'beat their breasts and sang dirges',²⁹⁰ and Aristophanes' references to the women's cries of *κοιτίουθ' Ἄδωνιν* and *αἰαῖ Ἄδωνιν* also testify to the funereal nature of the festival.²⁹¹

The Gardens of Adonis were an aspect of the cult which attracted the attention of ancient writers.²⁹² Quick-sprouting plants like fennel and lettuce were sown in broken pots. When they sprouted, the Gardens were carried up on to the roofs of the houses, where, in the

hot sun, they rapidly sprung up and as rapidly withered and died. The Gardens are clearly a sign of Adonis's links with both vegetation and barrenness, as well as an image of his annual resurrection and death.

Unlike other festivals, the Adonia were not organized by the state, but rather by private individuals in their own homes. This is made clear in the surviving fragments of Menander's Samian, and in Alkiphron's fourth epistle.²⁹³ These sources suggest that the Adonia were celebrated almost exclusively by women, especially foreigners and hetairai. Allowing for comic distortions and misrepresentations, the Menander fragments suggest there was a lot of noise and lascivious merriment. When they have carried the Gardens on to the roofs, the women abandon themselves to night-long dancing, drinking, and revelry. Taking this in conjunction with the remarks made in the Lysistrata, it seems fair to suggest that a strong body of male opinion in Athens was opposed to the cult of Adonis. This may have been, as D tienne suggests,²⁹⁴ because the love represented by Adonis was sterile and passionate, of far less practical use than the fertile, family-orientated emotions associated with Demeter and her festival, the state-sanctioned Thesmophoria. But according to Aristophanes, men had their suspicions about what went on at the Thesmophoria too,²⁹⁵ and there may have been more straightforward grounds for their dislike of the Adonia. As with any exclusively female activity mildly disruptive of the male routine, the men of Athens were naturally uneasy about a festival from which they were excluded, and whose obvious manifestations were either irritatingly gloomy or suspiciously cheerful.

The artistic tradition of Phaon, Adonis and the Adonia

Neither Phaon nor Adonis appear in Attic art before the middle of the fifth century. Apart from the Meidian examples, there seem to be only three published scenes with Phaon on them. Two are fragments,

one of a white-ground cup tondo of the mid century, showing the upper part of the head of a youth, beside which is the inscription $\Theta A O N$,²⁹⁶ and the other of a late fifth century pyxis, which preserves the upper part of a woman, $\Delta H M \Omega N A \xi \xi A$, the legs of $\phi [A \Omega N]$, and the hand and forehead of another woman.²⁹⁷ The fullest extant scene is attributed to Polygnotos: here Phaon sits in his boat, and Aphrodite steps in beside him, while Erotes balance on the gunwhale and stand behind the goddess. An armed figure, possibly Ares, watches the scene.²⁹⁸ There is also a fragmentary krater attributed to the Kleophon Painter, which Beazley thought might show Demonassa, Phaon and Aphrodite.²⁹⁹

To the same period as the earliest Phaon scenes, the mid-fifth century, belong two fragments which have been convincingly related to the celebration of the Adonia. The larger of the two shows a seated woman surrounded by Erotes and women bearing caskets. To the right is a ladder, held by a woman and an Eros, and another woman stands on the rungs, holding a plate of grapes (fig. 52).³⁰⁰ The second fragment shows the upper part of a woman leaning against a ladder, part of a plate of grapes, and part of a fan.³⁰¹ In both cases it is the ladder which ties the scene to the Adonia, since on several fourth century vases women and Erotes ascend or descend ladders with Adonis Gardens in their hands.³⁰² The ladders, then, must lead from the women's quarters on to the roofs, and must be the means by which the Gardens were transported up into the open air.

The Meidian scenes in the literary and artistic traditions

The Meidian scenes stand apart from the rest of the artistic tradition in their interest not merely in the Adonia but in Adonis: A 7 and MP 1 are the first extant Attic representations of the god himself.

The scenes confirm, in the first place, the suggestion that Phaon is a second Adonis. The Meidias Painter saw the two as suitable

partners for MP 1 and MP 2, which were obviously designed as a pair, found in the same Populonian tomb. On these two vases Phaon and Adonis are virtually indistinguishable, and on FA 2 or AR 5 it is impossible to tell whether the artist intended to show one of them or the other - and perhaps it hardly matters. Simon suggests that Phaon's consort on MP 2, Demonassa, is a form of Aphrodite Pandemos;³⁰³ if she is right, then Phaon too becomes the consort of the goddess, and his assimilation with Adonis is still more complete.

As for the characters and persons of Phaon and Adonis, the scenes confirm the literary reports of their youth and beauty, though modern taste might question the claim of MP 2's Phaon (fig. 45) to be the handsomest of men. If Adonis is the youth on A 11 who pours oil from an aryballos (the presence of the Gardens makes it likely, though not certain), this could be a reference to the god's connections with aromatic substances. The strong emphasis the scenes put on nature and vegetation are reminders of this aspect of Adonis' character: everywhere there are trees, shrubs and flowers, leafy bowers contrived beneath arching laurel boughs, and rocks and hillocks affording convenient resting places: MP 1 and MP 2 in particular are perfect illustrations of Theocritus' Adonis dirge:

...green bowers have been built, laden with the
tender dill, and boyish loves flit overhead like
young nightingales that flit upon the tree from
spray to spray, making trials of their fledgling
wings... 304

Further reminders of Adonis's connections with vegetation are supplied by the plates of fruit he or Phaon are offered on A 7 and FA 2, and by the shape of four of the vases, the acorn lekythoi A 11, FA 2, AR 5 and MM ADD 71B, since acorns were apparently among the fruits sacred to the god.³⁰⁵ On A 7 the Gardens in their broken pots demonstrate the sterile side of the vegetation connections.

Turning to Phaon, the name of his consort on MP 2, Demonassa,

is not recorded in any literary source, though other paintings show that she was part of the tradition. Demonassa could be Aphrodite Pandemos; alternatively she could be the collective personification of the women of Lesbos.³⁰⁶ The paintings certainly support the reports of the attraction Phaon exercised on women. On AR 5 and FA 2 they wait upon him and offer fruit; on MP 2 not only Demonassa but Leura too gazes rapturously towards him; and on MM 9 the passion he is patently inspiring appears to leave Phaon cold - a circumstance which prompts the speculation that there may be some connection here with the comic tradition. It is, however, probable, that Phaon's brooding, pre-occupied expression is purely the effect of the Meidian style, which makes most men look sullen and bored.

The amorous nature of the myths of Phaon and Adonis is emphasized by the way the influence of Aphrodite pervades the scenes. The hieros gamos of Aphrodite and Adonis is shown on MP 1, where the way Adonis reclines against Aphrodite recalls Theocritus' tableau,³⁰⁷ and the presence of Pandaisia, personification of the wedding feast, underlines the nuptial character of the scene. Aphrodite's influence is omnipresent. The goddess appears in person on MP 1, MP 2, A 7 and MM 46; she supports the reclining Adonis, comes upon him as he sits with his lyre, or crosses the sky above Phaon in her Eros-drawn chariot. Where she herself is absent, she is represented by Erotes, as on AR 5, FA 2, or MM 9. In all the scenes Erotes are thick upon the ground: there are four on MP 1 and three on MP 2, two on MM 9 and one on each of FA 2, AR 5, A 7 and MM 46. MP 1 also offers two erotic symbols, the hare and the inyx. Both the ring that the Eros spins above Adonis's head, and the bird on Eurynoe's finger may be identified as inyges³⁰⁸ and the bird on FA 2 may be one too. The first inyx was a nymph, transformed by Hera into a bird, the wry-neck or torquilla. Pindar says that Aphrodite initiated the use of the

bird in erotic magic, 'the pied inyx, the maddening bird of love, fast bound in the four-spoked circle',³⁰⁹ when she showed Jason how to use it to win the love of Medea. The bird spread-eagled on the wheel was replaced by the spoked wheel or pierced disc, which retained the same name. The inyx was spun to the accompaniment of magic spells, and its chief purpose was to bind the lover to his beloved: so in Theocritus' second idyll, Simaetha's spells to retrieve her fickle lover are punctuated by the refrain she addresses to the spinning inyx, commanding it to draw the man to her home.³¹⁰ Representations of the inyx are rare, but one is spun in a wedding scene attributed to the Eretria Painter,³¹¹ and it may be imagined that these instruments were played with by the women in their quarters, or, very probably, at the Adonia.

The women who gaze languorously at Phaon or Adonis intensify the amorous effect of the scenes; this is especially true of MP 2 and MM 9. The presence of Pan on MM 9 may also enhance the erotic effect, for in later scenes he often appears with Eros, while earlier in the century one of his primary associations is with the birth of Aphrodite.³¹²

So far as the cult of Adonis is concerned, A 11 confirms the literary sources for Adonis gardens; and on the vexed question of the date of the Adonia, the presence on MP 2 of Herosora, personification of spring-time, perhaps supports the arguments of those who prefer to put the festival early in the year. There are indications of general festivity on several of the scenes. On MP 1 and MP 2 Pannychis, the all-night festival, recalls Menander's account of the night-long celebrations which marked the Adonia - he even uses the same word, *ἐπαννύχιον*, at one point.³¹³ The musical elements of the scenes, the lyres and tambourines, are also festive; and the rich dress of the women and the fringed head-dresses of Phaon and Adonis contribute to the festive effect as much as the ritual implements carried by the

Erotes on MP 2. Apollo and Leto may be present in honour of Phaon on the same vase, while the Eros fastening his sandal on MM 9 has the air of one preparing to take part in some procession.³¹⁴

Where the paintings diverge from the literary sources is in their emphasis on the more cheerful and pleasurable aspects of the Adonia. The literary sources concentrate on the gloomy, funereal side of the cult, but the general atmosphere of the Meidian scenes could only be described as pleasurable. The idle and beautiful women (who will be discussed at length in Chapter IV) personify various felicities, and music and dance enhance the pleasant effect. Phaon and Adonis have lyres on A 7, MP 1 and MP 2, as does one of the women, possibly a Muse, on FA 2; music is also represented on MM 9 in the person of the Muse Philomele; and on MP 1 Pannychis beats a tambourine while an Eros dances. The surroundings too, the lush and flowery gardens from which all harshness is excluded, provide a major contribution towards the atmosphere of peace and well-being: there is no suggestion here of death or mourning.

Although there is no literary evidence for a hieros gamos associated with the Adonia, the scenes on MP 3 and A 11 suggest there may have been one. Both show a woman seated in the attitude of a bride, brought gifts and consoled by her female friends, and the Gardens on A 11 and the ladder on MP 3 are evidence of an association with the Adonia.

The Meidian scenes confirm the suggestion of the literary sources that the Adonia was largely the affair of women. But despite the Aphrodisian qualities of the scenes, they hardly go so far as Menander in suggesting the Adonia were a shameless orgy for hetairai. This is especially noticeable on MP 2, where Apollo and Leto lend the scene respectability and indicate that the festival may be conducted with due propriety and restraint. Nor is there any evidence of the disapproval

suggested in other sources.

Conclusions

Why did Phaon and Adonis appeal so much to the Meidian Group?

It is obvious that both fit very easily into the general Meidian ethos and into the favourite Meidian scenes: they are not athletes or heroes, but soft youths whose main interest in life is love, whose chief pleasure is to lounge around with lovely women in idyllic gardens. But the Meidian enthusiasm must also reflect, or even respond to, the enthusiasm of contemporary society. It is clear that the Adonis cult was gaining in popularity in the later century, and it is not hard to see why Phaon too had his appeal; he was no hero but an ordinary mortal, who fulfilled some of the wildest ambitions of men, by undergoing rejuvenation (itself, as we have seen, a popular theme of the time), and being granted the restoration of his good looks in order to become irresistible to women - his story is escapism of the highest order.

MOUSAIOS, THAMYRIS AND MARSYAS

1. Descriptions³¹⁵

MP 7 PEL (side A) fig. 56 (part)

Mousaios (ΜΟΥΖ...ΟΥΖ) sits in the centre, facing right. He is wreathed, and wears a short, long-sleeved and richly decorated tunic, a mantle hanging from his shoulders, and fur boots with flaps. He is playing a large kithara decorated with meander patterns, to which fringed scarves are attached. He touches the strings with the fingers of his left hand, and with the plectrum he holds in his right. The eight women around him are engrossed to varying degrees in his music. Five are Muses. Erato ([Ε]ΡΑΤΩ) has her back to Mousaios, and leans her head languidly against her tambourine, tapping the instrument with her left hand. Melpomene (ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ) sits below Mousaios with her eyes fixed upon him, playing her harp. Kalliope (ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ), sitting on the right of Mousaios, looks back over her shoulder towards him, while Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΥΖ) rests against her right shoulder. Terpsichore (ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΑ) stands alert, holding lyre and plectrum, ready to play. Above her head, Harmonia (ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ) is shown as far as the waist, as though emerging from behind a hillock. The three other women are Aphrodite, Peitho and Deiope. Deiope (ΔΗΙΟΠΗ) and Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) sit facing each other in the centre, below Mousaios. Aphrodite is on the right, her outstretched legs crossed; an Eros leans against her shoulder, and points towards Mousaios. Behind the goddess on the far right sits Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ). Deiope has a small bird perching on the index finger of her right hand; she looks down at the small child who reaches out to grab it. The child is naked except for the string of amulets slung over his right shoulder; his name is Eumolpos (ΕΥΜΟΛΠΟΥΖ).

Thamyris (Θ AMYPIΞ) sits in the centre facing right, with his head turned back over his right shoulder. He wears a long-sleeved and richly patterned tunic, flapped boots and a wreath on his long curls. He sits on his mantle. A kithara rests on his knee; his left hand lies against the strings, while his right, which grasps the plectrum, is stretched down and away from his body. Grouped around him are eight women and Apollo. Apollo and three of the women are on the left. Two of the women sit with lyres, while the third stands, fingering a necklace. All look to the right, towards the musician, but the attention of the one on the extreme left is directed towards Apollo. The god (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) has his back to Thamyris. He is loosely draped in a mantle, crowned with a laurel wreath, and leaning on a laurel staff. To the right of Thamyris a closely grouped triad of women form a curve around him. The highest member of the group sits facing right, but she turns her head over her shoulder towards Thamyris, as though at the prompting of the Eros who sits on her shoulder and gesticulates towards the singer. She supports the Eros with a hand around his ankles. To the right of her head are three letters of an inscription, ΞΑΘ . Her left hand lies on the shoulders of the second member of the group, a woman who leans over her knees, reaching out to take a bird from the Eros below. Close to this Eros is the lowest member in the triad, a woman whose veil and mantle distinguish her from the others. Her right hand lies on her knees; her left encircles another Eros who crouches at her side. On the far right sits another woman, holding a book roll, and above stands another, a lyre in her left hand, and her right holding the plectrum.

The scene is clearly set outside, as is shown by the waving ground-lines over which the characters are dispersed, the sapling near the lowest figure in the triad, and the small deer on the left, which

listens to the music with uplifted head and laid-back ears.

NA 3235 1 PAN (side B)

Marsyas and Olympos sit together in the centre of the scene, surrounded by satyrs and by women. Olympos (ΟΛΥΜΠΟΣ), a handsome youth with a laurel wreath on his head, sits on his mantle facing right. A lyre rests against his left thigh; his left hand touches the strings, while his right holds the plectrum. The satyr Marsyas (ΜΑΡΣΥΣ..) sits beside him, also facing right, but with his head turned to face Olympos. He too has a wreath on his balding head, and in his left hand he holds a pair of pipes, while his right hand is raised towards his head. Two more satyrs and three women accompany them. One satyr, Turba (ΤΥΡΒΑ) and one woman, Thalea (ΘΑΛΕΑ) are shown from the waist up as if emerging from behind a hillock. Thalea brandishes a thyrsos, and Turba reaches out towards her. One woman, Ka... (ΚΑ....), stands by herself to the right of Marsyas; the second satyr gazes up at the third woman, Ouragies (ΟΥΡΑΓΙΗΣ), who stands beside him but seems more interested in Marsyas and Olympos. Below Olympos, a goose stretches out its long neck.

MM 1 HYD

The scene is badly preserved, but in the centre is a youth seated to the right and playing a kithara. He wears a sleeveless, patterned tunic, a mantle and laced boots, and he has a wreath on his long curls. Scattered around him are seven women and two Erotes. Two of the women hold lyres, and a third seems about to clash a pair of cymbals. One of the others holds a sceptre and is attended by an Eros. The second Eros crouches behind the cymbal player, and the other women stand or sit around. Some face the musician, while others turn their backs. Five trees suggest the scene is set in a grove, and below the musician is a row of three statuettes on a low platform, the three diminishing in height from left to right. Behind them is a poorly

preserved animal with one front leg raised. Below one handle is a swan, and below the other a lyre.

MM 91 bis PYX, FRR

Thamyris (ΘΑΜΥΡΙΞ) and Mousaios ([ΜΟΥΞ]ΑΙΟΞ) play together in the company of Apollo and the Muses. Mousaios, a mantle spread across his knees and a wreath on his head, plays the harp, while Thamyris, wearing tunic, mantle and boots, plays the lyre. Apollo stands near Mousaios with his back to Thamyris; his laurel staff rests against his shoulder. The Muses stand or sit around, two with lyres and one with a book-roll; they include Ourania(?) (..ΙΑΝΙΑ), Polymele (ΠΟΛΥΜ..Ε), Terpsichore (ΤΕΡΨΙΧ.ΡΑ) and Sophia (ΣΟΦΙΑ). All wear fine chitons with mantles.

The identity of the various musicians is made clear by inscriptions on all except MM 1: here, as will be shown, the central figure is most likely to be Thamyris.

2. Discussion

Mousaios

Mousaios was distinguished from other legendary musicians like Thamyris or Orpheus by his association with Eleusis and the Eleusinian mysteries. Later sources report that his wife Deiope was a priestess of Demeter, and their son Eumolpos was the eponymous founder of the priestly family of the Eumolpidae.³¹⁶

Mousaios is rarely shown in vase painting. In the earlier classical period he may be shown in the company of Apollo, or with his teacher Linos; sometimes there are Muses. On these scenes Mousaios is attired like Apollo in a mantle which leaves one shoulder bare; often he has a laurel wreath, and at times a laurel staff.³¹⁷ The scene on MP 7 differs from these earlier representations not only in its complexity,

but also in showing Mousaios as a Thracian, in full Thracian dress, and in the company of his wife and son. This scene provides the earliest evidence for his nationality and his family, details which until the discovery of this vase were known only from Hellenistic and later sources.

The bird on Deiope's finger is a favourite Meidian motif. Birds recur on MP 1, MP 16, FA 2 and MM 66; the Meidian artists were clearly aware of their decorative value and their ability to enhance the elegance of women's hands.

Mousaios's appearance on MM 91 bis will be considered with the Thamyras scenes.

Marsyas and Olympos

To judge from the numerous extant artistic representations, the story of the Phrygian satyr Marsyas was well known in the fifth century, how he snatched up the pipes when Athena threw them from her in a fit of pique, and how he became so adept with them that he challenged Apollo to a contest. The extant literary sources are late, and there is no evidence that Marsyas was ever represented in tragedy, comedy, or satyr play, but he was the subject of a dithyramb of uncertain date, composed by Melannipides of Melos.³¹⁸

Like Marsyas, Olympos was a Phrygian, and like Marsyas he appears late in the literary sources.³¹⁹ He was principally famed as a flautist, but as was the case with Orpheus or Linos, various musical achievements were associated with his name. According to Plutarch, for example, he invented the auletikos nomos, and introduced other nomoi which greatly enhanced the status and the quality of Greek music: he was the ἀρχηγὸς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς μουσικῆς.³²⁰ If the average fifth century Athenian might have been a little vague as to the precise nature of Olympos's achievement, references in Aristophanes and Euripides suggest his name was not unknown; Euripides

describes Paris as 'piping a foreign tune, puffing away on the reeds of the Phrygian flutes of Olympos', while one of Aristophanes' characters suggests to another that they should indulge in some lamentation and weep to the nomos of Olympos.³²¹ The friendship of Marsyas and Olympos is recorded in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Some say that Olympos was Marsyas's father, but the more common version of the story is that Marsyas was Olympos's teacher, and at times his lover.

The earliest extant representation of Marsyas appears to be the Thasos torso of the hanging satyr, contemporary with the sculptures of Olympia.³²² Myron's Athena and Marsyas is not much later, and from about 440 onwards the contest of Marsyas and Apollo becomes a popular subject in vase painting. The iconography of the scenes varies: Marsyas may play the lyre or the kithara instead of the pipes, or Apollo may perform while Marsyas listens submissively, and the spectators range from Muses to gods, satyrs, maenads and others.³²³

Olympos, whose career was less spectacular than Marsyas's, never became so popular on vase paintings. He has been seen in the young man on an early black-figure amphora, who plays the pipes while three onlookers and a goose attend,³²⁴ and on another black-figure amphora Dionysos listens to a piper who might again be Olympos,³²⁵ but neither identification is certain. In fifth and fourth century Marsyas scenes Olympos never appears by name, but sometimes there is a nameless youth who watches the contest, and he may be intended as Olympos.³²⁶ Polygnotos is said to have shown Marsyas instructing Olympos in his Nekyia.³²⁷

The obscurity of Olympos and the popularity of the contest between Apollo and Marsyas have led some to suggest that the painter of NA 3235 1 has made a mistake and written Olympos instead of Apollo, or else that the name Olympos refers to the mountain of that name in

Mysia where the contest may have taken place.³²⁸ Not only does Olympos lack any Phrygian attributes, but he strongly resembles Apollo on many of the Apollo and Marsyas scenes, and he is playing Apollo's instrument, the lyre, not the flutes with which he himself was chiefly associated. There is, however, no real reason why Olympos should not be Olympos: though the practice of labelling mountains is not wholly foreign to the conventions of vase painting, it is hardly widespread, and there are no examples of it in the Meidian circle. Though Olympos is Apolline in appearance, this could well be due to the absence of any established iconographic tradition for Olympos himself, who, according to Plutarch, was as skilled with the lyre as the pipes. The goose is a point in favour of Olympos's being Olympos, for there is a goose on the black-figure amphora mentioned above, and geese were doubtless common in the marshes of Olympos's native Mysia.

A further objection to the Apollo theory was raised by Schauenburg, who argued that it was odd for Apollo and Marsyas to be surrounded by figures belonging exclusively to the thiasos; although satyrs and maenads watch the contest on other vases, there are always other on-lookers as well, gods or Muses.³²⁹ However, the women on NA 3235 1 may be more than simple maenads. Though one wields a thyrsos, their names could be garbled versions of the Muses' - Thalea for Talia, Ouragies for Ourania and Ka... for Kalliope, perhaps. But Muses may attend Olympos and Marsyas with perfect propriety.

If we accept that Olympos is Olympos, it is interesting that the Meidian artist has rejected that aspect of the Marsyas story which attracted his contemporaries in favour of that which Polygnotos had preferred. Ignoring the disastrous end of Marsyas's career, he emphasizes instead his earlier, happier days, when he taught the art of fluting to his friend and pupil. This deliberate exclusion of the unpleasant or sensational is typical of the Meidian Group.

Thamyris 330

The story of Thamyris is briefly recounted in the Iliad, but most of our information derives from such later sources as Apollodoros or scholiasts commenting on the Iliad and tragedy. Thamyris was a legendary musician like Orpheus or Linos, an itinerant singer and player of the lyre, sometimes the inventor of the Dorian mode. He was most famous for having provoked the hostility of the Muses, who blinded him and deprived him of his musical prowess. The Muses, in Homer's words,

...put an end to his singing...for he used to boast that he would defeat the Muses themselves in a singing match, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus. And they were angry; they struck him blind; they deprived him of his thrilling gift of song; they caused him to forget his mastery of the lyre... 331

Homer mentions no contest: in his account the Muses exacted vengeance before the issue was put to the test. But in the fifth century a contest between Thamyris and the Muses was well established in the tradition. In Euripides' Rhesus Terpsichore refers to the contest, describing how the Muses matched their skill against κείνῳ σοφιστῇ Ὀρηκί and blinded him for his presumption.³³² It has recently been suggested that Thamyris was the subject of a dithyramb in the later century.³³³ But the single most important literary treatment of the myth was probably Sophocles' Thamyras, little of which survives. Its action was apparently set in Thrace, near Mount Athos. There was a contest, Thamyris lost, and to the distress of his mother Argiope, was struck blind. Later sources specify the terms of the contest. According to Apollodoros, Thamyris stipulated that if he won he should have all the Muses as wives, while if he lost they could do what they liked with him,³³⁵ but others claim Thamyris demanded only one Muse.

The artistic tradition seems closely linked to the literary; several of the fifth century scenes may have been inspired by Sophocles, starting with Polygnotos' painting of Thamyris in his Nekyia: Thamyris

was shown with 'his eyes destroyed, his countenance one of total suffering, long hair on his head and face; his lyre is thrown at his feet, its pegs wrenched off, its strings broken...'³³⁶ Three vases of the mid-century may share the same inspiration with their scenes of Thamyris playing before critical Muses; his mother may approach with a supplicatory laurel branch, and in two scenes there are three little figures, probably xoana of the Muses. A fourth vase is still more dramatic, for it shows Thamyris at the moment of his blinding, throwing down his lyre while his mother rushes forward tearing her hair, and a Muse looks calmly on. A fifth painting, by Polion, is closer in date to the Meidian scenes and shares some of their characteristics; it shows Thamyris playing before all nine Muses and Apollo, while his mother prays at an altar attended by nine xoana.³³⁷

The xoana on MM 1, besides the musician's costume, suggest that he should be Thamyris. The patterned Thracian-looking tunic worn by Thamyris on all the Meidian scenes except MM 91 bis appears on the earlier representations too. On Polion's scene, however, he is dressed as a kitharode.

The finest of the Meidian scenes is predictably the Painter's own, MP 16. One problem this scene arouses concerns the identity of the women to the right of Thamyris. There is nothing except the bird to suggest that any of them are Muses. The inscription $\xi A O$ led early commentators to suggest that the woman at the top was Sappho. Michaelis, for example, proposed that her two companions were Peitho and Aphrodite, and that they and the Erotes represented the contents of Thamyris's song, from which Sappho was drawing inspiration.³³⁸ Others have pointed out that to read $\xi A O$ as Sappho is dubious. Furtwängler, agreeing that 'von Liebe inspirirt singt Thamyris' suggested that the women were Aphrodite, Peitho and Paregoros.³³⁹ But Paregoros, goddess of consolation and encouragement, is very obscure and most unlikely. We

may, however, agree that the woman at the bottom is Aphrodite, since her attendant Eros and her distinctive veil and mantle find parallels on many Meidian representations of the goddess. The bird held out by the Eros could be another lynx, and the woman who reaches for it is likely to be Peitho, Aphrodite's close companion on many Meidian pots. But the identity of the woman at the top remains uncertain. She too resembles Meidian Aphrodites, and her proximity to Thamyris suggests she may be important. She could, of course, be Argiope, his mother, but in this case the Eros on her shoulder is rather out of place. Perhaps the early interpretations were right after all and she is Sappho. In view of the painter's fondness for Sapphic and Lesbian themes, such as Phaon and Adonis, it is not inconceivable that he knew of and included the poet herself in this scene.

The second interesting feature of this scene is its inclusion of Apollo. But before considering the implications of this, we may look at MM 1. None of the women here have names; those with instruments are clearly Muses, but this leaves four extras. Three of these are without attributes, but the fourth, who sits just below and to the left of Thamyris has a sceptre: this and her attendant Eros suggest she may be Aphrodite. The xoana and the animal are of especial interest. The statuettes, like those on the earlier Thamyris scenes, are probably representations of the Muses, their presence an indication that the scene is set in their sanctuary. Schefold³⁴⁰ suggested that in the production of Sophocles' Thamyras the Muses' sacred mountain was shown by a row of xoana, and that paintings with xoana are influenced by Sophocles. On Polion's vase, however, where there are nine such figures, all wearing the agrenon, a long waistcoat worn by seers, Muses and other omniscient beings, there are reasons to associate the painting with the performance of a dithyramb.³⁴¹ Surely poets and painters might both have thought of using xoana to represent a sanctuary, so

that the figures can hardly be seen as proof of a scene's derivation from a dramatic source.

Since the animal behind the xoana is badly preserved, its identity is hard to determine. It is not unusual to find animals in a musical context: a deer listens to Thamyris on MP 16, and a hare watches a boy tuning his lyre on an earlier white-ground tondo.³⁴² Richter suggested the animal on MM 1 was a griffin, 'appropriate in this milieu, for the griffin is associated with Apollo'.³⁴³ But others have suggested the animal is a hare.³⁴⁴ The animal certainly raises a paw in a hare-like manner,³⁴⁵ and on Polion's krater a hare is crouched at Thamyris's feet; Polygnotos' famous hare may even have appeared beside his Thamyris.³⁴⁶

Do any of the Meidian scenes show the contest between Thamyris and the Muses? On MM 1 there are certainly no signs of a contest. Few of the women around Thamyris show any interest at all - only four even look his way. The xoana recall the setting of the contest in the sanctuary of the Muses, but the absence of Apollo and the way that the Muse with the cymbals is joining in make the atmosphere very relaxed. Sichtermann refused to admit any signs of a contest on MP 16 either.³⁴⁷ He argued that the scene shows an open-air concert-party, where Thamyris performs for the gratification of the lovely women and Erotes who swarm around him. Real reiterates this opinion,³⁴⁸ and Froning agrees:³⁴⁹ the Meidian scene is allowed to retain no trace of the serious nature of the earlier representations. But on MP 16 the Muses look critically on Thamyris. The woman to the left may design the necklace she holds not, as Sichtermann suggests, for the musician,³⁵⁰ but for herself. And the presence of Apollo must be taken into account. In Froning's view, his presence on Polion's vase is evidence for the scene's connection with a dithyramb, for there is no evidence that he acted as a judge in Sophocles' play, and he does not appear on any of

the earlier Thamyris scenes which may show Sophoclean influence.³⁵¹ Yet Froning dismisses the idea that there is anything significant about his presence on MP 16; here he is simply present in his capacity of Musagetes, and has nothing to do with Thamyris. This interpretation is not, however, supported by the scene itself. As Schefold saw,³⁵² Apollo has turned his back on Thamyris, his outstretched index finger suggesting he is weighing things up. His general attitude is far from approving, and Thamyris looks anxiously round to see how he reacts. On MM 91 bis Apollo again has his back to Thamyris, and though here the association of Thamyris and Mousaios makes it seem less likely that a serious contest is in progress, the attitude of the god may be a reminder of the episode.

Do the Meidian scenes show the influence of either Sophocles or the possible dithyramb? The xoana or the disapproving presence of Apollo suggest the Meidian artists may have been aware of literary versions. But they did not allow themselves to be restricted by them in any way. It was their own tastes and character which were responsible for the most striking characteristics of the scenes, the multiplication of Muses and other graceful women, or the introduction of Aphrodite and her Erotas.

Conclusion

Neither Thamyris nor Mousaios was very popular with earlier vase-painters, so that it is reasonable to ask what appeal they held for the artists of the Meidian Group. Looking at the Meidian scenes, it is easy to appreciate that their subjects were very much in sympathy with the Meidian taste. The heavenly gardens peopled with lovely women, the opportunities for the display of long fingers and slender wrists provided by the instruments they hold, are clearly just in the Meidian line. But since the scenes show not simple assemblies of Muses, but instead famous Thracian musicians attended by these women,

it seems that the protagonists were as important as the general nature of the scenes. There are a few parallel cases of vase painters with a special interest in musicians of this kind. The Phiale Painter is known to have executed at least two Thamyris scenes,³⁵³ and still more striking is the enthusiasm of the Kadmos and Pothos Painters for Marsyas: five of the Kadmos Painter's thirty-seven attributed vases show the contest between Apollo and Marsyas, four of the Pothos Painter's thirty-four.³⁵⁴ There are various possible reasons for their special interest, and these may shed some light on the Meidian artists' similar predilections.

One major influence on the Kadmos and Pothos Painters appears to have been the dithyramb. As Froning suggests,³⁵⁵ dithyrambic victors may well have commissioned pinakes of the subjects of their prize-winning compositions, which in turn inspired the vase painters. We know that Marsyas was the subject of at least one dithyramb, and other musicians such as Thamyris might have proved equally attractive material. Another possible influence on the Kadmos and Pothos Painters was the increasing interest in the agon in the later fifth century, an interest amply attested by Euripides and Aristophanes. In the case of Marsyas, a further factor could have been the rivalry of the flute and the lyre in Athenian society, though it is hard to assess how real this was. Plutarch's Alkibiades reports Alkibiades' refusal to learn the flute, because it was ἀγεννὲς καὶ ἀνελεύθερον . Playing the lyre did not affect the bearing and appearance of a free man, but piping was an undesirable accomplishment: it was impossible to talk while blowing into the flutes, and the activity, moreover, distorted the features in an unbecoming manner.³⁵⁶ These lines have been read as evidence of a general revolt from the flute on the part of the well-born Athenian youth in the later century, and the reality of such revolt is suggested by Plato's banishment of the flute from his ideal

Republic,³⁵⁷ and also by the vase paintings - representations of fluting youths decline in numbers in the later century, to be replaced by fluting girls.

It is not certain that any of this will help to explain the Meidian fondness for musicians. Though the influence of the dithyramb need not be ruled out, it is hardly very strongly felt on the Meidian scenes, and the influence of the agon seems still weaker, for the competitive elements of the Thamyris story are played down, and the contest between Apollo and Marsyas is replaced by the theme of Marsyas' friendship for Olympos. Nor is there any apparent reference to the rivalry of flute and lyre in any of the scenes. The reasons which may be advanced for the Meidian interest are very miscellaneous. The Meidian Group, in the first place, was fond of rare subjects; compare the Phaon scenes, or the Rape of the Leukippidai. MP 7 may have been commissioned by a Eumolpid. Or the scenes may simply reflect the late fifth century interest in music and musicians which may be observed in the literary sources. Plato, in the Republic and the Laws, shows that the question of the moral value of music was of current interest. Music was something people talked about, and it seems that the professional musician was now coming to the fore, more than he had done in the past. Musicians such as the Theban Pronomos are mentioned in the sources, or Alkibiades' teacher Antigenides, of whose exotic dress the Suida is moved to comment:

οὗτος ὑποδήμασι Μιλησίου πρώτος ἐχρήσατο καὶ
κροκωτὸν ἐν τῷ κωμαστῇ περιεβάλλετο ἱμάτιον. 358

The showily-dressed musicians of contemporary Athens probably influenced Plato's determination to rid his Republic of immoral musical influence; as the mythical ancestors of the professional musicians of the day, Thamyris and Mousaios on the Meidian vases testify to the interest and approval of the painter and his clients, more liberal in outlook than the philosophers.

CHAPTER IV

THE HEAVENLY GARDENS, PART 2

This Chapter continues with the same kind of scenes as the last, but where the inhabitants of Chapter III's heavenly gardens were heroes and mortals of mythology, Chapter IV is concerned with gods and semi-divine beings. The two major sections are the first and the last, which consider Personifications and Aphrodite: in between are discussions of Chryse, Apollo and Artemis, Eleusinian deities, Asklepios and Dionysos.

PERSONIFICATIONS

1. Descriptions

A 7 LEK(S) figs. 35-38

Aphrodite and Adonis, with Eros, Paidia and another. (For full description see above, 102.)

MP 1 HYD figs. 39-44

Aphrodite and Adonis with Eurynoe, Paidia, Hygieia, Eutychia, Eudaimonia, Pannychis, Chrysothemis and Pandaisia. (For full description see above, 102-3.)

MP 2 HYD figs. 45-50

Phaon and Demonassa with Aphrodite, Apollo, Leto, Leura, Chryso-
geneia, Hygieia, Eudaimonia, Herosora, Pannychis. (For full description
see above, 103-104.)

MP 5 HYD figs. 20-22, 25-30

Above, Rape of the Leukippidai, with Aphrodite, Zeus and Peitho;
below, Herakles and the Hesperides, with Hygieia, Asteropeia, Chrys-
othemis, Lipara and Chryseis. (For full description see above, 72-3,
80-82.)

MP 7 PEL fig. 56

Mousaios with Deiope and Eumolpos, Aphrodite, Harmonia, Peitho
and Muses. (For full description see above, 117.)

MP ADD 23 PLA fig. 74

Epidauros with Asklepios, Eudaimonia and Eukleia(?). (For full
description see below, 162.)

CP 1 HYD

Judgement of Paris, with Eris and Eutychia. (For full description
see below, 223-224.)

PA 1 LEK(S)

Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ) sits in the centre on a rock, approached

by two figures from each side. Hygieia (ΥΓΙΕΙΑ) stands on the far left, holding a fold of her mantle before her face, while Pandaisia (ΠΑΝΔΑΙΣΙΑ) brings a plate of fruit. On the right are a youth, Polykles(?) (ΠΟΛΥΚΛ...), and another woman, Kale (ΚΑΛΗ).

NA 3235 3 PEL (side A)

Dionysos with satyrs and maenads, one of whom is named Eirene. (For full description see below, 166-67.)

MM ADD 10A SKY, FRR figs. 79, 110-113

Side A, Ixion on the wheel, with deities, Kratos and Bia; side B, Dionysos and a youth, with Opora and Oinante. (For full descriptions see below, 207 and 167.)

MM 41 bis OIN fig. 60

Apollo sits on a rock between Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) and Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ). Eunomia dangles a necklace, while Eukleia offers the god a branch.

MM 45 LEK(S) figs. 61-62

Aphrodite sits in the centre with an Eros. Around them are women engaged in various activities. Kleopatra stands with a necklace and a plate of fruit (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ). Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) leans on Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ), who fingers a necklace. Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ) arranges sprays of leaves in a kanoun. Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ) reaches up to pick fruit from a tree to add to the trayful she is already supporting on her left arm.

MM 47 LEK(S)

Aphrodite sits in the centre beside a casket on which stand a pair of shoes. To the left is a woman who offers her a branch(?) on a plate. To the right, Eros converses with a seated youth, Chrysispos (ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ), pointing back towards Aphrodite. Further to the right, another woman, Pompe (ΠΟΜΠΗ) is seated beside a kanoun.

MM 67 LEK(S)

Aphrodite(?) sits in a sanctuary while two worshippers of smaller stature approach. The first, who is more richly dressed than the second, holds an indeterminate object up in her right hand, while lowering the branch in her left hand towards an altar on which lies a single fruit. Her name is Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ). Behind her is her companion Thaleia (ΘΑΛΕΙΑ), who bears a casket on her head. Behind the altar is the remains of a statue on a column.

MM 85 LKN LID

Harmonia (ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ) and Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) sit outside, attended by their women. Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ) offers Harmonia a garland, while Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ), Pannychis (ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΣ) and Klymene (ΚΛΥΜΕΝΗ) attend Aphrodite, to whom they bring sakkoi, an alabastron, a garland, a plemochoe and a sash.

MM 87 LKN LID

figs. 63-67

Aphrodite (ΠΑΦΙΑ) and Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) sit outside amongst other women, only one of whom is named, Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ). She offers a casket to Eunomia.

MM ADD 90A LKN LID

fig. 71

Nike with Eukleia, Chryse and Eunomia. (For full description see below, 151.)

MM 92 PYX

figs 68-70

Aphrodite prepares to mount a chariot drawn by Pothos and Hedylogos, in the company of various women. Eunomia (ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ) sits holding a necklace, while Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) offers her another. Harmonia (ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ) sits with a wreath in her hands; Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ) fastens her sandal, while Himeros offers her a necklace, and another woman, Kale (ΚΑΛΗ) stands by.

MM 99 PYX

Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) sits indoors (as indicated by a column) while women bring her gifts. Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ) offers a casket, a

necklace and a sash, Hygieia (ΥΓΙΕΙΑ) a plemochoe and a casket. Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ) fingers a necklace, watching Paidia (ΠΑΙΔΙΑ) balance a stick on the palm of her hand. Eukleia (ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ) holds a sash and a casket, and is engaged in conversation with Aponia (ΑΠΟΝΙΑ), who gesticulates with her right hand.

2. Discussion

(MM ADD 23, MM ADD 90A and NA 3235 3 are considered in more detail later in this Chapter, in connection with Asklepios, Chryse and Dionysos; CP 1 is more fully discussed in Chapter V, in connection with the Judgement of Paris; MM ADD 10A is considered in more detail partly later in this Chapter, in association with other Dionysian scenes, and partly in Chapter V, where Ixion is discussed.)

Summary of the representations as shown on the accompanying charts

The Meidian scenes with personifications are summarized in the first of the accompanying charts, while the second illustrates the use made of personifications by close predecessors and other later fifth and earlier fourth century painters. On each chart the vases under consideration are listed along the vertical axis, the personifications themselves, in alphabetical order, along the horizontal. A tick in the appropriate square indicates the presence of that personification on that vase, while a tick under 'Aphrodite', 'Dionysos', 'Apollo' or 'Outside' indicates the participation of that divinity, or the setting of the scene outside.

At this point it becomes essential to explain the criteria on which characters have been selected for inclusion in the charts, and to offer some definition of personifications. Literary or philosophical personifications may be variously defined,³⁵⁹ but I am simply taking as artistic personifications those figures whose names show they are the embodiment of more or less abstract ideas, feelings, aspects of

	APONIA	BIA	EIRENE	EPIDAURUS	ERIS	EUDAIMONIA	EUKLEIA	EUNOMIA	EURYNOE	EURYTHMIA	EUTYCHIA	HARMONIA	HEIMARMENE	HEROSORA	HYGIEIA	KLEOPATRA	KRATOS	MAKARIA	NEMESIS	OINANTHE	OPORA	PAIDIA	PANDAISIA	PANNYCHIS	PEITHO	POMPE	SPARTA	THALIA	THEMIS	APHRODITE	APOLLO	DIONYSOS	OUTSIDE	SHAPE	PAINTER
A 7																						✓										✓	LEK(S)	A	
MP 1						✓			✓	✓					✓							✓										✓	HYD	MP	
MP 2						✓								✓																		✓	HYD	MP	
MP 5															✓																	✓	HYD	MP	
MP 7												✓																				✓	PEL	MP	
MP ADD 23				✓		✓	?																									✓	PLA	MP	
CP 1											✓																					✓	HYD	CP	
PA 1						✓									✓								✓									✓	LEK(S)	PA	
NA 3235 3			✓																													✓	PEL	NA 3235	
MM ADD 10A		✓															✓				✓											✓	KRA	MM	
MM 41 bis																																			MM
MM 45																																			MM
MM 47																																			MM
MM 67																																			MM
MM 85																																			MM
MM 87																																			MM
MM ADD 90A																																			MM
MM 92																																			MM
MM 99																																			MM
TOTALS	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	6	7	1	1	2	3	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	2	3	4	1	1	1	15	2	2	17			

MEIDIAN PERSONIFICATIONS

ART or other reference.	APONIA	BIA	EIRENE	EPIDAUROS	ERIS	EUDAIMONIA	EUKLEIA	EUNOMIA	EURYNOME	EURUTHMIA	EUTYCHIA	HARMONIA	HEIMARMENE	HEROSORA	HYGIEIA	KLEOPATRA	KRATOS	MAKARIA	NEMESIS	ONANTHE	OPORA	PAIDIA	PANDASIA	PANNYCHIS	PEITHO	POMPE	SPARTA	THALEA	THEMIS	APHRODITE	APOLLO	DIONYSOS	OUTSIDE	SHAPE	PAINTER
1173.1													✓							✓					✓								AMP	HEIMARMENE	
Hope Vases 114								✓																	✓								HYD	WASHING P	
1023.147																																	CUP	PHIALE P	
1152.8			✓																														KCA	DINOS P	
1685																																	KBL	DINOS MANNER	
1184.1						✓																											KVO	KADMOS P	
1185.7							✓																										KCA	KADMOS P	
1186.29									✓																								NKA	KADMOS P	
1269.6																																	CUP	KODROS P	
1247.1																																	LEK(S)	ERETRIA P	
1248.8								✓																									LEK(S)	ERETRIA P	
1250.34													✓																				ON	ERETRIA P	
1330.7											✓																						LEK(S)	MAKARIA P	
1330.8								✓			✓																						LEK(S)	MAKARIA P	
1338																																	KCA	PRONOMOS NR	
1512.18																																	CUP	JENA P	
Munich 234																																	LEK(S)	Late 5th c.	
Barcelona 33															✓																		PEL	Late 5th c.	
Boston 00.354																																	CUP	Late 5th c.	
TOTALS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	2	4	4	4	5			

NON-MEIDIAN PERSONIFICATIONS

life, or, in one instance, of a place. Certain figures who, by this definition, might have a claim to inclusion, have been omitted. Amongst these are Eros and his associates, Pothos, Himeros or Hedylogos, whom I have left out because as personifications there is little that can usefully be said about them. Again, all Chrys-figures have been omitted, because their names, like Asteropeia's or Lipara's, seem descriptive rather than truly personificatory. The distinction is arbitrary, but it was necessary to draw a line somewhere.

The table of Meidian personifications helps to establish who these figures are. With the exception of Kratos, all are represented by feminine nouns. They may be loosely divided into types, though the groups will often overlap so that the same figure is found under more than one heading. Some, such as Peitho, Hygieia, Eunomia, Eukleia and Eirene, are goddesses in their own right. Epidauros alone personifies a place (though it may be argued that she is the eponymous nymph of Epidauros as much as its personification). Several of the figures personify aspects of festivals and ceremonies; amongst these are Pompe, the procession, Pandaisia, the wedding feast, Pannychis, the all-night festival,³⁶⁰ Paidia, the personification of games and play, and Herosora and Thaleia, personifications of spring and new vegetation, and so connected with spring festivals for Aphrodite and Eros. Next, there are personifications of various aspects of happiness and well-being, Eudaimonia, happiness, Eutychia, good fortune, Aponia, leisure, Paidia, play, Hygieia, health, and Eirene, peace. Harmonia, Eurynoe, Eunomia, and Eukleia personify virtues and moral qualities - harmony, breadth of knowledge, good order and good reputation. And finally there are the personifications of divine power and destiny, Eris, strife, Kratos, strength, and Bia, force.

With the exception of the last three, who are exceptional in several ways, the different kinds of personification find a unifying factor in

their close association with Aphrodite. Out of the twenty³⁶¹ Meidian scenes, there are only three where her presence is uncertain, and five from which she is definitely absent. When she is present, she is invariably the central figure. On PA 1 her place is assumed by Eudaimonia, and on NA 3235 3 and MM ADD 10A (side B) she is replaced by Dionysos. On MM 41 bis Eunomia and Eukleia are accompanied by Apollo. Aphrodite has no share in the action on MP ADD 23, but she may well be the nameless goddess on MM 67, and she may have appeared on the missing part of MM ADD 90A.

If we ask who appears in whose company, the answer depends to some extent on how frequently any given personification appears at all; it is easier to find associations for Eudaimonia than for Pandaisia, simply because Eudaimonia appears frequently, Pandaisia only twice. The most significant links, however, would seem to be between Eunomia and Eukleia, and between Eudaimonia, Hygieia and Paidia. Eudaimonia and Eunomia are by far the most popular figures with the Meidian artists: each appears seven times. Eukleia, Hygieia and Paidia are all shown five times, Peitho on four occasions. Harmonia and Pannychis appear three times, the others only once or twice.

The chart shows that Meidian artists used personifications on a limited range of shapes. The majority of the scenes are executed on small vases, oinochoai, squat lekythoi, pyxides and lekanides. The chart also demonstrates the Meidian fondness for using personifications en masse; to put five, six, or even seven together on one vase is normal practice.

Looking at the two charts together helps to identify those characteristics in the use of personifications that are peculiar to Meidian artists. Although the non-Meidian personifications may be subdivided in the same way as the Meidian, the charts show that some figures are confined to the Meidian circle, while others are excluded from it.

Only Meidian artists depict Kratos and Bia, Aponia, Eukleia, Epidauros, Eurythmia, Herosora, Kleopatra, Pandaisia, Pannychis, Pompe and Thaleia; only the non-Meidians include the grim goddesses of destiny, Nemesis, Themis and Heimarmene in their scenes, along with the more cheerful Makaria, and Sparta. The presence of Aphrodite is far less overwhelming on the non-Meidian scenes; she appears on only four of the nineteen, as does Dionysos. Eudaimonia does not enjoy the same popularity amongst the non-Meidian artists, appearing only once, as a maenad in the company of Dionysos. By far the most popular is Paidia, who appears seven times.³⁶² Peitho is shown on five scenes and Eunomia on three, but all the others appear only once or twice. The massed use of personifications is rare, and the range of shapes employed considerable.

The charts show, then, that the use of personifications was not confined to the Meidian group, but they emphasize that there was not the same concerted enthusiasm outside the group as within it. It may be noted, finally, that on the twenty Meidian scenes a total of fifty-seven personifications may be seen, while the nineteen non-Meidian scenes can muster only thirty, scarcely more than half the Meidian total.

Appearance and occupation of Meidian personifications

Meidian artists make little attempt to characterize personifications or differentiate one from the next. Without their names, most would be indistinguishable from the other women like Lipara or Epicharis with whom they mingle freely. No two of the thirteen figures on MP 1 and MP 2, for example, are exactly alike, but the differences in their dress or hair-style hardly amount to significant characterization, resulting rather from the Meidias Painter's love of variety and his desire to avoid monotony. Their hair is variously arranged under diadems or stephanai, tightly secured or hanging loose in carefully arranged ringlets. All have gold ear-rings, necklaces and bracelets,

and their dress varies from simple chitons to peploi patterned with scrolls or stars, and mantles with fringes or decorative borders. Their feet are mostly bare, but sometimes they have sandals. The most obvious characteristic of these women is their grace and beauty, and in this they take the lead from the central figure of their group, the goddess Aphrodite. As Pappadaki-Aggelidou remarks, they 'are all created after the prototype of the central figure of the circle... They bear, like her, elegant clothes, jewellery, they have carefully arranged hair: whether stationary or in movement they possess the same grace (*χάρης*) as Aphrodite...'³⁶³

There are, however, a few occasions on which the attitude or occupation of a particular personification may seem peculiarly appropriate to her name. On MP 1 the way Hygieia holds Paidia on her lap lends the senior goddess an appropriately protective appearance, and Paidia a suitably youthful one; and Paidia's playful disposition is suggested on MM 99, where she balances a stick on the palm of her hand. On the whole, however, her playfulness is more apparent on the non-Meidian scenes, such as that on which she pushes an Eros on a swing.³⁶⁴ Peitho is sometimes distinguished as a senior goddess and a close colleague of Aphrodite; she may be seated, as on MP 7, or she may be put next to Aphrodite, as on MM 99. Pompe sits beside the kanoun on MM 47, recalling the fact that this kind of basket was carried in processions;³⁶⁵ and Pandaisia's basket of fruit on LC 1 could allude to the wedding feast she personifies.

The major occupation of the personifications is to wait on Aphrodite. They attend her as maids attend their mistress, bringing scarves or caskets, offering necklaces (MM 85, MM 99). They attend her in scenes concerned with festivals and processions: MM 45, where Peitho arranges leaves in a kanoun and Eudaimonia picks fruit suggests preparations for a procession, as does the kanoun and the presence of Pompe on MM 47.

Aphrodite's Eros-drawn chariot on MP 2 and MM 92 again suggests the imminent participation of the goddess and her attendants in a festival in her honour, an impression confirmed by the ritual phiale and thymiaterion carried by the Erotes on MP 2, and by the presence of Pannychis and Herosora on the same vase. Some of the scenes may allude to weddings: the mistress and maid effect of some recalls Epaulia scenes, while the pair of shoes on the casket in front of Aphrodite on MM 47 may be *νυμφίσεις*, the shoes worn by brides.³⁶⁶ The personifications act as a decorative audience in the Phaon and Adonis scenes (MP 1, MP 2), and occasionally they are spectators at specific events such as the Judgement of Paris or the Rape of the Leukippidai (CP 1, MP 5).

It is rare for a personification to engage in any specific activity. Eudaimonia may look in a mirror held by a friend (MP 1), pick fruit (MM 45), or fasten her sandal in readiness for the procession (MM 92), but like her colleagues, her favourite occupation is relaxation, whether toying with a wreath (MP ADD 23), playing with a necklace (MM 99), or simply leaning comfortably back against a friend (MP 2).

Artistic personifications before the Meidian Painter

We have now looked superficially at the Meidian personifications, but to appreciate their deeper implications and the ways in which they are used we need to look briefly at the pre-Meidian development of personifications. The habit of personifying is deeply rooted in Greek thought, and literary personifications are as old as the earliest literature.³⁶⁷ The earliest recorded artistic personifications are on the shields of Achilles and Herakles: Achilles' shield showed Strife and Panic and deadly Fate pursuing active roles in battle, while on Herakles' were Fear, Pursuit, Flight and Slaughter.³⁶⁸ And on the Chest of Kypselos Justice and Injustice were shown in combat, Eris appeared between Hektor and Aias, Night was attended by her children

Sleep and Death, and Fear rode on Agamemnon's spear.³⁶⁹ From the archaic period onwards a number of personifications become so well established in art that they are no longer true personifications but concrete figures of mythology. These include Eros, Pothos and Himeros, Nike, Hypnos and Thanatos, Boreas, Helios, Nyx and Selene, as well as place personifications, like Aigina or Delos. All these are usually seen as gods, semi-gods or nymphs, and only rarely do they appear as personifications. They act in specific mythological incidents, and they never appear in groups.

In the middle of the fifth century personifications become more frequent in art, and they demonstrate a tendency to move away from mythology and to become more abstract. To the 440's or early 430's, for example, belong two scenes of Athanasia led from Tydeus by Athena.³⁷⁰ And at much the same time the Heimarmene Painter showed Helen seated on Aphrodite's knees, deep in thought, while Peitho draws near with a casket, Nemesis points an accusing finger, and Heimarmene turns her back.³⁷¹ Here, as on the Athanasia scenes, the personifications are still relevant to the scene in which they appear. But when adopted by the Washing Painter, the desire to involve them in specific and immediately relevant activities is eliminated: there is, for example, no good reason why two of the characters in one of the Washing Painter's standard 'mistress and maid' scenes should be called Peitho and Eunomia.³⁷² But it was the Eretria Painter who did more than anyone else to prepare the way for the Meidian exploitation of personifications. The Harmonia of his epinetron³⁷³ is not so much a personification as a specific figure of mythology, the bride of Kadmos. But his scene of Antheia, Eunomia, Paidia and Peitho with the infant hero Kephalos and the goddess Aphrodite in a peaceful garden³⁷⁴ is purely Meidian in its use of personifications to create an idyllic atmosphere. It was, then, from the Eretria Painter that the Meidias Painter and his associates

adopted and developed the use of these figures.

Not until the later fifth century is there any record of personification in sculpture or major painting. In the 430's the temple of Nemesis was established or re-established at Rhamnous, with a cult-statue of the goddess which may have prompted her appearance on the Heimarmene Painter's vase.³⁷⁵ Still later in the century should be placed the portraits of Alkibiades by Aglaophon and Aristophon, being crowned by Pythia and Olympia or reclining in the lap of Nemea.³⁷⁶ Also to the end of the century should belong Parrhasios' Demos, and his portrait of Virtus.³⁷⁷ Despite these indications of some interest in personifications on the part of the major painters, there is nothing to prepare us for the enthusiasm with which they were exploited by the Meidian group. We may now return to the Meidian scenes, and try to assess how personifications are used.

Functions of Meidian personifications

One obvious function of the figures is to look decorative. But if this were all they were here for, there would be no need to distinguish them as personifications - beautiful but anonymous women would suffice. Pottier argued that the women were the result of the artists' desperate need to rejuvenate traditional themes.³⁷⁸ This may be partly true, but it fails to explain why certain figures were especially favoured while others were virtually ignored.

It seems that a major function of personifications is explanatory. The women form an effective shorthand for conveying ideas which the painters would otherwise have found difficult, if not impossible, to express. On MP 2, for example, Pannychis and Herosora show that the scene is taking place in spring-time and at night. These concepts might laboriously have been expressed by the introduction of flowers or swallows, torches or moons, but instead they are simply and economically stated by the presence of these women. The shorthand may be

more, or less, specific. Pannychis and Herosora are very specific, and Webster saw another specific instance on MM 47:

...if he (the artist) wants to say that a young man fell in love with a girl in a procession, he paints him with Aphrodite, Eros and Pompe, the personification of the procession... 379

In the case of such personifications as Eudaimonia or Eutychia, the explanatory function is less concrete but equally important. Their appearance in the circle of Aphrodite suggests that the happiness and good-fortune they personify are the concomitants of her worship, the pleasures that it brings. This way of expressing feelings and atmosphere complies with the restrictions of the vase painting technique and the conventions of classical art. For painters of other ages and media, the rendering of character, feeling and atmosphere was often a primary aim. Character could be shown in expressive features, atmosphere enhanced by such accessories as silken draperies or fiery sunsets. Such means were denied to the classical vase painter by the nature and conventions of his medium and his age. If he wanted to attempt the depiction of atmosphere and feeling, he had to resort to this restrained and rather literary form of expression: instead of any voluptuous Aphrodisian revel he painted quiet and elegant figures, whose names only reveal the aspects of pleasure and happiness their presence is intended to convey.

The chief explanatory use of personifications is to promote an atmosphere of escapism. Their group appearance enhances this effect: reduplication of images of happiness consolidates and enlarges the total happiness on offer.³⁸⁰ The heavenly gardens where the figures appear are in themselves escapist. To people these gardens not merely with beautiful women, but with women whose names define and enumerate the types of pleasure found there, makes the escapism quite explicit.

The explanatory use of personifications may also be didactic, as

in the case of Eunomia. On MP 2, the presence of Apollo and Leto cautions restraint and lends respectability to the Adonis celebrations; similarly, when Eunomia appears in the circle of Aphrodite she embodies the Apolline virtues of self-control and moderation, and seems to suggest that these should not be forgotten in the midst of Aphrodisian pleasures.

Many of the personifications also function as divinities, though their status is often ill-defined. In literature they are often seen as intermediaries between gods and men,³⁸¹ and in the vase paintings they embody separate aspects of the divinities with whom they are associated, their personalities or the rites and duties that concern them; so Paidia embodies the youthful charm of Aphrodite, and also erotic playfulness, Pandaisia the wedding feast. Whereas neither Paidia nor Pandaisia was ever worshipped as an independent divinity, Eirene, Peitho, Hygieia, Eunomia and Eukleia all received this honour. The cult of Eirene is not attested until the fourth century,³⁸² but the others all appear to have been worshipped already in the fifth.

Hygieia and Peitho may both have started life as epithets referring to a particular aspect of a senior goddess's cult or character, both acquiring independent status at a later date. References to Athena Hygieia are common until about 420, when the cult of Hygieia is set up in Athens along with that of her father Asklepios.³⁸³ After 420, Athena Hygieia disappears from the records, though Hygieia is not fully independent until the fourth century, since in the later fifth she is always mentioned in conjunction with Asklepios. Though Hygieia's status as a goddess receives little emphasis on the Meidian scenes, the fact that she appears at all is an acknowledgement of her independent existence. On MP 5 she has a sceptre, and it may be the recent establishment of the cult of Asklepios and Hygieia which has prompted her inclusion in the Garden of the Hesperides beside the Attic heroes.³⁸⁴

In contrast to that of Hygieia, the cult of Peitho was of ancient establishment.³⁸⁵ Peitho is closely associated with Aphrodite in literature, art and cult from an early period: at times she is an epithet of Aphrodite, at times a daughter or colleague. This last is her usual role in the classical period, and the joint cult of Peitho and Aphrodite Pandemos is said to have been established by Theseus.³⁸⁶ Peitho probably did not enjoy a separate cult until the fourth century. There were two sides to her character: she could operate for the general good and the promotion of love and happiness. But she was also known as the daughter of scheming ruin,³⁸⁷ and her persuasiveness could be used to provoke misery and disaster, as in the case of Helen and Paris. This less honourable side of her nature was doubtless what appealed to the sophists, whose symbol she became in their efforts to persuade rather than to elucidate the truth. Peitho's subversive qualities are not, however, recognized by the Meidian artists, for whom she is merely a close associate of Aphrodite.

Apart from Peitho and Hygieia, the two most important goddesses among the Meidian personifications are Eunomia and Eukleia.³⁸⁸ These two appear on almost all the scenes in the circle of Aphrodite, but in cult and character their more important association was with Apollo. They embody aspects of his power, and are especially concerned with the civic virtues of restraint and good order in the community. That this was their character is indicated by Bacchylides who wrote in 481 or 480 of Ἄρειά, who dwells in Aigina along with Eukleia, lover of wreaths: together they guide the city, as does temperate (σολόφρων) Eunomia, to whom festivities belong and who preserves the towns of the pious in peace.³⁸⁹ The Athenian cult of Eunomia and Eukleia is not attested until the Roman era. Then, they clearly enjoyed a joint cult. Their priest, who occupied a front seat in the Theatre of Dionysos, was the kosmetes, an official responsible for the maintenance

of good conduct among the young of both sexes. Hampe suggests that couples may have offered to the goddesses on marriage.³⁹⁰

The date of the establishment of the joint cult is uncertain, but the cult of Eukleia was established before Eunomia joined her. Pausanias refers to Eukleia's temple as a thank-offering after Marathon,³⁹¹ and Harrison has recently suggested that the temple in question was the so-called Theseion.³⁹² Eunomia had almost certainly joined the cult by the early fourth century, when Pseudo-Demosthenes could refer to the universal establishment of altars for Dike, Eunomia and Aidos,³⁹³ and Hampe suggests that an appropriate time for Eunomia to have joined the cult would have been the later fifth century. He argues that a fragment of Timotheos' Persai,³⁹⁴ probably produced at the Greater Panathenaia of 410, may assume Eunomia's divinity, and the presence of Eukleia and Eunomia on contemporary vases lends support to the theory. Of especial significance is MM 87, where Eukleia waits upon the seated Eunomia. This scene Hampe interprets as the senior goddess welcoming her partner to the cult.

As well as helping to establish the date of the joint cult, the Meidian scenes provide further evidence for the character of the goddesses. Their association with Aphrodite, on MM 87 and elsewhere, supports the idea that they were associated with that goddess, and the Epaulia-like appearance of some of the scenes tends to confirm their association with weddings.³⁹⁵ The connection of both goddesses with Apollo is demonstrated on MM 41 bis, where they stand one on either side of him, as if receiving his instructions and paying homage.

Another personification who has the appearance of a divinity on one or possibly two of the Meidian vases is Eudaimonia. On PA 1 she sits in a sanctuary to receive worshippers, taking the central place usually reserved for Aphrodite. And on MP ADD 23 she sits by the tripod while Epidauros and Eu(kleia) stand above her, their positions

possibly indicative of Eudaimonia's superior status. But there is no evidence for any cult of Eudaimonia: on PA 1 she has replaced Aphrodite as the embodiment of one aspect of her character, or else, as Bruckner suggested,³⁹⁶ of a 'Hochzeitswunsche' for the young people on the right.

The political significance of Eunomia

The only Meidian personification who appears to have had some political significance is Eunomia. When Eunomia first appears in Greek literature it is in reference to the conduct of the individual; the term is used to express the right kind of behaviour, the opposite of hybris. In Hesiod Eunomia is the sister of Dike and Eirene,³⁹⁷ and in the Odyssey the reaction to Antinous' treatment of the beggar shows how the concept was regarded: Antinous did wrong, for the gods visit the earth in disguise,

ἀνθρώπων ὕβρις τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες. 398

Eunomia is related to Aidos and Eusebeia: it is the proper way for one man to treat another, and it is sanctioned by divine law.

Solon's poetry shows the transfer of the concept of Eunomia from the individual's behaviour to that of the state. Eunomia is not yet the prerogative of any one party or constitution; rather it represents the opposite of stasis and dysnomia, the state of corruption and disorder which had prevailed before Solon's reforms. Eunomia is not directly related to the aristocratic nature of the reforms, but rather to the peace and harmony which they have brought about. The poetry provides graphic descriptions of the power of Eunomia, amongst whose achievements is the establishment of order out of chaos, the straightening of crooked judgements, and the withering of the blossoming flowers of infatuated rage.³⁹⁹

In the fifth century Eunomia is sometimes used in the same sense, to represent the well-ordered society, and the opposite of stasis.

This is, in part, what Thucydides means when he describes Sparta with the verb *εὐνομεῖν* :

ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνων... ἐπὶ πλείστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον
στασιάζουσα, ὅμως ἐκ πάλητάτου... ηὐνομήθη. 400

But with the development of democracy, and especially Athenian democracy, in the course of the fifth century, Eunomia becomes exclusively aristocratic, the opposite of the democratic Isonomia. When Bacchylides or Pindar refer to Eunomia, it is in connection with the aristocracies of Aigina or Corinth.⁴⁰¹ Sparta, predictably, is among the chief places famous for Eunomia. The early association of the word with the Spartan constitution is apparent in Tyrtaios' poetry.⁴⁰² And as Grossmann shows,⁴⁰³ it was Sparta where the concepts most closely connected with Eunomia, such as Homonoia, Sophrosyne, Eutaxia and Kosmiotes were valued and promoted. The Athenian democracy, on the other hand, is constantly criticized for its lack of such qualities.⁴⁰⁴ Not only the Old Oligarch, but Thucydides too offers numerous examples of such criticism - a typical comment is that only when scared out of its wits is the Demos prepared *εὐτακτεῖν*.⁴⁰⁵

Grossmann suggests that in the late fifth century Eunomia could imply Aristokrateia, and this is certainly implicit in Thucydides' reference to Sparta. Another significant instance of this usage is found in Thucydides' account of the commotion at Thasos in 411,⁴⁰⁶ where he claims that the cities of Thasos rejected the Eunomia proffered by the Athenian aristocrats in favour of Spartan Eleutheria. The passage is important not only for its equation of Eunomia with Aristokrateia: the deliberate choice of words suggests Thucydides desires to point out the irony of a situation in which Eleutheria, Freedom, the slogan of democracy, and in the past of Athens, is proffered by Sparta, formerly the embodiment of the aristocratic Eunomia which is now all that Athens has to offer.

The appearance of Eunomia on Attic vases at precisely this time, around 411, may, therefore, reflect the interests of the aristocrats or oligarchs in Athens. It has been suggested that the establishment of a priest of Eunomia and Eukleia, responsible for seemly behaviour among the young, also took place at this time; if so, this may reflect the same aristocratic interests, since offices of this kind were, according to Xenophon and Aristotle, the mark of aristocratic societies, of *εὐνομούμεναι πόλεις*.⁴⁰⁷ There is other evidence of aristocratic, even pro-Spartan feeling in the Kerameikos or among its patrons at this time. A fragmentary krater bears the inscribed name of Leonidas,⁴⁰⁸ and a cup painted by an artist near the Jena or Diomed Painters shows the personification of Sparta, *Σ[Π]ΑΡΤΗ*, dismounting from her horse beside an altar.⁴⁰⁹ Such indications as these suggest that the contemporary political significance of Eunomia should be kept in mind. Clearly it was an aristocratic slogan of the later century, and the Meidian clientèle would hardly have been unaware of it; the popularity of Eunomia in the Meidian group may even be taken as an indication of aristocratic tendencies on the part of the painter or his patrons.

Conclusion: Personification in the later fifth century

Personifications and other abstract conceptions of a similar kind were undoubtedly fashionable in the later fifth century. The Theory of Forms was in evolution, and though Forms are not personifications, they may easily be mistaken for them. And there were to be Forms with the same names, and of the same concepts, as the Meidian figures, among them Eudaimonia, Eunomia or Harmonia. In drama too personification comes to the fore, especially in Aristophanes' comedies.⁴¹⁰ There are the Just and Unjust Arguments in the Clouds, Peace and the Spondai in the Knights, or Ploutos and Penia in the Ploutos. The increasing currency in personifications, particularly of pleasant things, may have been partly due to the political climate and the need for escapism,

but it may also be connected with the increasingly articulate attempts of sophists and others to define the nature of happiness and of virtue.

The literary nature of Meidian personifications was observed above: it may be noted here that much of the literary personification is markedly pictorial. In the Phaedrus Plato refers to the Forms as inhabitants of a pleasant meadow which provides refreshing pasturage for the soul,⁴¹¹ an image which recalls the Meidian gardens and their beautiful women. When Aristophanes shows Peace dragged from her cave with Opora and Theoria, the names of her attendants and the ensuing marriage rites form another link with the paintings. One very striking reference may be found in the Acharnians, where the chorus, after disparaging War in terms of an unmanageable guest at a party, turns to eulogize Reconciliation, Διαλλαγή :

ὦ Κύπριδι τῇ καλῇ καὶ Χάρισι τὰς φίλαις ξύντροφε Διαλλαγή,
ὡς καλὸν ἔχουσα τὸ πρόσωπον ἄρ' ἐλάυθανες.
πῶς ἂν ἐμέ καὶ σέ τις Ἔρως ξυναγάγοι λίσσων,
ὥσπερ ὁ γεγραμμένος ἔχων στέφανον ἀνθέμων... 412

The description of Reconciliation as an intimate of Aphrodite and the Graces immediately recalls the Meidian personifications, and her beauty fits their image too. When the poet reveals that he really does have a picture in mind (γεγραμμένος), it is hard to believe it is not a Meidian one, though the scholiast assures the reference is to a painting by Zeuxis. This passage, with the others, illustrates not merely the common interests of the practitioners of different arts of the period, but also the influence that one might have upon the other.

CHRYSE

1. Description

MM ADD 90A LKN LID,FR

fig. 71

Four women and a deer are shown in a garden. Nike (*NIKH*), seated to the right, supports herself on her right arm, as she looks back over her shoulder to Eukleia (*ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ*). Eukleia has one foot propped up on a hillock, and holds a necklace between her hands. The small deer crouches under a rock between the two women, stretching out towards the shrub under Nike's seat. The two women on the left move to the left, as though in attendance on another seated figure in the missing part of the lid. Chryse (*ΚΡΥΞΕΙ*) leads the way, a flower in her hand, and Eunomia (*ΟΝΥΜΙΑ*) follows with another necklace.

2. Discussion

The publisher of this fragment saw the scene as one of divinities personifying aspects of the cults and character of Artemis, whose worship was important at Gerona where the piece was found.⁴¹³ Eukleia is easily related to Artemis, the cult of Artemis Eukleia being ancient and widespread, and Eunomia is connected through Eukleia. Nike is associated with Artemis by citation of the Roman parallel of Diana Victrix. There is no problem with the deer, but *ΚΡΥΞΕΙ* is hard to reconcile with the theory. Here reference is made to the case of *ΚΡΙΞΕΙΞ* on Makron and Hieron's Boston skyphos,⁴¹⁴ and it is argued that both *ΚΡΥΞΕΙ* and *ΚΡΙΞΕΙΞ* are written in error for *ΠΕΙΘΩ*. Peitho may be linked with Artemis, for there was supposedly a cult of Artemis Peitho at Argos.⁴¹⁵

The trouble with this theory is that the only valid connection with Artemis is that of Eukleia. The Roman parallel of Diana Victrix

is obviously anachronistic, and there do not seem to be any Greek connections between the two. Eunomia's link with Artemis is indirect, and weak. And even if Artemis Peitho could be accepted - though in Athens it was Aphrodite with whom Peitho was associated - the assumption that ΚΡΥΖΕΙ is written in error for ΠΕΙΘΩ is far too arbitrary. In addition to all this, the evidence of the other personification scenes in the Meidian Group is heavily against the Artemis connection, for the dominant figure on them all is not Artemis but Aphrodite.

A different interpretation of the scene is clearly needed. It may be suggested that ΚΡΥΖΕΙ is another spelling of ΧΡΥΞΗ . Beazley suggested a similar line of interpretation for the Makron/Hieron skyphos, on which he thought ΚΡΙΞΕΥΞ and ΚΡΙΞΕΙΞ might be not corruptions or errors but alternative forms of ΧΡΥΞΕΥΞ and ΧΡΥΞΗΙΞ , the priest of Apollo and his daughter.⁴¹⁶ While ΧΡΥΞΗΙΞ would be out of place on the Meidian fragment, which clearly has no Homeric associations, the figure in question might well be ΧΡΥΞΗ , a goddess in her own right, like her companions Nike, Eunomia and Eukleia.

The divinity of Chryse has recently been discussed by Froning,⁴¹⁷ whose primary interest is in a group of vase paintings which show Herakles offering a bull in a sanctuary containing an altar of field stones and an archaic statue, besides a tripod on a column. That the sanctuary is Chryse's is shown by the inscription ΧΡΥΞΗ below the statue on one scene.⁴¹⁸ These paintings show Herakles on his way to Troy, sacrificing to Chryse for the success of the expedition, in the same way that the Greeks under Agamemnon visited the sanctuary on their way to Troy (when Philoktetes was bitten by the snake). The literary sources offer two interpretations of the name Chryse.⁴¹⁹ It may be an epithet belonging to Athena, or it may be the name of the nymph of the island of Chryse. Froning puts forward a third idea,

that Chryse, 'The Golden one', was the great goddess of Lemnos in the second millennium, and the consort of the Lemnian Hephaistos. Her affinities were primarily with Aphrodite: in neighbouring Lesbos Chryse was one of Aphrodite's cult-names, and some later sources suggest that Chryse arranged for the snake to bite Philoktetes because he had rejected her love. But she was also connected with battle and victory; hence, perhaps, her later association with Athena. This was why Herakles and the Greeks had to visit her sanctuary and offer sacrifices on their way to Troy.⁴²⁰

There may even have been a sanctuary of Chryse in Athens. Some such assumption is needed to explain how painters so widely separated in time as Hermonax and the Painter of the New York Centauromachy could reproduce, apparently, the same sanctuary. The assumption is, moreover, plausible, for Lemnos like Athens was an ancient Pelasgian settlement, and there were also close links between the city and the island. The cult of the Lemnian Hephaistos was of ancient establishment in Athens, and the Athenians may have sent a colony to Lemnos in the later sixth century; certainly in the middle of the fifth they set up a cleruchy there. In such circumstances it is not unlikely that they had a sanctuary for the Lemnian goddess in Athens. That this was in fact the case is strongly suggested by Plutarch's account of the Amazons' attack on Athens: the left wing of the Amazon forces reached the Pnyx *κατὰ τὴν Χρύσειν*,⁴²¹ surely a reference to a geographical location, and most probably to a sanctuary.

The *ΚΡΥΞΕΙ* on MM ADD 90A, then, may be the goddess Chryse. Her companions are in this case appropriate: her association with victory makes Nike's presence acceptable, and with Eunomia and Eukleia she shares an association not with Artemis but with Aphrodite. Her appearance may be another piece of evidence for the revival of interest in ancient cults in the later century.⁴²²

APOLLO AND ARTEMIS

1. Description

AW 4 KBL (side B) fig. 72

Apollo and Artemis are on the left. Artemis, whose flesh is shown with added white paint, is seated, while her brother stands. She wears a short, patterned hunting costume, and laced boots. Her bow is in her hand, her quiver at her back. Apollo leans against a sprouting laurel trunk. His mantle is loosely wrapped around his arms, he has a laurel wreath in his hair, and he grasps a laurel staff in his hand. To the right are three richly dressed women. In the centre is Aphrodite, with one foot raised on a hillock and one hand on her hip. An Eros perches on either shoulder. She faces Apollo, as do the women on either side of her, identically dressed in sleeveless chitons with mantles over the knees. Each has a sceptre. In the top right hand corner of the scene is a laurel-twig and wool-decked tripod, and in the top left, above Artemis, a laurel spray.

AT 1243 1 PYX(LID)

Eros pursues a small boy with a hoop and a stick in a garden. Apollo sits with Hermes, and a woman flees.

MM 9 KCA (side B)

Apollo sits facing left in the centre of the scene on a rock. A mantle is draped around his legs, and he has a laurel wreath in his hair and a laurel staff in his hand. Artemis, identifiable by the bow and quiver at her back, stands facing him, with phiale and oinochoe. Framing the pair are two women, one with a sceptre and a spray of leaves, the other with a laurel staff. A palm tree grows behind Artemis.

2. Discussion

The scene on AT 1243 1 may be disposed of first. Little may be said about it, for though we may agree with Sichtermann⁴²³ that there is nothing to suggest the winged figure is anything but an Eros, so that he and the child he chases are unlikely to be Zephyros and Hyakinthos, the presence of Apollo, Hermes and the fleeing woman is hard to explain in any meaningful way. It seems on the whole unlikely that the scene is in any way significant or that it is designed as anything more than a general evocation of a heavenly garden.

MM 9 is of greater interest, for it belongs to the large group of scenes in which Apollo, accompanied by Artemis or Artemis and Leto, offers a libation.⁴²⁴ The scenes begin early in the fifth century; they are most popular in the earlier classical period, and by the later fifth century they are rather rare. It may be noted that MM 9 relegates the libation to the less important side of the vase: the principal side shows Phaon with admirers, a scene perhaps more in keeping with the tastes of the time. An interesting feature of the scene is the inclusion of the palm tree. The original Apolline palm grew on Delos. But palms were soon associated with Delphi too; Plutarch reports brazen palms both there and at Apollo's birth-place.⁴²⁵ The libating Apollo is generally thought to be the god of Delphi,⁴²⁶ and so the palm on MM 9 may be taken as an indication of a Delphic setting.

The identity of the women on either side of the scene is problematical. Either could very well be Leto. Their dress is virtually identical, though the mantle of the figure on the right has a border-pattern; the sceptre of the figure on the left could be seen as a sign of seniority, but the sprouting staff carried by her counterpart on the right is not unlike that born by Apollo himself, and on several libation scenes Leto carries a staff or a spray of leaves instead of a sceptre.⁴²⁷ Simon sees the twin figures on MM 9 as evidence of the

artist's dwindling interest in showing a scene with any particular significance. Faced with the problem of stretching his libation scene to fill the large area of the krater, he solves it with a 'sinnlos verdoppelte' Leto.⁴²⁸

To discover the identity of the third woman on the scene (assuming that one of the pair may be Leto), we may turn to AW 4. Here, meaningless space-fillers are unlikely, for this artist is a careful and meticulous worker. But here too we are faced with a pair of identical goddesses, and this time the overall subject of the scene is far from clear. The principal scene on AW 4 shows the Judgement of Paris, and it has been suggested that the goddesses of the Judgement reappear on the reverse. Metzger, for example, associates the scene with one on a later krater which seems to show a preliminary Judgement before Apollo at Delphi.⁴²⁹ This interpretation has its attractions; the scenes on the two sides of AW 4 become complementary, and the goddesses are seen turning expectantly to Apollo in anticipation of his verdict. However, apart from the weakness of the literary tradition of the preliminary Judgement, the goddesses to left and right of Aphrodite cannot be Hera and Athena, or at least, neither can be Athena. Where Metzger⁴³⁰ sees Hera as the goddess beside Apollo, and Athena as the one on the right, Eichler,⁴³¹ the second main advocate of the Judgement theory, believes that the figure on the right is Hera, and that it is Athena, wearing a helmet and carrying a spear, who sits beside Apollo. But the spear is surely a sceptre, and what may look like a helmet is in fact the end of the mantle which lies across the knees of the goddess and is then pulled up and fastened to her diadem. The diadem is plainly visible, and what Eichler must see as the crest of the helmet is rather the same wave pattern border that decorates the rest of the mantle. To understand the painter's conception of Athena's helmet, it is necessary to look no further than the front of the vase

(figs. 119-121), where a mass of plumes puts the goddess's identity beyond question.

It is not impossible that one of the goddesses on AW 4 is Hera. But if we forget the whole idea of the Judgement, the goddess most naturally and most frequently associated with Apollo and Artemis is Leto. Leto, it may be added, not infrequently wears a veil, as on MP 2 (fig. 47). If one is Leto, who is the other? The two have a sisterly resemblance;⁴³² perhaps they really are sisters, and the second is Delos. The same interpretation may be offered for the twin figures on MM 9.

This interpretation is hard to substantiate. The only published representation of Delos is that on a pyxis painted by the Marlay Painter,⁴³³ where Delos, identified by an inscription, sits on the Delphic omphalos near Apollo, Artemis, Leto and Hermes. This may serve as a precedent for the Meidian scenes; in any case it seems quite reasonable that Delos, birth-place of Leto's children, should on occasion appear beside them. Skopas is said to have shown Leto with Delos and her children,⁴³⁴ and on a black-figure lekythos where the infant Apollo aims an arrow at the Python from his mother's arms, the woman at Leto's side could again be her sister.⁴³⁵

The presence of Delos on MM 9 does not require us to change the location of the scene from Delphi to Delos, since the Marlay Painter's pyxis clearly shows Delos at Delphi. The scene on AW 4 is also likely to be set at Delphi, as indicated by the tripod and the laurel spray.

On MM 9, then, Delos attends the libating Apollo. As other libation scenes are extended to include Hermes, Dionysos, or Ganymede, so here Delos joins in the ritual activities of her sister's family. The precise nature of the activity, or lack thereof, on AW 4, remains to be determined. Is Apollo at Delphi receiving a visit from his

sister, his mother, his aunt and Aphrodite? A comparable scene is to be found on the Lambros pelike,⁴³⁶ where Apollo is visited in his sanctuary on Mount Aigaleos by Artemis, Hermes, Aphrodite, and the local hero and heroine, Kephalos and Prokris. On AW 4 the central position of Aphrodite and her inclusion in the family group at all may best be explained by the favoured position this goddess enjoyed in the Meidian circle. Along with Aphrodite, then, the family of Leto are shown relaxing in their sanctuary, like the heroes in the Garden of the Hesperides on MP 5.

ELEUSINIAN DEITIES

1. Description

CP 2 STA, FRR

fig. 73

The three surviving fragments show that the vase was decorated in an upper and a lower register. In the lower scene there were evidently maenads, and in the upper an assembly of Eleusinians. The smaller fragment from the upper scene preserves the upper parts of two women, facing left. Demeter ([Δ]ΗΜΗΤΗΡ) holds an ear of corn, while her daughter Persephone (ΦΕΡΦΑ[ΤΤΑ]) leans on her shoulder and points ahead. The remains of three more figures survive on the largest fragment, which also derives from the upper scene. On the right is one who sits in a winged chariot drawn by serpents; his feet are bare, his head wreathed, and a staff rests against his shoulder. He turns his head over his shoulder to the right. The central figure stands to the left, wearing a patterned tunic, a mantle, and boots. On his head is a flapped Phrygian cap, and in either hand he holds a torch. The figure on the left turns to face him; he is naked except for the wreath in his hair and a starred mantle which hangs loosely around his left shoulder and down his left side. In his left hand, and propped against his left shoulder, he carries a bacchos.

2. Discussion

The identity of Demeter and Persephone is secured by inscriptions, and the figure in the winged car drawn by serpents must surely be Triptolemos. The presence of these three Eleusinians suggests that the other two should also have some connection with the Mysteries. The central figure has traditionally been described as Eumolpos, an identification resting partly on the inscription ΠΟΞ which earlier

publications⁴³⁷ claimed was legible beside him, and which some later commentators have taken for granted.⁴³⁸ Recent examination of the fragment, however, has failed to find any trace of the inscription,⁴³⁹ and though it may have faded since the nineteenth century, it would seem unwise to place too much reliance upon it.

The central figure may still be identified as Eumolpos.⁴⁴⁰ The Phrygian cap and patterned clothes are in keeping with his Thracian origins. Eumolpos was one of the mythical founders of the Mysteries, and the ancestor of the priestly family of the Eumolpidae, whose members were in charge of the revelation which completed initiation, besides sharing with the second priestly family, the Kerykidae, general supervision and organization of the sanctuary and its rites. Eumolpos' only other certain appearances in vase painting are as a child on MP 7, and as an aged king on Makron and Hieron's skyphos with the departure of Triptolemos.⁴⁴¹ It has, however, been suggested that he is the torch-bearer on the early fourth century pinax of Niinnion.⁴⁴²

Alternatively, the central figure on CP 2 might be Iacchos.⁴⁴³ Iacchos was a shadowy and complex figure, whose precise role in the Mysteries and in the Eleusinian hierarchy is hard to determine, as is his relationship or identity with Dionysos. He was in part the personification of the procession of initiates from Athens to Eleusis, and of the shouting and singing along the way.⁴⁴⁴ At the same time he was a deity; in the Frogs the Initiates salute him and invite him to lead their dance,⁴⁴⁵ and his statue was carried in the procession, for Plutarch refers to the festival as ὅταν ἐξελευνώσει τὸν Ἰαχόν,⁴⁴⁶ and that this statue represented a torch-bearer is stated by Pausanias, who refers to a statue in the Pompeion of δᾶσα ἔχων Ἰαχός.⁴⁴⁷

A third possibility, suggested by the torches and the head-dress of the figure, is that he is either the Dadouchos or the ancestor of the Kerykidae,⁴⁴⁸ whose members performed this duty. The head-dress

certainly recalls that worn by an official who leads a procession of Initiates on an earlier classical vase.⁴⁴⁹

The third figure in the scene, the youth who glances towards the torch-bearer, should be an Initiate, for he bears the bundle of twigs, the bacchos, which is the Initiates' symbol.⁴⁵⁰ If, in his missing right hand, he bore a club, he could be Herakles, but here certainty is impossible.

An interesting characteristic of the scene is its apparent lack of action. Where earlier Triptolemos scenes, for example, had preferred to show him setting off on his mission to mankind, and earlier representations of the dadouchos showed him leading a procession, here there is nothing happening. This seems to foreshadow the numerous fourth century scenes of Eleusinian assemblies. A second feature of the scene is the decorative nature of Triptolemos's chariot; its lively snakes with their curling fangs are far more realistic than the formal animals which have previously graced the vehicle, and they recall those in the Jena Painter's scene,⁴⁵¹ where the snakes actually draw the chariot through the air.

The Eleusinian Mysteries were observed throughout the Peloponnesian War, but after the enemy occupation of Dekeleia the procession had to make its way to Eleusis by sea, 'with no splendour at all',⁴⁵² rather than by land. With the return of Alkibiades in 407 the procession was once more conducted by land, with all the traditional rites and ceremonies: it is just possible that this scene commemorates the restoration of the ancient custom.

ASKLEPIOS

1. Description

MP ADD 23 PLA

fig. 74

Near the centre of the scene stands a tripod on an Ionic column, mounted on a stepped base. To the right of the tripod, seated with her outstretched legs crossed in front of the base, is Eudaimonia (ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ), holding an open wreath. In front of her, on the other side of the tripod, stand two more women, Epidauros ([ΕΠΙ]ΔΑΥΡΟΞ), who holds the child Asklepios (ΑΣΞ[ΚΛΕΠΙΟΞ]), and Eukleia(?) (ΕΥ[ΚΛΕΙΑ]), who leans on Epidauros' shoulder.

2. Discussion

The iconography of this scene is discussed by Simon, in Cramers' original publication of the plate.⁴⁵³ The presence of the tripod is largely responsible for her suggestion that the scene commemorates a dithyramb whose subject was the childhood of Asklepios in the care of Epidauros. An 'Asklepios' dithyramb is attributed to the early fourth century poet Telestes of Selinus, and there were almost certainly other earlier dithyrambs on the same subject. It seems not impossible that such a dithyramb should have commemorated the introduction of Asklepios to Athens in 420/419.⁴⁵⁴ Eudaimonia's presence on the scene is doubly appropriate, for she personifies both the good fortune which Asklepios could bestow in healing the sick, and the success of the dithyramb. Eukleia seems a suitable restoration of ΕΥ , for she was associated with Apollo, in whose honour many dithyrambs were performed, and she was also concerned with the upbringing of children.⁴⁵⁵

The scene is of especial interest in that it shows Asklepios as

a child, for there are few written accounts and fewer representations of his childhood. It is also the earliest extant Attic painting of the god, and may, therefore, be seen as the first sign of the growing interest which the Athenians, along with the rest of the ancient world, were to take in the god of healing. According to tradition, he was ceremoniously escorted from Epidaurus to Athens in 420/19, and the poet Sophocles sheltered him in his house until a temple could be built to house him. The Meidian scene, no less remarkable for its fineness of execution than for its unique subject, may well have been painted not long after the god's arrival in the city.

DIONYSIAN SCENES

1. Descriptions

(The finest of these scenes, MP 6, should not, strictly speaking, be included in the Heavenly Garden Chapters, since it is violent, not idyllic: but its association with Dionysos makes it convenient to treat it here.)

MP 6 HYD figs. 75-78

The Dionysian scene occupies the lower frieze on this vase. The vase is very fragmentary, and on the lower scene only part of Dionysos, four maenads, and their human victim can be seen. The god stands below and slightly to the left of the vertical handle of the vase. His attitude is casual, with his weight on his right leg, and his extended left relaxed. In his outstretched left hand he holds a thyrsos, the top of which (now lost) reaches through the lotus and palmette border separating the lower scene from the one above. Dionysos's mantle is draped over his left arm, across his back, and round to his right hand. Most of his head is now missing, but his hair appears to have been short. To his right, just to the right of the handle, is the remains of a tree, and beyond that an obscure object placed diagonally in the field (on the left in fig. 76). The four maenads are shown in a state of ecstatic frenzy. The first on the left (fig. 76) whose hair flies up with the violence of her exertions, moves to the right, with her thyrsos uplifted in her right hand, as though stabbing downwards through the air. She wears a sleeveless chiton and a mantle, the remains of which can be seen muffling her left hand and lower arm. The second maenad (fig. 76, fig. 77) is stationary, but the way her drapery swirls around her feet suggests she has only just come to a halt. With her left hand she drags the hair of her victim back from

his forehead: her right hand and arm are lost, but either she held a sword or some other weapon with which to press home her attack, or else her right hand was employed in wrenching the victim's arm from its socket. The victim is a beardless youth: only his head, his right foot and a fragment of his dress survive. His head is shown in frontal view, and its height and angle suggest that he is slipping, or has already lost his balance and is being held up by his assailant. His right foot, considerably to the right of his head, and the mantle in the air above him, tend to confirm this interpretation of his predicament. The first maenad, then, may be approaching to join in the attack, and aiming her thyrsos in the general direction of the youth. The third maenad, of whom only the head and a flying end of drapery survive, approaches from the other side of the victim.(fig. 77). The energy with which her drapery moves again suggests the violence of her onslaught. She is distinguished from the other maenads on the scene by her ivy-decorated head-band, and she too holds a thyrsos, part of the stem of which can be seen passing at an angle through the lotus and palmette border. The fourth maenad, the finest figure of all (fig. 78), moves away from the scene in the centre and towards Dionysos. She dances forward with both arms outstretched; her right hand is lowered and holds an upright sword, while her left hand, muffled in her mantle, is held high before her. The way the mantle is twisted round and round her arm suggests she has been dancing wildly. Her head is bowed, which gives her a self-absorbed expression and isolates her from the rest of the scene.

MP 22 HYD

Dionysos (head missing) sits surrounded by maenads, Erotes and goats. Details cannot be observed from the available photographs.

CP 1 HYD

As on MP 6, the Dionysian scene occupies the lower part of the vase,

or rather the front of the lower part, since it merges into a scene of women round the back. Dionysos stands in the centre of the thiasos in the same attitude as that which he adopts on MP 6. Again, the top of his thyrsos passes through the pattern border, and again the god's mantle is draped carelessly round his elbows and across his back. He watches a maenad who dances in front of him to the music provided by a piping satyr and a maenad with a tympanon. Behind the tympanist are two more dancing maenads, one on either side of a tree: both move ecstatically, if stiffly, with their heads thrown back and their drapery swirling around them. The scene is framed on either side by a standing maenad, one with a nebris.

NA 3235 2 PAN (side A)

Dionysos appears in the company of two women and a satyr. He stands in his usual relaxed pose, with his weight on his left leg. His mantle is draped over one shoulder, and he holds one end of it in his hand, as on MP 6. He is beardless, wreathed with ivy, and carries a thyrsos. He looks back over his shoulder at the woman behind him, little of whom survives beyond the name, Thyone (ΘΥΩΝΗ). To the right of the god stands a second woman, Dione (ΔΙΩΝΗ), who offers a phiale to a satyr, whose head, arm and name, Simos (ΣΙΜΟΣ), are preserved.

NA 3235 3 PEL (side A)

Dionysos and a maenad, Eirene (ΙΡΗΝΗ) appear between two couples of satyrs and maenads. Dionysos sits on his mantle, gazing intently at his partner: they reach out to embrace. The satyr and maenad on the left, Atyllos (ΑΤΥΛΛΟΣ) and Polyerate (ΠΟΛΥΗΡΑΤΗ), are armed with tympanon, torch and thyrsos: like the pair on the right, they look towards the god and his companion in the centre. The names of the pair on the right are Erato (ΕΡΑΤΩ) and Sybas (ΣΥΒΑΣ): they bear a goose and a torch and move off to the right, while looking back at the

central couple. Above the main scene is a subsidiary one, where Pothos (ΠΟΘΟΣ) beats a tympanon, while a satyr, Endymion (ΕΝΔΥΜΙΩΝ), advances on a maenad, Panyise (ΠΑΝΥΙΣΕ).

AR ADD 3A CUP

Sides A and B are painted with virtually identical scenes of three pairs of satyrs and maenads with plates of fruit, torches, thyrsos and kantharoi. The tondo shows Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ[Ε]) between two maenads. He has a chlamys wound around his left arm, and a thyrsos. He is beardless, and his long, curly hair is bound with an ivy-decorated fillet. The ivy-wreathed maenad before him holds a phiale as she plucks at the shoulder of her chiton. The maenad behind the god leans up against him and lays a hand on his shoulder.

MM ADD 10A SKY (side B) fig. 79

Three fragments of this side of the skyphos remain. One of the smaller pieces shows part of a woman and the inscription]ΑΝΘΕ , which could be restored as Oinante. The large fragment (fig. 79) preserves parts of three figures. On the left is the top of the head of a youth who holds a pair of spears. Facing him is the seated figure of Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ). The god is bearded and his hair is adorned with a fillet, and he sits on a chair, holding a thyrsos. Behind him is another woman, Opora (ΟΠΟΡΑ). She holds a phiale raised in her right hand, as though about to pour a libation in honour of the youth.

MM 33 PEL

A satyr, equipped with panther skin, ivy wreath and thyrsos, stands with one foot propped on a rock between two maenads. One maenad holds an ivy branch, the other a phiale and oinochoe.

MM 76 ARY

Dionysos sits facing right, holding a thyrsos. He sits on his mantle, and his left hand rests on his knee. Round his head he has a white-painted fillet with leaves stuck into it, under which his

hair falls in long curls to his shoulders. A maenad dances up to him, waving a sword in her right hand and part or all of a kid in her left; she wears a nebris over her peplos. Remains of two more maenads may be seen, one with a tympanon.

MM 92 PYX fig. 80

Dionysos sits among his followers. His right hand is on his hip, and his left holds the thyrsos. He sits on his mantle and he wears flapped boots and a Phrygian cap. With him are seven maenads, engaged in various occupations. One sits calmly playing the lyre, and another has a tympanon. Two more tear a kid to pieces, moving in opposite directions with their heads thrown back. Another has a child slung over one shoulder, as she moves towards the god, her head too thrown back; the sixth dances with outstretched arms and the seventh moves up on Dionysos from behind, perhaps to embrace him.

MM 95 PYX

Dionysos and Ariadne sit back to back. Dionysos has a thyrsos, Ariadne a mirror. In front of each crouches an Eros, probably offering a fillet or a necklace. Another seated youth is approached by a woman bearing a plemochoe and a sash.

MM 117 CUP,FR

Dionysos travels to the right on a panther, holding a thyrsos in his right hand and a cornucopia in his left. He wears a starred mantle around his legs.

2. Discussion

Although the Meidias Painter and his associates painted comparatively few Dionysian scenes, they are both varied and interesting.

MP 6 shows the Death of Pentheus, and so belongs to the small group of representations of this theme.⁴⁵⁶ Although there were two major dramatic treatments of the theme, Aeschylus's Pentheus (sometime

after 484), and Euripides' Bacchai (405), the Death of Pentheus does not seem to have appealed much to vase painters, who preferred to show the deaths of Aktaion or of Orpheus. Paintings of the Death of Pentheus fall into two main groups, an earlier, which ante-dates Aeschylus, and a later, which in part ante-dates Euripides. The first group comprises a fragmentary psykter by Euphronios, a hydria by another pioneer, a cup from the circle of Nikosthenes and a fragmentary stamnos by the Berlin Painter.⁴⁵⁷ All these scenes show Pentheus already in bits, and his dismembered limbs brandished by the maenads: especially memorable is the maenad on the Berlin Painter's stamnos who waves a bundle of intestines in the air. There has been some discussion as to whether Aeschylus, Euripides or neither was responsible for the major tragic role of Pentheus' mother, Agave. Euphronios, who names one of his protagonists Galene, seems unaware of this version, but the Pioneer hydria, where three maenads carry bits of Pentheus, the leading one his head, may suggest the Agave version was already known before either tragedian handled the story. The later group of scenes, a later fifth century lekanis lid, a cup fragment, various South Italian scenes,⁴⁵⁸ and now the Meidian hydria, MP 6, differ from the first group in that they show Pentheus still in one piece. On the Italian scenes he is often armed and putting up a vigorous resistance with spears or sword. On the lekanis, however, he is unarmed and off-balance, attacked from either side by furious maenads who tear his arms from their sockets in exemplary Euripidean manner.

The Meidias Painter's scene bears some superficial resemblance to that on the lekanis lid in that both show Pentheus between two maenads in peril of his life. But in terms of quality there is no real comparison. One especially vivid detail of the Meidian scene is the way the maenads' arms are muffled in their cloaks, like hunters who arm themselves against wild beasts; and altogether the energy and

drama of MP 6 are outstanding.⁴⁵⁹ The beautiful ecstasy of the maenads, the pathos and the horror of their victim's fate, and the pitiless nature of the elegant, youthful god who stands watching from the side, are all rendered with a magnificent force and feeling, which combine to make this perhaps the finest of all the Pentheus scenes. Yet in spite of its dramatic effect, MP 6 is unlikely to have been inspired or influenced by Euripides, for it is almost certainly earlier than the Bacchai. Nor is it really feasible to suggest that the maenad to the right of Pentheus, distinguished by the fillet in her hair, should be Agave. If it was not Euripides, what did inspire the Meidias Painter to create this scene, which is not only rare in its subject, but also much wilder and more violent than those he normally preferred? Before attempting to answer this, we may look at some of the other scenes, starting with the fragmentary MM ADD 10A.

One interesting feature of this scene is the youth. Although his spears might suggest the hunter Pentheus, the general impression of the scene is that Dionysos and Opora are well-disposed towards him and prepare to welcome him with courtesy. What remains of the youth recalls the tribal heroes on MP 5: these too are young, and most have a pair of spears. If the youth is a hero, he might, as Simon suggests,⁴⁶⁰ be Akamas, son of Theseus and local hero of the Kerameikos. The names of the women, Opora and (Oin)anthe, show that they personify the blessings of Dionysos, the ripeness and the blossom of the wine. They welcome the youth into the presence of the god, just as Nike welcomes Antiochos into her paradisiacal garden on MP 17.

The second remarkable feature of MM ADD 10A is that it shows the god as a mature and bearded figure: on all the other Meidian scenes he is youthful and beardless. There was a general tendency to make gods, like heroes, younger as the century progressed. But the bearded Dionysos is retained in certain contexts: it seems that when he appears

with the thiasos he is almost always youthful, but when he is shown as a cult figure, he is mature and bearded.⁴⁶¹ The reason for his mature appearance on MM ADD 10A may possibly be connected with the links between the principal scene on this vase, the Punishment of Ixion, and the theatre: it is because he is the god of the theatre that Dionysos is bearded here. (The Ixion scene will be discussed in the next Chapter.)

Dionysos is again the central figure in the heavenly garden on NA 3235 3, where he is shown embracing Eirene, the personification of Peace. Peace is associated with Dionysos and vines elsewhere in the later fifth century too. In the Bacchai the chorus sings that Dionysos loves ἄβροδοτέραν Εἰρήνην, κουροτρόφον θεὸν,⁴⁶² lines for which the scene on this vase offers a vivid illustration. And in a fragment of Euripides' Cresph. the speaker prays that he may live to enjoy the blessings of peace before his old age, and with peace he associates the καλλιχόρους ἄουδᾶς and the φιλοστεφάνους...κώμους⁴⁶³ which are among the essential elements of Dionysiac worship. Peace is again associated with vines by Aristophanes, when he calls Eirene τὴν θεῶν πλῶων μεγίστην καὶ φιλαμπελωτάτην.⁴⁶⁴ This connection must be partly due to the fact that vines, like olives, require peaceful conditions if they are to flourish. But it is interesting that Eirene as a personification is confined to the circle of Dionysos and not admitted to that of Aphrodite. On the other hand, Aphrodisian elements are perfectly at liberty to infiltrate the thiasos; quite apart from the obvious pairing of the couples on NA 3235 3, Pothos is here too, beating his tambourine to encourage the satyr Endymion. On both MP 22 and MM 95, Dionysos is attended by Erotes, and on AR ADD 3A there is something suggestive about the way in which one of the maenads is leaning up against Dionysos. Ariadne, however, is only present on MM 95.

The second scene by the Painter of the Group of Naples 3235, NA 3235 2, is also peaceful. The names of the women who attend the god here are of considerable interest. Some sources make Thyone an alternative name for Semele: others make her the mother of Dionysos in her own right, and others still suggest she was one of the nurses of Dionysos. But it is also reported that Semele changed her name to Thyone when Dionysos rescued her from Hades and led her to immortality on Mount Olympus, and it is tempting to recognize this episode in the scene here.⁴⁶⁵ Dione was chiefly known as the mother of Aphrodite, but she too was the mother of Dionysos according to some sources, his nurse according to others. She appears in the entourage of the god on two vases painted by the Dinos Painter.⁴⁶⁶

Though the scenes on CP 1, MM 33 and MM 76 are very standard and seem to possess no features of especial interest, that on MM 92 is rather more distinguished. Certain of its maenads re-appear on other works in a way which suggests a common original source. These are the maenad with the child, the couple tearing the kid to pieces, and those seated with tympanon and lyre. The maenad with the child re-appears on the Derveni krater, directly behind Dionysos.⁴⁶⁷ Like the one on the pyxis, the Derveni maenad moves to the right, holding a child slung over one shoulder. Both maenads hold the child by one foot, and both have their heads thrown back. The head of the child on the Derveni krater is not visible, but his outstretched arms are shown in exactly the same way on both works. Who is the child, too young for Pentheus? Robertson⁴⁶⁸ suggested he is one of the children of Lycurgus, slain by his father in the madness inflicted upon the Edonian king by Dionysos for his refusal to recognize the god. The resemblance between the maenads with the children on the Derveni krater and the Meidian pyxis is very close. The motif is unusual,⁴⁶⁹ and unlikely to be the invention of the artist of the pyxis, who is a fairly undistinguished

painter. Since the pyxis is much earlier than the Derveni krater, it seems reasonable to postulate a shared source for the motif.

The pair of maenads who move in opposite directions, tearing apart a kid, re-appear in the scene on the walls of a slightly later pyxis, now lost but once in a private collection in Heidelberg and published by Curtius.⁴⁷⁰ One of the Heidelberg maenads held a sword, like the fourth maenad on MP 6 and the maenad on MM 76, whereas neither maenad on MM 92 is armed in this manner. But in other respects the similarities between the two pairs are striking, and while a single maenad with a kid is not especially unusual,⁴⁷¹ a pair like this is, and again, the motif is on the whole unlikely to have been the invention of either artist. Common to both pyxides too are the seated maenad with the tympanon, and a seated figure with a lyre. The tympanon player on both faces right but turns to look back over her right shoulder and holds the tympanon in her left hand. The maenad with the lyre is an odd figure to find in the thiasos at all: on the Heidelberg pyxis the lyre-player is probably not a maenad at all, but the god Apollo, seated with his sister Artemis.

The Heidelberg pyxis is also connected with the Derveni krater through the shared motif of the wild hunter, identified by Robertson as Lycurgus.⁴⁷² The range of connections between these three works, the Meidian and Heidelberg pyxides and the Derveni krater, have inspired speculation as to the original inspiration behind them. Curtius suggested a work of sculpture, possibly a fifth century choregic monument on the lines of that of Lysikrates. This would have had three scenes, showing Pentheus leaving Thebes, protected by the Ismenian Apollo and his sister Artemis, Dionysos with the thiasos, and finally Agave and her sisters with the limbs of Pentheus. Robertson advocated instead a pictorial original, such as the paintings described by Pausanias in the temple of Dionysos near the theatre in Athens,⁴⁷³

which included representations of the punishments of both Pentheus and Lycurgus. The maenad with the child could come from the punishment of Lycurgus, while other motifs such as the kid-tearers could derive either from this or from the punishment of Pentheus. These paintings may have been executed in the late fifth century, at the same time as the new cult statue by Alkamenes. MP 6 too could have been inspired by the Pentheus scene.

Another motif which could derive from the same set of paintings is the lion-riding Dionysos of MM 114. Dionysos appears on the lion only late in the century. Robertson commented on the extraordinary resemblance another late fifth century red-figure fragment (attributed to the circle of the Pronomos Painter) bears to a Delian mosaic: both show a reveller astride a wild beast, lion or leopard.⁴⁷⁴ The Meidian fragment too has strong affinities with the mosaic: on both, for example, a sash attached to the thyrsos floats like a pennant in the breeze stirred by the animal's movement. It seems not impossible, then, that this figure derives from another painting in the same Dionysian series.

Conclusion

Dionysos was not a god who greatly appealed to the Meidian circle, who preferred on the whole to leave him to their colleagues, the Dinos Painter and his associates. The reasons for this may lie in part in the shapes of vases which Meidian artists preferred. Dionysian scenes are much more effective when large-scale; they are, moreover, most suitable for vases designed to hold wine, as relatively few of the smaller Meidian ones were. Aphrodite, not Dionysos, was the favoured deity of the Meidian Group. But the popularity of Dionysos was undoubtedly high in the late fifth century, as is suggested by the frequency with which he appears in the work of other painters of

the time, or by other Dionysian works such as the original maenad reliefs, reflections of the originals of which may perhaps be seen in the attitudes of some of the dancing maenads on CP 1. And the paintings in the temple of Dionysos may have made some impression on even the most Aphrodite-orientated artists of the Meidian circle.

APHRODITE AND APHRODISIAN SCENES

1. Descriptions

A 7 LEK(S) figs. 35-38

Aphrodite and Adonis. The goddess stands with her sceptre propped against her arm. She wears a peplos, and draws a fold of it from her left shoulder. She has a diadem in her hair and a veil. (For full description, see above, 102.)

MP 1 HYD figs. 1, 39-44

Aphrodite and Adonis. The goddess supports the reclining Adonis. She wears a sleeved chiton with a mantle draped across her legs, and her hair is arranged under a sphenone. (For full description, see above, 102-103.)

MP 2 HYD figs. 45-50

Phaon and Demonassa. Aphrodite crouches in a chariot, drawn by Pothos and Himeros, who bear a wreath, a phiale and a thymiaterion. Aphrodite wears a sleeveless chiton; her mantle is wrapped around her shoulders and billows out behind her. (For full description, see 103-4.)

MP 5 HYD fig. 22

Rape of the Leukippidai. Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground beside an altar. Her head is turned back over her left shoulder, her right hand is raised towards her head, and her left supports her weight. She wears a sleeved chiton with a mantle over her legs, and her hair is arranged under a sphenone. Above is an archaic statue. (For full description, see 72-73.)

MP 7 PEL fig. 56

Mousaios. Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground, facing left, with her right hand on her lap and her left supporting her weight. Her feet are crossed. She wears a starred mantle over a chiton.

(For full description, see above, 117.)

MP 13 OIN(C),FR fig. 90

The wreathed head, wings, and upper part of an Eros are preserved on this fragment; in his raised right hand the Eros holds a stone, poised ready to be thrown.

MP 14 LEK(S) figs. 81-83

Aphrodite sits to the left in a chair, facing left. Her left elbow is propped over the chair back, and her right hand is in her lap, possibly holding the wrist of the woman who bends over her. Her feet are probably crossed. She wears a starred mantle over a sleeved chiton, and an Eros climbs up on to her shoulder. A wreath hangs above her head, and women move around her in ecstatic yet graceful dance: one beats a tympanon and another clashes a pair of cymbals.

MP 16 LEK(S) figs. 57-59

Thamyris. Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground, facing left. Her right hand lies in her lap, while her left embraces an Eros. Her feet are crossed. She wears a chiton and a veil with patterned border which is attached to her head-dress and then falls over her shoulders and left arm to drape across her legs like a mantle. (For full description, see above, 118-119.)

CP 1 HYD

Judgement of Paris. Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground, facing left, her right arm raised to grasp a sceptre and her left bent around an Eros. She wears a chiton with a starred mantle across the legs. (For full description, see below, 223-224.)

FA 1 LEK(A)

Aphrodite(?) stands to the right, holding a sceptre. She wears a patterned chiton and a mantle. Peitho(?) leans on her shoulder. Hera (?) and another woman approach a seated bride, who turns to look over her shoulder towards Aphrodite.

FA 3 LEK(S)

Aphrodite(?), wearing chiton and starred mantle, stands in front of a bride and groom, while up above Peitho(?) drives an Eros-drawn chariot on to the scene. Alternatively the charioteer may be Aphrodite. A column and a doorway suggest the scene is set inside.

AW 4 KBL

figs. 72 (side B), 119-121 (side A)

Side A: Judgement of Paris. Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground, facing left. Her hands lie in her lap, and she has a sceptre. She wears a chiton and a mantle, and an Eros adjusts her hair. (For full description, see below, 224.)

Side B: Apollo and Artemis, with others. Aphrodite stands to the left, her right foot propped on a hillock, her right hand on her knee and her left in her lap. One Eros perches on her left shoulder, and another leans across on to her right. She wears a richly decorated peplos. (For full description, see above, 154.)

AT 1243 2 PYX

Aphrodite sits left on the ground, facing left. Her left arm lies in her lap, her right is raised to hold a sceptre. She wears a chiton with a mantle over the legs. A woman approaches with a phiale, while two Erotes with pipes and tympanon make music at an altar. A deer also approaches, a wreath hangs up before the goddess, and flowers and shrubs emphasize the outdoor setting.

MM 45 LEK(S)

figs. 61-62

Aphrodite with personifications. Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground, her head turned back over her shoulder to the Eros sitting there. Her left arm hangs at her side, her right arm is raised to her shoulder. Her feet are crossed. She wears a starred mantle over a chiton. (For full description, see above, 133.)

MM 46 LEK(S)

figs. 53-55

Aphrodite and Adonis(?) Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground,

with her head turned back over her left shoulder. Her left arm supports her pose, while her right lies in her lap. The state of the vase does not encourage speculation as to her dress. An Eros hangs around her neck. A woman offers a branch. (For full description, see above, 105-106.)

MM 47 LEK(S)

Aphrodite with personifications. Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground, her head turned back over her left shoulder. She supports her pose with her left arm, while her right draws a fold of drapery from her right shoulder. Her feet are crossed. She wears a chiton with a mantle over the legs. (For full description, see above, 133.)

MM 51 LEK(S) figs. 84-86

An archaic kore statue stands in the centre of the scene, holding a phiale in each hand. On either side of her is a thymiaterion with an acorn-shaped top and zoomorphic feet, an Eros and a woman. One of the Erotes tends the thymiaterion, and both carry sprays of leaves. The women who approach from either side are empty-handed; one has her hair hanging loose down her back.

MM 52 bis LEK(S) figs. 87-89

Aphrodite(?) sits to the left on a chair, facing left, her left elbow propped over the chair back, and her right hand raised to draw a fold of drapery from her shoulder. She wears a chiton with a mantle over the legs. On either side of her is an Eros, and behind them three women, one of whom brings a plate of fruit. A shrub indicates the scene is set outside.

MM 55 LEK(S) figs. 91-92

Judgement of Paris(?) Aphrodite sits to the right on the ground, her head turned back over her right shoulder, supporting her weight with her right hand and lifting her left to her head. She is draped in a mantle from the waist, but the upper part of her body and arms seem

naked. Two Erotes hover around her. (For full description, see below, 224.)

MM 56 LEK(S) figs. 93-95

Aphrodite sits to the left on the ground, facing left. Her left elbow is propped up and her right hand raised towards her head. Her feet are crossed, and she wears a mantle over a chiton. On either side of her is an Eros, lifting a hand towards her head, perhaps laying a wreath upon it or arranging leaves in her hair. Beyond each Eros is a tree, and beyond each tree a woman, one with a string of beads and the other with a kanoun on her head.

MM 57 LEK(S)

Aphrodite(?) sits to the left on a rock, her left hand at her side and her right raised to a fold of drapery at her shoulder. Two women stand in front, and another drives a chariot towards the seated goddess. The chariot is drawn by a pair of Erotes.

MM 60 LEK(S)

Aphrodite(?) sits to the left on the ground, her left arm lowered at her side and her right holding out a branch. She wears a chiton and a mantle. Eros holds out a branch in greeting, while another woman looks on.

MM ADD 66A LEK(S) figs. 96-97

Aphrodite(?) sits to the left on the ground, her head turned back over her left shoulder. She supports the pose with her left hand, while her right is raised to hold a necklace. On either side of her is an Eros, one reaching down past a sapling towards a hare. Beyond one Eros sits another woman, also holding a necklace.

MM 67 LEK(S)

Aphrodite and personifications. Aphrodite sits to the left on a golden stool, adorned with golden bosses in relief. In her hand she holds a similarly embossed sceptre. She wears a chiton with a

mantle over the knees. An archaic statue stands on a plinth.

(For full description, see above, 133-134.)

MM 68 LEK(S) fig. 98

Eros plays the pipes between two women in short, patterned tunics, who dance, with krotala and pipes(?)

MM 69 LEK(A) figs. 99-101.

Aphrodite sits to the left on a stool, facing left. Her left arm hangs at her side, and her right hand is raised towards her shoulder. Her feet are crossed. An Eros perches on her hand and arranges leaves in her hair. She wears a chiton and a patterned mantle over the legs. Women approach with gifts.

MM 85 LKN

Aphrodite and personifications. Aphrodite sits to the right on a chair, facing right. Her right elbow is propped over the chair-back and her right hand draws a fold of drapery from her shoulder. An Eros crouches on the palm of her hand. (For full description, see above, 134.)

MM 86 LKN

Aphrodite (ΠΑ[ΦΙ]Η) sits to the right in a chair, facing right. Her right elbow is propped over the chair back, and her left arm curves up to draw a fold of drapery from her left shoulder. She wears a chiton with a mantle over the legs. She is accompanied by Eros, Klymene, Nesaie, Halie and other women.

MM 87 LKN figs 63, 67

Aphrodite (ΠΑΦΙΑ) sits to the left on the ground, facing left. She supports her pose with her left hand, while her right is raised, holding an alabastron. She is dressed in a peplos. (For full description, see above, 134.)

MM 92 PYX figs. 68-70

Aphrodite and personifications. Aphrodite prepares to mount a

chariot drawn by Pothos and Hedylogos. (For full description, see above, 134.)

MM 99 PYX

Aphrodite and personifications. Aphrodite sits to the left on a chair, facing left. Her left elbow is propped over the chair back, her right hand bent towards the shoulder. She wears a chiton with a mantle over the legs, and her feet are crossed. (For full description, see above, 134-135.)

MM 99 bis PYX,FR

A woman kneels beside an altar.

MM 119 CUP

fig. 102

Aphrodite(?) sits to the left on a chair, facing left, her left elbow propped over the chair back and her feet resting on a foot stool. Eros climbs up into her lap, apparently to kiss her. There is a kalathos in front of the chair.

2. Discussion

Summary of the scenes

Where the identification of the goddess is uncertain, this has been indicated in the description by a question mark in brackets after her name. On FA 1 and FA 3, the presence of the goddess is by no means certain, but the rich dress and the sceptre of the woman on FA 1 and the Eros-drawn chariot on FA 3 make it likely that the figures in question are Aphrodite. MM 52 bis was described by Beazley as 'Woman seated with Erotes and women', but the emphasis given to the Erotes and the presence of women bearing gifts suggest the central person may well be Aphrodite. On MM 55 again, the close association of the Erotes and the central position of the woman with whom they appear suggest that she is Aphrodite. MM 56 was described by Beazley as 'Woman (Aphrodite?) seated with two Erotes and two women', but her

resemblance to other Aphrodite figures and the proximity of the Erotes, besides the kanoun that one of the women brings, suggest that the central figure is Aphrodite. On MM 57 it is not clear if either the seated figure or the charioteer is Aphrodite, but the presence of the Erotes makes it likely that she is one of them. On MM 60 the way the Eros holds a branch out to the seated woman rather suggests he is paying respect to a goddess, and not just any woman, but it is impossible to be sure. The same is true of MM ADD 66A. The seated figure on MM 67 is likely to be Aphrodite: she is almost certainly a goddess, visited in her sanctuary by two women, and the goddess in whose circle figures like Eunomia and Thaleia regularly appear is Aphrodite. MM 119 may show either Aphrodite or an ordinary woman.⁴⁷⁵

With few exceptions, the Aphrodite scenes show the goddess sitting outside, either on the ground or on a chair. The outdoor nature of the scenes is indicated by trees and plants, as in MM 45 or MM ADD 66A, by waving ground lines or heaps of rocks, as in MM 87, or simply by the fact that the goddess is clearly sitting on the ground. There are few indoor scenes: FA 1, FA 3 and MM 99 are shown to be inside by the presence of a column. On a few of the scenes Aphrodite does not sit but instead drives or prepares to drive her Eros-powered chariot (MP 2, FA 3(?), MM 57(?), MM 92). On the Judgement of Paris scenes the goddess may stand or sit. On all the scenes there are Erotes, some with names like Hedylogos (sweet speech), Pothos or Himeros. They hang around Aphrodite's neck, shelter under her arm, sit on her shoulder, arrange her hair, offer branches or leaves, and, on MP 13, prepare to throw a stone! Three of the scenes, MM 51, MM 68 and MM 99 bis, do not show Aphrodite, but may be connected with her worship.

Apart from the wedding scenes (FA 1, FA 3), the Phaon and Adonis scenes (A 7, MP 1, MP 2, MM 46?), the scenes of the Judgement of

Paris (CP 1, AW 4, MM 55?), and those on which Aphrodite assists at the contest of Thamyris and the Muses (MP 16) or listens to Mousaios (MP 7), the Aphrodite scenes tend to show the goddess in one of two standard situations. Either she is attended by women, as mortal mistresses are attended by maids, or else she appears as a goddess, receiving suppliants in her sanctuary. The scenes show, in fact, the private and the public life of the goddess. Examples of the private type of scene are MM 45, MM 52 bis, MM ADD 66A, MM 69, MM 85, MM 86, or MM 99, and of the public type AT 1243 2, MM 57, or MM 67. There is no rigid dividing line between the two categories. The attendants may act as suppliants as well as maids, and on some of the basically private scenes the goddess is probably preparing for a public festival; on MM 45, for example, Peitho decorates a kanoun, the basket carried in processions,⁴⁷⁶ and on MM 92 Aphrodite mounts her chariot, leaving the scene where her companions take their ease, in order perhaps to descend to earth and participate in some festival in her honour.⁴⁷⁷

The appearance of Aphrodite

The descriptions make it exhaustively clear that the goddess prefers to sit wherever possible. On eight⁴⁷⁸ of the thirty representations she sits on a chair or stool. On six of these eight she faces left, and on four of these six her left elbow is propped up over the back of the chair. On all eight representations she faces the way she sits. On sixteen⁴⁷⁹ of the scenes Aphrodite sits on the ground, and in every case except MM 55 she faces left. With few exceptions - notably scenes where she is involved in a specific mythological event like the Judgement of Paris, she leans on her left arm and looks round over her left shoulder. There are, then, two distinct types of Aphrodite, the Aphrodite on the chair and the Aphrodite on the ground. But MM 56 amalgamates the two; the goddess sits on the ground facing left as usual, but instead of leaning on her left hand she has it propped up

as though over a non-existent chair back. Both types of Aphrodite favour the same clothes, a mantle over a chiton; either may be decorated with stars.

As we shall see later, the chair- and to a lesser extent the ground pose are both popular with Meidian artists wishing to depict ordinary women. But neither pose is very common on earlier vase paintings. The earliest extant example of the chair pose is probably to be found on one of the Achilles Painter's most famous lekythoi; not much later the Kleophon Painter uses it for an Aphrodite, the Shuvalov Painter for Eriphyle and the Painter of Athens 1454 for the woman at the centre of an Adonia scene (fig. 52).⁴⁸⁰ It may therefore be reasonable to ask if there were any special reasons for the popularity of the type in the Meidian Group.

The chair pose has provoked a great deal of discussion. This was opened by Langlotz,⁴⁸¹ whose starting point was the seated female statue type generally referred to as the Olympias, and known from ten copies of the Roman imperial period. The Olympias is seen to best advantage in the left profile. She reclines with her legs extended on a chair, with her left elbow propped over the back and her right hand lying on her lap. Her feet are crossed, and she wears a chiton with a mantle draped over the thighs and legs. Langlotz suggested the type derived from Alkamenes' cult statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens on the Ilissos, counted by Pausanias as one of the most noteworthy in Athens.⁴⁸² Langlotz based this theory on the appearance of the very similar figure on numerous Meidian scenes. He suggested that these scenes showed the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens, and that the Aphrodite figure was a more or less faithful reproduction of the cult statue there. He claimed that the paintings where the goddess sits on a chair are later in date than those where she rests on the ground, and he suggested that the chair type resulted from the impact of Alkamenes'

statue, dedicated between 430 and 420.

The theory is open to several objections.⁴⁸³ One is that both normal Greek practice and Pausanias' description of the Ilissos sanctuary require that the cult statue was positioned inside the temple: Langlotz may have been misled by the cult title *ἐν κήποις* and by the vase paintings into supposing that the statue could have stood outside. And the Olympias, as everyone agrees, would be quite inappropriate in a temple cella, since she is clearly designed to be seen from the side, not in front, and is well-adapted for outdoor viewing. Since this is so, her prototype cannot be the cult statue from the Ilissos. In any case there are chronological difficulties. It is reported that Pheidias had a hand in the Ilissos statue,⁴⁸⁴ but it is unlikely that he was in Athens between 430 and 420;⁴⁸⁵ and while the Meidian paintings should be later than 420, there are various examples of the chair pose (mentioned above) which must belong in the 440's and 430's. Nor is it possible to accept Langlotz's theory of an earlier and a later group of scenes: the chair and ground types appear side by side throughout the Meidian group, sometimes even on the same pot.⁴⁸⁶

Schlörb,⁴⁸⁷ amongst others, suggested that Alkamenes' statue is represented instead by the 'Leaning Aphrodite' type, and she put forward the theory recently elaborated by Delivorrias,⁴⁸⁸ that the Aphrodite on the chair of the vase paintings and the Olympias type derive from the cult statue of the second, and probably older, sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens on the north slope of the Acropolis. They argued that the Olympias must derive from some famous later fifth century work, since only this can explain her numerous appearances on vase paintings of the period and in Roman copies. Delivorrias, publishing a fragment which he believes to derive from the original, argued from its weathering and its (probable) find-place, the Acropolis,

that the original stood somewhere on the Acropolis, in the open air. He would like to associate it with the inscribed base actually found in the Agora, but seen and described by Pausanias in the Propylaia, of a statue of Aphrodite made by Kalamis and dedicated by Kallias.⁴⁸⁹ Delivorrias suggested that the statue was removed from the north slope sanctuary by the Romans, and set up in the Propylaia, where it was seen by Pausanias and inspired the later copyists.

The attribution of Delivorrias's fragment to the original Olympias and the identification of this statue with the Kalamis-Kallias dedication are both very speculative. But there are grounds for connecting the north slope sanctuary with the seated Aphrodite type. Apparently this sanctuary did not contain a temple building: fragments of a peribolos wall, decorated with Erotes in relief, have been found, and it is suggested that the Erotes may have converged on the seated figure of the goddess.⁴⁹⁰ At all events, if there was a cult statue, and it is unlikely that there was not, it must have stood in the open air, so the Olympias type is a possibility. Then, there is the evidence of vase paintings. The Meidian examples fail to provide any evidence of a connection with the north slope. But the seated figures painted by the Kleophon Painter and the Painter of Athens 1454 do suggest a link between the type and the sanctuary. On the Kleophon Painter's fragmentary scene the identity of the goddess is secured by an inscription. She is accompanied by two girls, one with a ball in her hand, and it is suggested by Delivorrias that they are the Arrephoroi, who were housed before the ceremony of the Arrephoria near the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis. That there was a ball court associated with their accommodation is shown by Plutarch, who refers to a dedication made by Isokrates in the ball court (σφαίριον) of the Arrephoroi.⁴⁹¹ In the Arrephoria the girls carried sacred objects down from the temple of Athena to the north slope sanctuary;⁴⁹² when, therefore, the

Kleophon Painter shows girls playing ball beside a seated Aphrodite, there is a possibility that the goddess is the one with whom the girls were in reality associated, the cult-figure from the north slope. The Painter of Athens 1454, on the other hand, associates the figure with the hand propped over the chair -back with the festival of Adonis: as Delivorrias suggested, Adonis, for whom no specific cult-place is attested, might well have been celebrated in the north slope sanctuary along with Aphrodite and Eros, and the painter may have been recalling actual festivals in the sanctuary when he painted this scene.

The latest contribution to the Olympias question is that of Ridgway.⁴⁹³ She has suggested that the Olympias is too elongated for the fifth century and that the original was a classicizing Hellenistic or early imperial portrait, perhaps of Livia, the mother of Tiberius. The inspiration for the type would be the Aphrodite of the Parthenon's east frieze.⁴⁹⁴ It is true that the Olympias is more elongated than the figures on the vases. But there are plenty of classical women who recline at length, from the Aphrodite of the Parthenon's east pediment to Chrysothemis or Hygieia on MP 1 and MP 2 (figs. 42, 48). The Aphrodite of the east frieze is not very close to the Olympias, since her chair has no back, and she sits in a fairly upright position facing right, with an Eros leaning up against her. Is she significant enough to have inspired a Hellenistic or imperial sculptor? And would so many copies have been made of a Hellenistic or imperial original? Surely the Olympias must derive from a late fifth century original: not only the vase paintings, but such sculptural works as the stele of Ampharete or the seated Athena of the Nike balustrade⁴⁹⁵ bear witness to her existence as a recognized and popular type in the later century.

It seems, then, that there is something to be said for the idea that the Aphrodite on the chair is connected with the cult statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens on the north slope. In conclusion a few more

pieces of evidence may be adduced to support the north slope theory, and some of the problems may be rehearsed.

The names Paphie and Paphia are given to the goddess on MM 86 and MM 87. This is clearly a cult title derived from the name of the sanctuary at Paphos on Cyprus. There is no explicit reference to a cult of Aphrodite Paphia in Athens, but if Aristophanes could speak of τὴν Παφίαν Ἀφροδίτην, ⁴⁹⁶ the title was not unknown. The cult of Aphrodite ἐν κήποις is most likely to have spread from Hierokepos, near Paphos, to the Greek mainland; this makes it likely, though not certain, that it was with Aphrodite in the Gardens that the title Paphia was associated in Athens. So when the Meidian artists called the goddess Paphie or Paphia, it is just possible that they had the cult statue of Aphrodite in the Gardens in mind. It may also be noted that when Aphrodite appears in a specific mythological context, with Thamyris or at the Judgement of Paris, she may stand or sit in a variety of positions, but when shown simply as a goddess she adopts one of her two standard poses; it might be supposed that when a painter wished to show the goddess as a goddess he would be influenced by the models he had before his eyes in the actual sanctuaries of Athens.

There are, however, major problems with the theory. The scenes where Aphrodite sits on a chair on Meidian vases have a much weaker connection with sanctuaries than those where she sits upon the ground. Of the eight Aphrodites on chairs, MP 14 might be set in a sanctuary, where worshippers dance in honour of the goddess, and MM 67 certainly does show a sanctuary - but here the identity of the seated goddess is not certain, and in any case she is not sitting in the Olympias pose. MM 53 bis is set outside, but not necessarily in a sanctuary; MM 99 is definitely, MM 119 probably set inside, and on the other three scenes Aphrodite and her women are shown in typical 'mistress and maid' situations - they may be outside or in, but they have no

apparent connections with sanctuaries. On the other hand, when Aphrodite rests upon the ground, there are numerous and frequent indications of sacred precincts. There may be an altar (MP 5, AT 1243 2), or an archaic cult statue (MP 5), trees (MM 56, MM ADD 66A) or kanouns (MM 45, MM 47, MM 56). And it is when she sits upon the ground that women approach Aphrodite in the manner of suppliants (AT 1243 2, MM 56). To judge from the Meidian vases, if it were known that either the chair or the ground type represented a cult statue from a sanctuary of Aphrodite, it would be absurd not to give preference to the ground type. It is, of course, highly unlikely that the figure on the ground could derive from an actual statue, and no-one has suggested it should. The vase painters are showing, as they always have shown, the goddess as herself, not a statue. The Aphrodite on the ground is simply a popular figure in the painters' repertoire: it is far from impossible that the Aphrodite on the chair was too. Moreover, the popularity of the chair type for women other than Aphrodite should not be overlooked. While it is feasible to suggest that some women, such as Helen, should be made in Aphrodite's image, it is unlikely that all are intended to recall a certain statue of the goddess. The pose was, after all, used by the Achilles Painter much earlier than the putative statue. Perhaps there is no need to look for a significant sculptural prototype at all. The Olympias remains a mystery, but there is not enough evidence to prove that she or the seated Aphrodites on the Meidian scenes are connected with the cult statue of the goddess in the north slope sanctuary.

Archaic cult statues of Aphrodite

The archaic korai of MP 5, MM 51 and MM 67 are of especial interest. Again, a particular cult statue may be behind them. That the kore on MP 5 and MM 51 is Aphrodite is suggested by her lack of attributes

such as bow or spear which would enable her to be identified as Artemis or Athena, and by the context of the scenes. As suggested above (77) it would be perverse to propose that on MP 5, where the scene shows the peaceful abduction of the Leukippidai and Aphrodite sits below beside her altar, the kore could very well represent any other goddess; and on MM 51 the Erotes who attend to the thymiateria on either side of the statue again suggest that she must represent Aphrodite. The kore on MM 67 has scarcely survived, but is again likely to be Aphrodite. Pausanias's description of the Ilissos sanctuary informs us that it contained two statues of the goddess, one 'square and like the herms', the other by Alkamenes.⁴⁹⁷ At least one of the Aphrodite sanctuaries in Athens, then, possessed an archaic statue of the goddess, and it is possible that this is reflected in the paintings. (For the implications of the inclusion of archaic statues, see above, 77-78.)

The nature of Aphrodite

The Meidian scenes emphasize, as the literary and epigraphical sources do not, the connections between Aphrodite and vegetation, or nature in general. The vegetation aspects of Aphrodite were on the whole a legacy of her Semitic and Sumerian forbears, Ishtar and Inanna.⁴⁹⁸ Both were goddesses of love, but vegetation was important for them both. Ishtar had strong connections with trees and tree worship, and Inanna was characteristically identified with crops, full store-houses, grain, apples and lettuce. The most obvious traces of Aphrodite's links with these goddesses are in her association with Adonis, the dying god of vegetation. In the Greek Pantheon, fertility and fruitfulness were largely assumed by Demeter, leaving Aphrodite free to specialize in human relationships and the pleasurable rather than the functional aspects of reproduction. But her cult clearly retained elements of the vegetation aspects of Ishtar and Inanna. This is suggested by the excavations of the north slope sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens.

An inscription found here records a spring festival for Eros:⁴⁹⁹
Aphrodite may well have been involved in this, and the time of year suggests a connection with vegetation and the renewal of life in the spring. Phallic-shaped stones found in the precinct emphasize the association of the goddess with fertility,⁵⁰⁰ and the Arrephoria, in the course of which the Arrephoroi carried nameless objects, possibly including dew-laden branches or even the phallic stones themselves, was very probably a fertility rite.

On the Meidian scenes the goddess often sits upon the ground, which puts her closely in touch with nature. She frequently has leaves in her head-dress (as, for example, on MM 45, MM 46) or holds a wreath of leaves in her hands (as on MM 60). Wreaths may hang above her head (as on MP 14, AT 1243 2), or her attendant women and Erotes may offer leaves and branches to her (as on MM 46, MM 47, MM 60, MM 67). Alternatively they may pick or offer fruit (as on MM 45). Trees are everywhere, as are flowers, shrubs, and crawling tendrils of vegetation. This emphasis on vegetation corroborates the evidence from the north slope and helps to re-affirm the significance of nature and vegetation in the character and cults of the Athenian Aphrodite.

The worship of Aphrodite

The Meidian scenes also offer a little information on the ways in which Aphrodite was worshipped. The presence of Pompe, personification of the procession, on MM 47, for example, or the kanoun on MM 45, MM 47 and MM 56, suggest processions in honour of the goddess; and that these did take place is shown by a third century inscription which gives instructions for a procession for Aphrodite Pandemos.⁵⁰¹ Herosora's presence on MP 2, where Aphrodite crosses the heavens in her chariot drawn by Pothos and Himeros, bearing thymiaterion, wreath and phiale, provides another link with the spring festival in the north slope sanctuary. Aphrodite's festivals may also have included the all-

night revels, Pannychides. Although the literary sources fail to mention a pannychis for Aphrodite, a fragment of Sappho's poetry and the titles of numerous middle and later comedies concerned with hetairai and their revels strongly suggest that Aphrodite too was honoured in this way, and that the nightly celebrations were not confined to the Panathenaia and the Stenia.⁵⁰² The appearance of Pannychis herself on MP 1, MP 2 and MM 85 may confirm this idea. The nature of such a pannychis is perhaps suggested most vividly on MP 14, where the women, some wrapped in swirling, starry mantles (against the night air?) leap and move about in an Aphrodisian ecstasy, their heads bowed low or thrown back, their expressions self-absorbed. MM 68, where an Eros pipes between two dancing women may also be intended to evoke an ecstatic ceremony in honour of the goddess.

The Meidian scenes also suggest a special connection between Aphrodite and weddings. There is, surprisingly, no literary evidence for this, apart from a reference in Plutarch to Aphrodite ἄρμα at Delphi,⁵⁰³ and an imperial inscription which mentions a joint priestess of Aphrodite Pandemos and Nymphe, the Bride, in reference to the sanctuaries of these two on the south-west slope of the Acropolis.⁵⁰⁴ On the vase paintings, however, Aphrodite does seem to have a connection with weddings. On FA 1 and FA 3 the goddess appears on the scene with a bride, and on MM 47 the pair of shoes on the casket at her feet may be νυμφίδες, the shoes worn by brides.⁵⁰⁵ The kanoun too could be associated with wedding processions. And the pose and occupation of Aphrodite on several scenes, such as MM 85 or MM 86 are exactly those of brides in probable Epaulia scenes. If there was a cult connection between the shrines of Aphrodite Pandemos and Nymphe on the south-west slope, it is possible that future brides might have visited the sanctuary of Aphrodite to make offerings before marriage. The scene on MM 67 could be interpreted in this way, and the curious object

one of the women carries might even be one of the figurines of Eros or Aphrodite which were found in large numbers in the sanctuary.⁵⁰⁶ Beazley suggested a similar interpretation for MM 51, which he thought might show a future bride and her mother visiting the sanctuary to propitiate the goddess; the timid bearing of the women, and the loose hair of one, make this a likely explanation. Moreover, the vases on which these scenes appear, squat lekythoi, pyxides and lekanides, are among the types likely to have been offered as wedding presents:⁵⁰⁷ when decorated with the figure of Aphrodite, it seems likely that both donors and recipients would have recognized a connection between the goddess and the occasion of the gift.

Conclusion: the popularity of Aphrodite

There is little doubt that Aphrodite was the favourite goddess of the Meidian Group. What were the reasons for her popularity?

One may have been the general popularity of the goddess in Athens. She possessed numerous sanctuaries in and around the city. Those of Aphrodite in the Gardens on the north slope of the Acropolis and of Aphrodite Pandemos on the south-west have already been mentioned, as has that of Aphrodite in the Gardens on the Ilissos. Then there was the sanctuary of Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἰππολύτῳ,⁵⁰⁸ which may or may not have been distinct from that of Aphrodite Pandemos on the south-west slope. The temple of Aphrodite Ourania stood near that of Hephaistos in the Agora,⁵⁰⁹ while an altar found in the Agora with a dedication to Aphrodite Hegemone, Demos and the Graces⁵¹⁰ may be evidence of yet another cult. There may also have been a temple of Aphrodite Hetaira,⁵¹¹ and if this were not enough, Pausanias records several statues of the goddess at various places in the city. Aphrodite was the patroness of numerous different interest groups. It was in Corinth that her role of protectress of hetairai was especially well developed, but it has been suggested that Athenian courtesans too might have celebrated

τὰ ἄφροδίσεια .⁵¹² Other groups who honoured Aphrodite appear to have included the tetradists, associations of young men who met four times a month, their meetings sometimes coinciding with festivals of Aphrodite Pandemos.⁵¹³ And then, Aphrodite was the patroness of magistrates. From outside Athens, notably from Thasos and Naxos, comes evidence of the habit of boards of magistrates of making offerings to Aphrodite on the successful completion of a term of office: their dedications are addressed to Aphrodite Pandemos or Aphrodite Agoraia, or to special forms of the goddess corresponding to the nature of the magistracy involved, such as Aphrodite Epistasia or Aphrodite Nomophylakis.⁵¹⁴ Xenophon's account of the assassination of the Theban polemarchs of 379-378 shows that it was normal for Theban magistrates too to make offerings to Aphrodite on relinquishing office, and to celebrate τὰ ἄφροδίσεια,⁵¹⁵ preparations for which included lavish supplies of food, wine and hetairai. Although we have no specifically Athenian evidence for the practice, the altar to Aphrodite Hegemone, the Demos and the Graces makes the same kind of civic connection, and Plutarch's comparison of the lives of Kimon and Lucullus also makes reference to the habit of celebrating τὰ ἄφροδίσεια on retirement, as though it were a widespread custom.⁵¹⁶ Aphrodite's association with magistrates may be connected with her character of Pandemos, the goddess of harmony and co-operation, and with the origins of the Pandemos cult, which the sources like to associate with the mythical synoecism of Attica. Pausanias, for example, suggests that Theseus made Aphrodite Pandemos an instrument of unification:

Ἀφροδίτην δὲ τὴν Πανδήμον, ἐπεὶ τε Ἀθηναίους Θησεὺς εἰς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δήμων πόλιν, αὐτὴν τε σέβεισθαι καὶ Πειθῶ κατέστησε. ⁵¹⁷

Historically, the founder of the cult is likely to have been Solon, and it was probably fostered by Kleisthenes.⁵¹⁸ The magistrates' dedications suggest that the idea of civic unity was an aspect of

Aphrodite's character which lasted into the classical period. She was a goddess of universal appeal, for everyone, from hetairai to magistrates, youths and unmarried girls had some interest in her.

If this accounts for Aphrodite's general popularity in Athens, it does not explain the sudden interest in the goddess as a subject for vase paintings of the last twenty years of the fifth century. Before 440, at least, painters seem to have found her of rather limited interest. There are very few black-figure representations of the goddess, except those which show her participation in some specific mythological activity such as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, or the Judgement of Paris. In the earlier classical period a few themes, such as the Birth of Aphrodite, become popular with certain groups of painters. But it is not until the 440's and 30's that Aphrodite becomes an established favourite with such artists as the Eretria Painter. One of the reasons for her popularity now may be connected with the shapes and functions of the vases which are now more numerous than ever before, the squat lekythoi, lekanides and pyxides which are likely to have contained the perfumed oil and unguents used by women. Aphrodite's associations with these substances and with the countries of the near east from which some of them were imported might in itself be a sufficient reason for placing her on the outside of the container.⁵¹⁹ But there is also the consideration that these oils and unguents were designed to render their users attractive to the opposite sex, so that the figure of Aphrodite would serve as both a reminder of the contents and a stimulus to their use.

At the same time, the Meidian fondness for Aphrodite goes hand in hand with the Meidian interest in personifications. When Aphrodite's attendants are named, many of them prove to personify happiness or some kind of good fortune. As we saw above, a major function of these figures is to promote an atmosphere of escapism, and Aphrodite, the

central figure of the group, is in a sense the most escape-orientated of them all, the consummate embodiment of all luxuries, pleasures and desires. But the role of personifications is not purely escapist, and neither is Aphrodite's. Her concern with civic harmony has been mentioned, and the associations the painters make between her and such figures as Eunomia and Eukleia suggest this aspect of Aphrodite's character was of some interest to them. The idea of an Aphrodisian harmony need not be restricted to the civic sphere. In Plato's Symposium the Pythagorean Eryximachos speaks of Eros as the most powerful force in the universe, the engineer of the harmony which pervades and regulates all aspects of nature.⁵²⁰ Something of this same feeling in regard to Aphrodite may be reflected in her appearance on the Meidian vases. Not only does she occupy the centre of every scene she can, and contrive to find a place on other scenes such as those of Thamyris and Mousaios where her presence has little obvious relevance, but the way she is waited upon by such companions as Thaleia, Eunomia or Eudaimonia, indicates that she is at the centre of all well-tuned existence, whether of nature, the state, or the individual. In the fourth century the interest in personification fades, and while Aphrodite continues to play a major part in the vase painting repertoire, the emphasis shifts to representations of her epiphany, and Eros assumes her place in scenes of women.⁵²¹ The central and harmonious function of Aphrodite is unique to artists of the Meidian Group.

CHAPTER V

NAUSIKAA, AMYMON, IXION, AND TROJAN THEMES

This Chapter groups together those mythological scenes which are neither violent, like those of Chapter II, nor set in heavenly gardens, like those of Chapters III and IV. Three of the scenes are the work of the Meidias Painter himself, and one of Aison; two are by the Painter of the Athens Wedding, one by the Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris, two by the Painter of the Group of Naples 3235, and the remainder by members of the general circle of the Meidias Painter. They are painted on a wide variety of shapes, from hydriai and amphorae to lekanides, squat lekythoi and oinochoai.

NAUSIKAA

1. Description

A 48 PYX LID

Six figures are spaced evenly around the lid. Odysseus (ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΞ) and Nausikaa (ΝΑΥΣΙΚΑΑ) are directly opposite each other, facing but mutually invisible. The dishevelled, long-haired Odysseus advances crouching from the thicket, holding a bunch of twigs. The broken branches behind him indicate their origin. Round his shoulders hangs a thin, fringed strip of starred material. Athena (ΑΘΗΝΑΑ) stands facing him: she stretches out her hand in an encouraging gesture. Two of Nausikaa's friends, Phylonoe (ΦΥΛΟΝΟΗ) and Leukippe (ΛΕΥΚΙΠΠΗ) flee on either side of Odysseus and Athena, glancing back over their shoulders in alarm. A third attendant, Kleopatra (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ) goes on with the washing; with her chiton rolled up to her knees, she hauls and tramples on a piece of cloth. Nausikaa herself stands between Phylonoe and Kleopatra in a pensive attitude: her right arm crosses her waist and her left elbow rests on her right hand, while her left hand is raised to her chin. The ground below the girls' feet is scattered with pebbles and golden balls.

2. Discussion

Odysseus' encounter with Nausikaa is recounted in the Odyssey.⁵²² A second major poetic treatment of the story was Sophocles' lost tragedy, Nausikaa.⁵²³ The few surviving fragments of this suggest that it followed the Homeric version quite closely, as was often the practice of Sophocles.⁵²⁴ One fragment preserves the word for a covered waggon, and another speaks of washing peploi and fine linen garments.⁵²⁵ The ball game was shown on the stage, for Sophocles

himself, who took the part of Nausikaa, attracted much critical acclaim for his dexterity with the ball.⁵²⁶

The earliest known artistic representation of Nausikaa was on the chest of Kypselos, where there were two girls 'on mules, one holding the reins, the other laying a veil on her head; these they think are Nausikaa, daughter of Alkinous, and her attendant, driving to do the washing...'⁵²⁷ More securely attested is Polygnotos' painting in the Pinakothek, of 'Odysseus advancing upon the girls who were doing the washing along with Nausikaa, by the river, just as Homer described it'.⁵²⁸ Polygnotos' painting was probably contemporary with Sophocles' Nausikaa, and Hauser suggested that it might have been a votive offering, commissioned and dedicated by the successful poet or his choregos.⁵²⁹ When neither the play nor the painting survive, the theory has at first sight very little to recommend it. But Hauser's subsidiary argument, that the small group of extant vase paintings illustrating the story of Nausikaa derives from the Polygnotan painting, has more obvious attractions. In addition to A 48, there are only three other Nausikaa scenes, all red-figure; they are a kantharos from the Marlay Group (a), and neck amphorae attributed to a Later Mannerist (b) and the Trophy Painter (c).⁵³⁰ (a) shows a dishevelled Odysseus advancing, with twigs, upon a girl, Kale, who flees before him; on (b), the hero, supported by Athena, moves towards five girls, three of whom are busy with the washing, one flees and one, poised for flight, turns back for another look at the apparition; on (c) a woman whose pensive attitude is a mirror image of Nausikaa's on A 48 stands staring into space, while above her sits a fore-shortened Athena, chin propped on hand.

The recurrence of the same attitudes on these three scenes and A 48 is remarkable. On both A 48 and (b) a woman struggles with a long coil of washing, dragging it up between her legs and wringing it between her hands. Odysseus' crouching stance is repeated on (a), (b) and A 48:

on (a) and A 48 he holds the twigs modestly before him, but on (b) he waves them excitedly in the air in front of him. The stance of the woman on (c), as mentioned above, is an exact reversal of Nausikaa's on A 48. Other details vary in the different scenes. There are more figures on A 48 and (b) because there was more room at the artist's disposal. The artist of (b) also branched out when he introduced rocks for the sea-shore and replaced the thicket of A 48 with a washing-festooned tree. On (c) Athena sits, while on A 48 and (b) she stands. The scarf around Odysseus' shoulders, the golden balls among the pebbles, and the hacked-down thicket are details unique to A 48, as are the rich clothes of Nausikaa and one of her attendants. Still, the attitudes that they share do suggest the painters may have had a common model. There may have been a vase painting tradition independent of Polygnotos. But there are details which suggest the influence of a major painting, notably the rocks and pebbles of (b) and A 48, and the fore-shortened Athena of (c); it looks as if the Trophy Painter has tried to show her in the distance by compressing her and placing her rather high up in the scene, very possibly a Polygnotan practice.⁵³¹

The representation of Nausikaa on A 48 is the fullest extant. Many of the details - the washing, the ball game, the thicket, the scarf, or Nausikaa's firm stance - appear to come straight from Homer. But Aison has effectively telescoped the Homeric narrative, to provide a synthesis of the episodes before and during Odysseus' emergence from hiding and his meeting Nausikaa. As the hero advances towards the princess, the scarf around his shoulders, surely the magical veil lent to him by Ino-Leukothea,⁵³² which he should by now have returned to the waves, recalls his earlier tribulations; and while the golden balls among the pebbles show the game the girls have been playing, Kleopatra is still busy with the washing, which should have been finished long ago. This refusal to confine the scene to a single moment gives the

painting an impression of narrative depth, and of the other representations only (b) can approximate to this effect.

A second interesting feature of A 48 is the costume of Nausikaa and Phylonoe. Over their chitons both wear a short, richly decorated garment. Phylonoe's has sleeves, while Nausikaa's is sleeveless, but both may be identified as the ependytes.⁵³³ This garment was of east Greek origin. It is not unknown in archaic Attic art, but it becomes more common after the Persian wars. In the archaic period it is generally restricted to the gods, but after 480 it becomes the distinguishing costume of mythological characters of high rank, at first orientals, but later foreigners of all kinds. Late in the fifth century the ependytes is worn by characters involved in cult acts and also by actors.⁵³⁴ The ependytes worn on A 48 may be intended to emphasize the foreign nature of the Phaiacian princess and her attendant. But in view of the late fifth century date of the pyxis, it might also be seen as a link with a dramatic production. It seems to me that the scarf Odysseus wears is also the sort of detail which might have appealed to a playwright.

Initial scepticism of Hauser's theory that A 48 and the other Nausikaa paintings reflect a Polygnotan pinax commemorating Sophocles' Nausikaa may, therefore, yield to a cautious admission that he may, after all, be right. The links between the four paintings and the specific details which recall what is known of Polygnotos' style combine to suggest their possible derivation not simply from the Odyssey but from Polygnotos' painting and so from Sophocles. A 48, being richer and more detailed than any of the others may perhaps be closest to the original. And since the ependytes and possibly the scarf on A 48 also suggest theatrical influence, Hauser's theory seems both economical and attractive.

AMYMONE

1. Descriptions

MP ADD 13A OIN(C) figs. 103-107

In a rocky landscape Amymone is surprised by four satyrs. In her left hand she bears a hydria, and in her right a tyle. She wears a finely pleated chiton, fastened with straps on the shoulders, and her hair is arranged under a sphenone. She runs towards the right, looking back with some anxiety at the two satyrs behind her, and perhaps as yet unaware of the pair who block the path ahead. The satyrs are shown in various attitudes appropriate to their character and to the situation. Their poses and gestures are springy and full of tension: two point dramatically at Amymone, the third flings both arms high above his head in a gesture designed to shock and surprise, and the fourth creeps forward with exaggerated stealth, hugging his hands together in anticipation. The composition is chiefly characterized by numerous diagonal lines, produced by the bent and outstretched limbs of the satyrs and of Amymone herself.

MM 53 LEK(S) figs. 108-109

Poseidon (ΠΟΤΕΙΔΩΝ[N]) and Amymone ([AMY]ΜΩΝΗ), accompanied by Aphrodite (ΑΦ[ΡΟΔΙΤΗ]) and Amphitrite ([AM]ΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ), meet in a garden with rocky outcrops, trees, shrubs and a hare. Of Amymone herself, seated to the right in the centre, little survives beyond part of her name, her hydria, and the tyle she holds against her knee. Poseidon stands in front of her, leaning on his trident, one hand lying negligently on his hip. He is wreathed, and a mantle is draped across his arms and shoulders. Behind him stands Amphitrite, who pulls a fold of her veil from her right shoulder, and behind Amymone sits Aphrodite, making the same gesture: she sits to the left, but

looks back over her shoulder towards Poseidon and Aymone. Beside her on the ground is a small casket of the kind which often appears in wedding scenes.

2. Discussion

The myth of Aymone and its manifestations in art and literature have recently been surveyed by Simon and Kaempf-Dimitriadou,⁵³⁵ whose discussions make a detailed account of the artistic and literary development of the myth unnecessary. In brief, Aymone was one of the fifty daughters of Danaus; sent out by her father to look for water during a drought, she was attacked by satyrs and rescued by Poseidon, who then took her for himself, and made the fountain of Lerna spring up for her, striking the rock with his trident. The incident was very probably included in the lost epic of the Danaid, and in Hesiod's Catalogue of Women; Pindar refers to it, and it was the subject of Aeschylus' satyr play Aymone, the conclusion of his Danaid trilogy. Aeschylus' Aymone may well have inspired the earliest artistic representations.⁵³⁶ Vase painters selected various moments in the story to reproduce: Aymone alone, Aymone and the satyrs, Poseidon in pursuit of Aymone, or their peaceful association. The earlier scenes show Poseidon's pursuit, and this remains popular until the late 440's. Later artists, however, with few exceptions, preferred to show the peaceful meeting of the god and the Danaid.

Apart from its magnificent design and faultless execution, the particular interest of MP ADD 13A is its markedly theatrical appearance. It is true that satyrs in general tend to be theatrical, but the gestures and attitudes of these are exceptionally and exaggeratedly dramatic: like the satyrs on scenes securely linked with satyr plays, such as the Prometheus Pyrkaios vases,⁵³⁷ they over-react as though before an audience. And are they in fact wearing tights? The

horizontal lines across one or more wrist or ankle of all but one of the satyrs recall similar lines which mark the end of the tights of, for example, the couch-building satyrs on the Boston kalpis.⁵³⁸ But the Boston satyrs and most other tight-wearing satyrs have breeches too; if the satyrs on MP ADD 13A are wearing tights, they are rather half-hearted affairs, as if the Painter could not quite make up his mind whether or not to show them. But leaving aside the matter of the tights, the theatrical attitudes make it seem likely that the painting was inspired by a theatrical production. Representations of the satyrs' attack on Amymone are rare at this date, and the few which have survived may possibly derive from a re-production of Aeschylus' Amymone. Although there is no firm evidence that satyr plays were performed at the Anthesteria, the shape of the vase, a chous, suggests the possibility of a connection with this festival.⁵³⁹

The scene on MM 53 contrasts sharply with that on MP ADD 13A. The satyrs are gone, and with them all nervous energy and dramatic excitement. Amymone sits in a typical Meidian garden with a trio of divinities. Aphrodite is clearly well in control of the situation: as on earlier scenes her presence ensures the success of Poseidon's suit, and the impression of her influence is enhanced by the presence of the hare in the thicket, since hares were presents between lovers and had in general erotic connotations. Aphrodite, who probably intervened in Aeschylus' Amymone, appears on the scenes of Poseidon's encounter with the girl from the early classical period onwards. But the scene on MM 53 differs from its predecessors in the way Poseidon and Amymone are absorbed into an 'Aphrodite in the Gardens' scene. It is true that Aphrodite sits at the side, but she adopts one of the two standard poses in which she is commonly seen receiving visitors to her sanctuary, and although Poseidon and Amymone occupy the centre, they are here in Aphrodite's territory and on her terms. The artist

seems less concerned with the precise details of the Aymone story than with the creation of an idyllic garden pervaded with the influence of Aphrodite. And the appearance of Amphitrite behind Poseidon tends to support this idea; it is hardly to be supposed that Poseidon would have relished the company of his wife on this particular adventure, but to the artist she seems an appropriate enough figure to include in the scene, a vague allusion to another of the god's amorous adventures.

One interesting feature of the scene is the way Aymone sits beside her hydria in the manner of a spring-nymph; this, along with the decidedly non-dramatic nature of the scene prompted Simon⁵⁴⁰ to wonder if MM 53 derives from the old myth of Aymone rather than from Aeschylus' treatment of it: there may have been a version in which Aymone was the spring nymph of Lerna rather than a Danaid. Simon also comments on the preferred shape of vase for Aymone scenes: the favourite is the hydria, which may have been used to carry water for the ritual bathing of the bride, and Aymone may be one of the mythical prototypes of the bride. This would explain the dedication of two early white-ground cups with Aymone scenes in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, and it might also account for the presence of the wedding casket on MM 53. This vase too might have been a wedding present.

THE PUNISHMENT OF IXION

1. Description

MM ADD 10A SKY, FRR (Side A) figs. 110-113

Two figured fragments survive from side A. On the smaller of the two (fig. 110) stands Artemis ([ARTEM]ΙΖ), wearing a chlaina belted over a sleeved chiton; her bow and quiver hang at her back, and in her left hand she bears a torch. To the right is the hand of another figure, perhaps her brother Apollo. This fragment, as the floral decoration shows, belongs on the left hand side of the scene: the larger fragment contains the central figures and some of those to the right, arranged in two registers. Above and on the left sits Zeus ([ZE]ΥΖ) on his throne, with a starred mantle across his knees: his right hand is thrown over the back of the seat, while his left grasps a sceptre. In front of him is a woman who, to judge from her central position⁵⁴¹ and her proximity to Zeus, should be Hera, though there is no inscription. She leans on the sceptre in her left hand, pulling a fold of her veil from her shoulder with her right. Below Hera is a wreathed male head facing right, perhaps another god, such as Hermes. The most interesting part of the scene is on the right. Here, about half of a large, four-spoked wheel has survived. A wing is attached to the rim at each spoke, and beside the wheel is Hephaistos (ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ): wreathed and wearing a patterned ependytes over a short chiton, he lifts a hammer high in his right hand, preparatory to bringing it down on the wheel. With his left hand he gestures towards a character of whom only one hand, supporting the wheel, and the name, **BIA**, survive. Below the wheel a fragment of hair and the name are all that survive of Bia's comrade Kratos (ΚΡΑΤΟΣ). Below the wheel again, and to the left, is the victim; only his head survives, shown

frontally and at an angle indicative of extreme dejection, and his name, Ixion (ΙΞΙΩΝ).

2. Discussion

This scene is fully discussed by Simon in her original publication of the vase.⁵⁴² The rarity of the Ixion myth, however, and the interest of this scene are such that it seems legitimate to summarize the chief points of her argument again.

The story of Ixion may be pieced together from Pindar's second Pythian ode, from references in tragedy, and from scholia and later sources. Ixion was the first man to shed the blood of a relative, his father-in-law; for this crime he was pursued by the Furies, and men and gods alike refused to purify him until at last Zeus took pity on him, absolved him from his blood-guilt, and even brought him to the table of the gods on Mount Olympus. Here Ixion disgraced himself a second time, when, drunk on nectar and ambrosia he conceived a desire for Hera. When this was discovered, Zeus provided him with a Hera-shaped cloud, Nephele, and she bore him Centaur. But as punishment for his presumptuous lust Ixion was bound to a fiery wheel and condemned to revolve for ever round the heavens - for ever, because the food and drink he had consumed at the table of the gods had made him immortal.

Evidence, were it required, that the story of Ixion is older than Pindar, is provided by two fragmentary red-figure cup tondi, both painted in the earlier archaic period and both showing Ixion strapped to the wheel.⁵⁴³ The third extant Attic representation, on a kantharos attributed to the Amphitrite Painter,⁵⁴⁴ is roughly contemporary with Pindar. On one side the original crime of Ixion appears, with Ixion struggling against clinging snakes as the body of his victim is carried off by Death, and a priest or god drives him from the altar where he

has taken refuge. On the other side we see preparations for the punishment of his later crime: Ares and Hermes hold him before the throne of Zeus, while Athena stands ready with the wheel. To the fourth century belong four South Italian scenes of Ixion on the wheel;⁵⁴⁵ two of the three published vases show him as if he has just been put into orbit, while Hephaistos stands back to admire his handiwork, and winged women gently touch the rim to set it spinning, while on the third the unhappy man is already spinning at a dizzy angle.

The Meidian scene, like the Amphitrite Painter's, shows preparations for the final act of Ixion's tragedy. As the divine craftsman puts the finishing touches to the wheel, the gods assemble to watch the punishment, with Hera, one of the injured parties, standing very close to Zeus. Of especial interest is the presence of Kratos and Bia. These are rare in literature, and their appearance on MM ADD 10A may be unique. In the Theogony they are the children of the Styx; they have no house apart from Zeus, nor any path, nor any seat, save where he commands, and they sit forever at his side.⁵⁴⁶ The best-known appearance of the pair is in Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound,⁵⁴⁷ where Bia is silent, while Kratos, the harsh fanatic, forces the reluctant Hephaistos to obey the tyrannical commands of Zeus. On MM ADD 10A too Kratos and Bia are working with Hephaistos in accordance with the will of Zeus. But here their character and their task are rather different, as is the position of Hephaistos. He is in command here, not Kratos: the gesture of his left hand instructs Bia to turn the wheel or hold it steady, and he raises the hammer without hesitation. The binding of Ixion differs from that of Prometheus too in that it is just, and to last for eternity.

The extreme rarity of Ixion in art suggests that some external influence such as a dramatic production might have inspired the Meidian scene, and there are several features of the painting which support

this idea. This is the only known appearance of Kratos and Bia in Attic art; they are literary personifications, of a different nature from the elegant women like Eudaimonia or Eukleia who people the heavenly gardens on so many Meidian scenes, and it is hard to imagine that a vase painter would have invented them for himself. The aspirated spelling of Ixion's name also has a literary appearance,⁵⁴⁸ recalling the derivation of the word from those for suppliant and supplication, *ἰκέτης* and *ἰκετεύειν*. The aspirated form is more likely to derive from literature than from any popular tradition. A further suggestion of a literary, this time dramatic influence, is provided by the ependytes worn by Hephaistos, a garment often connected with the stage. Finally, as suggested in the last Chapter, the Dionysos of the reverse of this vase, a mature and bearded deity, is a cult figure rather than the god of myth, and one of the major cult activities in his honour was drama. These factors combine to suggest the probability of a link between this scene and a dramatic treatment of the myth of Ixion; an intermediary stage might have been provided by a votive pinax dedicated by the poet or his choregos.

Aeschylus is known to have devoted at least two tragedies to Ixion, the Perrhaibides and the Ixion itself. His Prometheus indicates that he was quite capable of introducing Kratos and Bia on to the stage. But Euripides too wrote an Ixion, probably produced not long after 420, and in any case much closer in date to MM ADD 10A than Aeschylus' plays. We know little about Euripides' Ixion, but Plutarch reports that when Euripides was criticized for portraying Ixion as *ἄσβεστος* καὶ *μυρῶν*, he retorted that he did not remove Ixion from the stage until he was pinned to the wheel.⁵⁴⁹ Simon makes a strong case for supposing Euripides' Ixion to lie behind MM ADD 10A. Plutarch shows the nailing to the wheel took place on stage, and it is imminent on our scene. Moreover, it would be typical of Euripides to borrow Kratos

and Bia from Aeschylus and then use them in a way implying criticism of the older poet's treatment, transforming them into agents of law and order, of right instead of might. It would also make a characteristically Euripidean ending to a tragedy; Aeschylus was fond of dramatic openings, but Euripides preferred to send his characters off with some spectacular conclusion.

It is, then, quite probable that MM ADD 10A is connected with Euripides' Ixion, possibly via the intermediary of a pinax. The scene may therefore provide some information as to the nature of the lost play, suggesting that it included in its characters Kratos and Bia, who, as in Aeschylus' Prometheus, assisted Hephaistos to prepare the instrument of torture.

TROJAN THEMES

The Trojan cycle provided an inexhaustible source of raw material for the artists and poets of antiquity. They were, however, selective in their use of it; different stories from the cycle found favour at different times, and successive generations renewed and modified the themes to suit contemporary tastes or to express the social and political situations of their times. When considering the Meidian scenes, then, we must attempt to discover if there is anything special about their treatment of particular subjects, and if certain themes were especially popular we shall ask why.

We may start with the Armour of Achilles.

1. Description

MM ADD 10B KRA, FRR

Poseidon stands on the left with his trident. On the right are three men, one standing, armed, one seated, naked, and one standing, wearing a mantle. The second and the third look towards the Nereids who occupy the major part of the scene. They travel on dolphins and hybrid marine creatures, the best preserved of which has the body of a lion, the twisted tail of a snake and two extended paws - the head unfortunately is missing. The Nereids wear richly patterned clothes and carry pieces of armour. The central one may perhaps be Thetis: she carries a shield and she rides on Scylla, whose female head and torso, dragon tail and yapping dogs around the waist are all preserved. There are two riderless dolphins, and in the lower part of the scene a pair of Erotes move to the right, bearing a thymiaterion. The swirling dragon tails of the monsters, the plunging dolphins and the richly dressed Nereids combine to produce a highly decorative scene.

2. Discussion

The armour for Achilles is a subject which would appear at first sight to derive from a relatively straightforward source, the Iliad. The Iliad reports that the armour Achilles took to Troy was a wedding gift from the gods to his father Peleus: this armour, made by Hephaistos, is that borrowed and lost by Patroklos. When Achilles needs new armour, Thetis gets it from Hephaistos and brings it to her son in the Greek camp before Troy.⁵⁵⁰ The Iliad's version differs from that of the Meidian vase, however, in that it makes no reference to a sea-voyage or to accompanying Nereids; when Thetis comes to comfort her son and to promise the new armour she comes from the sea, and Nereids come with her,⁵⁵¹ but when she brings the armour she descends from Olympus and she is alone. There was a tradition that the Nereids crossed the sea to bring the first set of armour to Achilles before he sailed for Troy: this is preserved in the chorus of Euripides' Electra,⁵⁵² but is likely to derive from an older tradition. The Meidian artist, however, is surely showing Thetis and her sisters bearing the second set of armour to Achilles at Troy, where he waits with the aged Phoenix, and, perhaps, Odysseus, since this version of the story has been popular on vase paintings since the mid-fifth century. The earliest of these scenes, it has been argued, were very probably inspired by the second play of Aeschylus' lost Achilleis trilogy, the Nereides. The Nereid chorus of this play may or may not have entered the orchestra on dolphins, but their parodos almost certainly described their journey across the dolphin-bearing sea, bringing new armour to the son of Thetis.⁵⁵³

The Meidian artist follows in the Aeschylean tradition. But if he is inspired by the line of paintings set in train by Aeschylus, his painting differs substantially from these. One of the finest, and, until the discovery of this vase, latest of the extant classical versions is that painted by the Eretria Painter on the white-ground

stripe of his New York lekythos.⁵⁵⁴ Here Achilles sits with bowed head beside the body of his friend, while Thetis and her sisters approach on a line of dipping, swirling dolphins. It is interesting to compare this scene with the Meidian, which may be thirty years later in date. The Eretria Painter's mourning Achilles is a tragic and moving figure. But the Meidian artist has relegated Achilles and his companions to a distant corner of the scene, reducing them to mere spectators. For him, the marine thiasos and its journey are important, its purpose or its destination irrelevant. And where the Eretria Painter shows classical restraint and economy in his single line of graceful, elegant dolphins and in the delicate chitons and calm profiles of their riders, the Meidian artist indulges in a crowded riot of writhing serpent tails and patterned garments. No space is left unfilled - the irrelevant pair of Erotes in the lower part of the scene are evidence of the artist's anxiety to cover the whole available area - and there are clear signs of an enthusiasm for the peculiar and the grotesque: the artist is the first, for example, to introduce hippocamps and Scylla on to the scene. This painting may demonstrate the degeneration of the Meidian style into a delight in pattern and decoration for its own sake, and, perhaps, the new taste of the fourth century: in its richness and variety it seems to anticipate the group created by Skopas and admired by Pliny:

...Neptunus ipse et Thetis atque Achilles, Nereides supra delphinos et cete aut hippocampos sedentes, item Tritones chorusque Phorci et pistrices ac multa alia marina, omnia eiusdem manu, praeclarum opus, etiam si totius vitae fuisset...

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Next we may consider two scenes whose subject is uncertain, but which may both be connected with the Pensive Agamemnon.

1. Description

MP 19 FR

fig. 115

The fragment comes from a pot with two tiers of figure decoration. Of the upper scene, only the foot and part of the dress of a woman running to the right survive. In the lower part of the fragment is a partially preserved bearded man. His posture and the arrangement of his mantle suggest that he is either crouching with his knees drawn up to his chin, or else leaning on a staff concealed beneath the folds of the mantle. He stares downwards, supporting his chin against his knee with his right hand. There is an inscription, ..A.A... , which Beazley suggested could be restored as ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

MM 77 IKN LID,FR fig. 114

Remains of four figures can be seen. Agamemnon (ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ) sits to the right on a rock in a pensive attitude. His legs are crossed, and covered with a starred mantle. In his right hand he holds a sceptre with a striped staff, and his left hand is raised to his beard. To the left are Apollo (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ) and Artemis (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ). Both stand, facing left. Of Apollo, only the head, with laurel wreath, and the left shoulder remain. Artemis, wearing a peplos and with her quiver at her back, leans comfortably on her brother's shoulder. To the right of Agamemnon stands a youth wearing a chlamys and bearing a spear. Like the gods, he looks to the left.

2. Discussion

The attitude of Agamemnon on MM 77 was described by Beazley as 'pensive';⁵⁵⁶ I think it indicates mental turmoil and perplexity, for as Neumann shows, people who sit like this, with their legs crossed and their chins supported in the 'V' formed between thumb and forefinger of one hand, are usually in the position of having to make a critical and difficult decision which may radically affect their destiny. This is the attitude adopted by Helen on the Heimarmene Painter's amphoriskos, and by Oedipus confronting the sphinx on the Oedipus Painter's cup, as well as by Paris on a late Judgement scene.⁵⁵⁷ It is therefore

necessary to discover circumstances involving Agamemnon in a tricky decision, supervised by Apollo and Artemis. Agamemnon appears surprisingly infrequently in vase paintings - with Briseis, in the dispute over the Palladion, or in the quarrel and the voting for the arms of Achilles. Clearly none of these is the situation shown here. There is, however, another episode in Agamemnon's career which may meet the requirements of this scene: the sacrifice of Iphigeneia.

This is rarely shown on vase paintings. Apart from a possible
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proto-Attic example, the only certain representations I can find in Attic vase painting are on Douris's white-ground lekythos in Palermo,⁵⁵⁹ and on an unpublished oinochoe in Munich, attributed by Robertson to the Shuvalov Painter.⁵⁶⁰ On the lekythos, Iphigeneia, dressed as a bride and with one hand raised to her shoulder in a bridal gesture, advances to the altar behind the heavily-armed figure of Teucer, who, sword in hand, turns to make sure she is following. Behind Iphigeneia is another Greek, also with a sword. And on the far side of the altar stands a fourth figure, of whom almost nothing is preserved - but the inscription AP between Teucer and the altar could be the first letters of Artemis's name.⁵⁶¹ On the Shuvalov Painter's oinochoe, Artemis is definitely present. She stands on the far right, calmly watching the scene of extraordinary brutality unfolding before her, and holding a tiny deer, perhaps to substitute at the last moment. Iphigeneia, collapsing at the knees, is half supported and half dragged towards the altar by a man in a short tunic. Beyond the altar stands another man with a knife: he points down to the altar, directing his comrades to place the girl there.

Apollo, as well as Artemis, attends the sacrifice on various Roman paintings and reliefs. and they are both present on a South Italian vase painting of the scene.⁵⁶² Agamemnon does not appear on Douris's lekythos; he may be the knife-wielder on the South Italian

scene, or on the Shuvalov Painter's vase, but this figure could also be Calchas, and in either case it has no affinities with the Agamemnon on MM 77. But on several of the Roman scenes, Agamemnon is a prominent figure, and though his attitude is never identical to that which he adopts on MM 77, there are certain similarities. On the Uffizi altar,⁵⁶³ for example, as he leans on a tree with his mantle pulled up over his head, he turns his back on the group around his daughter; on MM 77, while Apollo, Artemis and the youth look expectantly to the left, Agamemnon himself turns away from whatever it is that interests them, as though he cannot bear to look. And on a painting from the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii,⁵⁶⁴ Agamemnon sits turned away again, his head wrapped in his mantle, as his daughter is carried to the altar: here his hand is raised to support his head, as it is on MM 77. The Roman scenes, it must be admitted, emphasize Agamemnon's grief, whereas his attitude on MM 77 does not, I think, express the same idea of inconsolable despair and mourning. This may seem to weaken the case for the identification of the scene as the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. But the literary sources may help resolve this difficulty.

The sacrifice of Iphigeneia was described in the Cypria;⁵⁶⁵ Aeschylus and Pindar both refer to it,⁵⁶⁶ and Sophocles wrote an Iphigeneia, now lost. The fullest surviving account is that of Euripides, whose Iphigeneia in Aulis was produced posthumously, after 406. The Agamemnon of MM 77 vividly illustrates the doubts and perplexities expressed by Euripides' character. On hearing that his daughter has arrived at Aulis, for example, he is totally at a loss:

οἶμοι, τί φῶ δύστηνος; ἄρξομαι πόθεν;
εἰς οἷ ἀνάγκης ζεύγματ' ἐμπεπτώκαμεν;

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And his indecision and constant changes of mind dominate the early part of the play; in the prologue he explains that he is sending to Argos to detain Iphigeneia there, cancelling his previous instructions that she should come to Aulis, and gradually we learn that his

original decision was to disband the army and sail home, rather than offer the terrible sacrifice. Aeschylus too makes brief but memorable reference to Agamemnon's agony of decision-making, when he describes him as φρενὸς πνέων δυσοεβῆ τροπῶν.⁵⁶⁸ Both poets demonstrate the importance of Agamemnon's indecision and ultimate decision; surely the Agamemnon on MM 77 is undergoing just this kind of mental agony.

Euripides' influence on the Meidian artist is unlikely to have been direct. Euripides does not present the sacrifice on stage, whereas the presence of Apollo and Artemis on MM 77 suggests that it cannot be far off - they may, perhaps, be watching the approach of the victim, in which case Agamemnon has very little time for a final change of mind. And in Euripides' description of the sacrifice, stress is laid on the way Agamemnon turns aside to weep and draws his cloak before his eyes,⁵⁶⁹ a vivid detail which may derive from the Cypria, was apparently adopted by Timanthes,⁵⁷⁰ and exploited with enthusiasm by Roman artists⁵⁷¹ - but the Meidian artist does not cover Agamemnon's head, as he might have done had Euripides exerted direct influence on his work. It may, however, have been the production of Euripides' play which inspired his selection of this unusual subject, and Euripides' characterization of the wavering Agamemnon could have influenced his treatment of the figure.

If the attitude of Agamemnon on MM 77 suggests indecision, that of the man on MP 19 expresses gloom or grief, as well, perhaps, as perplexity. The hand supporting the chin is the same as on MM 77, but this time the man stares fixedly at the ground, and he sits in a hunched-up position. His attitude recalls that of the sulking Achilles shown on numerous vase paintings,⁵⁷² though Achilles usually presses his hand to his forehead rather than his chin, and he is always young and beardless, while our figure is mature and bearded.

The inscription could be read as A[Ι]A[Ε], a hero who appears on eight late archaic cups in a similar attitude when disappointed by the allotment of Achilles' armour to Odysseus.⁵⁷³ This scene, however, is apparently confined to the late archaic period, and Ajax, like Achilles, presses his hand to his forehead rather than his chin, two factors which make it unlikely that he is the hero on MM 77. I prefer to accept Beazley's suggestion that he is Agamemnon; this fragment too may derive from a scene of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, on which the fatal moment is at hand, and Agamemnon, his mantle drawn up to his chin, sits grieving hopelessly, still racked by the terrible decision that he has had to make.

The two other Trojan scenes which present some difficulties of interpretation are both painted by the Painter of the Group of Naples 3235; one at least shows the Theft of the Palladion.

1. Description

NA 3235 1 PAN (side A) figs. 116-118

A woman stands between two men. On the left is Diomedes (ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ), on the right Odysseus (ΟΔΥΣΣΕΥΣ). Two letters of the woman's name survive, ΕΛ. She wears a peplos and a veil, and with her right hand she gestures towards Diomedes; her left arm is curved gracefully towards her head. Diomedes is moving off to the left, but he turns back to look at the woman. In his right hand he has a sword, and in the crook of his left elbow he carries the Palladion. He wears a chlamys with a petasos slung at the back of his neck; he is wreathed. Odysseus' stance is symmetrically opposed to Diomedes'. He moves off to the right but looks back to the left at the woman in the middle. In his right hand he grasps a pair of spears, in his left a sword in its scabbard. He wears a chlamys and has a pilos on his head. Between Diomedes and the woman is a low column on a stepped base, and above

the woman's head hangs a scarf or fillet.

NA 3235 2 PAN (side A)

Helen ([E]ΛΕΝΗ) stands between two heroes, ? (....ΕΙΟ.) and Diomedes (ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΕ). Helen wears a peplos and carries an oinochoe in her left hand; her right hand and arm are missing. As on NA 3235 1 the men on either side of her move outwards but turn back in towards the centre. Both wear chlamys and pilos and carry a pair of spears, and both are wreathed. Diomedes also bears a sword in its scabbard.

2. Discussion

The Theft of the Palladion was described in the Little Iliad:
Odysseus, after his visit to Troy disguised as a beggar, 'with Diomedes carried the Palladion out of Ilion.'⁵⁷⁴ The sources make no reference to a woman. So who is the central figure on NA 3235 1? Her name contains the letters ΕΛ, the most likely restorations of which are ΕΛ[ΕΝΗ] or [Θ]ΕΛ[ΝΩ]. Theano was the wife of the Trojan Antenor and high priestess of Athena:⁵⁷⁵ a late tradition suggests that she surrendered the Palladion to the Greeks on the instructions of her treacherous husband.⁵⁷⁶ On South Italian paintings of the Theft, however, where a priestess with a key should be Theano, she flees from the scene in terror, certainly no accomplice.⁵⁷⁷ On NA 3235 1, too, the woman scarcely seems to be abetting the theft; the gesture of her right hand suggests, if anything, that Diomedes should think again and put the statue back where he found it. But since there is no record that Theano tried to stop the theft, since the literary tradition of her complicity is late and receives no support from any artistic tradition or from NA 3235 1 itself, I think it on the whole unlikely that she is the woman here.

Most people who have commented on this scene have preferred to see the woman as Helen.⁵⁷⁸ In this case, there are two alternative explanations for her presence. She may have been involved in the

theft as an accomplice: in the Little Iliad she and Odysseus plot the capture of Troy when he visits the city in disguise,⁵⁷⁹ and Moret suggests they may have discussed the Theft of the Palladion, an essential preliminary to the capture of the city itself.⁵⁸⁰ Such speculation is, perhaps, rendered legitimate by Apollodoros' account of Helen's complicity.⁵⁸¹ But as we have seen, the woman on NA 3235 1 is not really helping; the heroes are ready to go, and she is holding them back. So we are left with the alternative explanation for her presence, first proposed by Welcker,⁵⁸² that the scene shows the heroes quarrelling over the possession of the Palladion while still in Troy, and Helen arbitrating in the dispute. This episode may have been included in Sophocles' (lost) Lakainai. Moret has three objections to this theory:⁵⁸³ that the woman's name need not be Helen; that she need not be arbitrating; and that we do not know at what stage in the literary tradition Helen became involved in the theft. However, Helen is a very likely restoration; the woman's gesture is appropriate for one settling an argument (even Moret must admit that it has 'valeur impérative',⁵⁸⁴); and since Aristotle mentions the Lakainai between the Ptocheia and the Ilioupersis as one of the tragedies which drew on the Little Iliad,⁵⁸⁵ and if it were set in Troy its chorus of Spartan women could hardly have been other than attendants on Helen, it seems a fairly reasonable conclusion that the Lakainai did cover the Theft of the Palladion and involved Helen in some capacity - and the scene on NA 3235 1 makes it probable that she was called on as an arbitrator.

It is possible to sympathize with Moret's view that the names of the protagonists are of no real significance to the painter, and that as for the woman, 'les préoccupations esthétiques l'ont emporté dans cette composition savamment balancée, mais insipide, sur la rigueur mythologique.'⁵⁸⁶ This condemnation gathers force from the existence of the very similar scene on the second amphora, NA 3235 2. The

woman here is definitely Helen, and one of her companions is Diomedes, but Moret, taking the lead from Jahn, has no compunction about dismissing the scene as genre, 'la libation offerte lors du depart d'un guerrier'.⁵⁸⁷ He may be right, and certainly it is not easy to see the precise mythological reference. However, it is just possible that the two scenes are both related and equally meaningful; if the name of the warrior on the left in the second scene were restored as Odysseus, both scenes might derive from the same version of the Theft of the Palladion, NA 3235 2 showing the heroes taking leave of Helen before setting off to collect the statue, and NA 3235 1 Helen deciding which of them should have the honour of carrying it back to the Greek camp.

Why does the Theft of the Palladion suddenly reappear now in vase-painting after an absence of some seventy years? The only extant examples which pre-date the Meidian are by Makron and the Tyszkiewicz Painter.⁵⁸⁸ On both of these each hero has a Palladion; on Makron's cup they are engaged in heated argument, forcibly restrained from violence by the other Greek leaders, while on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's amphora they stand peacefully one on either side of Athena. Both these scenes may be connected with the contemporary establishment at Athens of the lawcourt ἐπι Παλλασδίῳ, which tried cases of homicide (φόνος ἄκούσιος).⁵⁸⁹ Apart from these two scenes, the subject is, so far as we know, rare in art. Cresilas made a statue of Diomedes with the Palladion: this survives in two fragmentary copies, which bear a certain resemblance to the Diomedes of NA 3235 1.⁵⁹⁰ Pausanias describes a painting in the Pinakotheke of Διομήδης καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὁ μὲν ἐν Λημίῳ τὸν Φιλοκτήτου τόξον, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀθήνην ἀφαιρούμενος ἐξ Ἰλίου.⁵⁹¹ And at much the same date as the Meidian scene appears the Diomedes Painter's name-vase, on which Diomedes is making off with the Palladion.⁵⁹² Cresilas' statue, or

the painting in the Pinakothek (of which we know neither the artist nor the date) may possibly have influenced the Meidian artist or the Diomede Painter. A connection with the law court is hard to establish.⁵⁹³ In addition to the court, there was a sanctuary of Zeus ἐπι Παλλασίῳ in Athens, and a hereditary priesthood attached to the family of the Bouzygidai,⁵⁹⁴ of which Pericles was a member; it is possible that the vase was commissioned by a member of this family. Sophocles' Lakainai is probably too early to have influenced the paintings, but there is always the possibility of a re-production.

We may now turn to consider the Judgement of Paris.

1. Description

CP 1 HYD

The Judgement scene occupies the shoulders and upper part of the hydria. The scene is set on a rocky hillside among trees and shrubs. Paris (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ) sits in the centre, his head turned back over his shoulder towards the Eros who leans confidently towards him, hand on hip. Paris is in Phrygian dress of embroidered tunic, trousers, shoes and cap, and the club at his shoulder, like the dog at his feet, is a reminder that he is a herdsman. With the thumb and middle finger of his right hand he makes a critical, appraising gesture. Beside Paris stands Hermes (ΕΡΜΗΣ), and grouped around them are the three goddesses. Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ) sits sceptre in hand with one arm round a second Eros on the right of the scene, while Hera (ΗΡΑ) and Athena (ΑΘΗΝΑΑ) stand on the other side of Paris. Hera lifts a fold of drapery from her shoulder while Athena stands stiffly, fully armed with spear and shield, helmet and aegis. Various onlookers are present: Klymene (ΚΛΥΜΕΝΗ) attends Hera, while Eutychia (ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ) and another woman stand and sit above Aphrodite. Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ), with sceptre and thunder-bolt, sits in the top left hand corner, and Helios

drives his team up the right hand side of the scene. Directly above Paris, in the centre, is Eris ($\epsilon\rho\iota\zeta$), seen as if emerging as far as the waist from behind a hillock.

AW 4 KBL (side A) figs. 119-121

The Judgement scene is framed by Helios and Selene. On the right, Helios drives his quadriga up into the scene as on CP 1: only the heads and shoulders of the horses are visible, so that the quadriga seems to rise from a wave, and the sun is shown beside Helios' own head. Selene, on horseback on the far left, moves up and away from the scene. She draws a veil across her face, turning back for a last look at the scene she is leaving. Paris sits in the centre in Phrygian dress as on CP 1. An Eros stands on his left knee, leaning familiarly on his shoulder. To the right are two goddesses, Athena, who, armed with spear, helmet and aegis, stands with one foot raised on a hillock, and Aphrodite, her identity secured by the Eros arranging her hair, who sits behind Athena. Beyond Aphrodite is Hermes. The figures to the left of Paris are not well preserved, but are clearly those of two women, the second of whom lifts a fold of her garment from her shoulder: they are, presumably, Hera and an attendant.

MM 55 LEK(S) figs. 91-92

Hermes with three women. Aphrodite sits to the right in the centre, attended by two Erotes. Hermes is on the right, beside the goddess. Framing the scene on either side are two more women. The one on the right seems to be addressing Hermes, who turns his head to listen.

2. Discussion

The Judgement of Paris was one of the most popular themes from the Trojan cycle in ancient art,⁵⁹⁵ and it appears on numerous black-figure and red-figure pots. Where the archaic and earlier classical scenes presented the three goddesses led in procession to Paris on Mount Ida, those of the later fifth century preferred to show the goddesses

arrived at their destination, grouped around Paris and awaiting his decision. The Judgement scenes on CP 1 and AW 4 are typical of these later representations. MM 55 is rather different. Hermes' connection with Aphrodite is hard to explain except in reference to the Judgement of Paris. But there is nothing to identify either of the other women on the scene as Hera or Athena, and Paris is not present. The scene may show Hermes and the three goddesses enjoying a rest on their way to the Judgement, but it is equally possible that the women are Aphrodite's attendants, and that the goddess is simply shown in the company of one of her fellow-deities.

One of the most interesting features of CP 1 and AW 4 is their introduction of extra characters. These respond, in part, to the exigencies of space and style. Whereas the popular shapes of vase for earlier Judgement scenes were cups and skyphoi whose shallow fields favoured the processional arrangement, the five main actors are clearly insufficient to fill the space on a hydria or bell krater, especially for artists whose compositions were characterized by the setting of numerous figures at different levels all over the available surface. So one function of the extra figures is, as Metzger suggests, decorative, 'comblent les vides d'un tableau qui risquerait de paraître trop pauvre aux contemporains de Meidias'.⁵⁹⁶ Granted that dictates of space and style may be primary causes of the introduction of extra figures, the painters still had to choose whom to include. A number of the typically Meidian women who appear - Klymene, Eutychia and another on CP 1, and the woman with Hera on AW 4 - have little purpose other than the decorative one. But Eutychia on CP 1 may indicate the triumph of Aphrodite, and some of the others too may have more significant functions. The role of Helios on CP 1 and Helios and Selene on AW 4 is partly compositional: they help to frame the scene, and, on AW 4, to mark it off from that on the other side of the pot. They

may also serve as indications of time, suggesting that the Judgement takes place at dawn, as the moon gives way to the sun. The other extras on CP 1 are Zeus and Eris. Zeus's appearance is a reminder of his controlling interest in the Trojan war as a whole: the Cypria recorded that he and Themis planned the war to check the overpopulation of the world, and when the goddesses wrangled over who was the fairest, it was Zeus who sent them to Paris on Mount Ida to be judged.⁵⁹⁷ Zeus appears on three more late fifth century Judgement scenes.⁵⁹⁸ Eris's part too was narrated in the Cypria; it was she who at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis provoked the goddesses' quarrel. Here, as on the Kadmos Painter's Judgement scene,⁵⁹⁹ where Themis leans amicably on her shoulder, there is little in Eris's elegant coiffure and bejewelled appearance to suggest her grim and bloody character. But the way she half emerges from the background, and her frontal face looming out over the centre of the scene, has something vaguely menacing about it.

A second interesting feature of the scenes is their tendency to make the outcome of the Judgement a foregone conclusion. In a sense, this has always been true of Judgement scenes, since everyone has always known the story, and who won. But archaic and earlier classical painters preserve the fiction that to the participants the outcome is still in doubt; Paris is often taken by surprise, and no preferential treatment is given to Aphrodite. On both CP 1 and AW 4, however, the result is perfectly clear. Apart from the presence on CP 1 of Zeus and Eris, reminders of the fact that all this was destined to happen, that Paris will be swayed by the offer of Helen and so the Trojan war will be precipitated, on both scenes Paris is listening attentively to an Eros, who can only have been sent to him by Aphrodite. On AW 4 Paris still stares dreamily into space, perhaps not yet totally determined. On CP 1, on the other hand, he turns towards Aphrodite, and the critical, appraising gesture of his right hand⁶⁰⁰ suggests judicious approval

of the Eros's proposition. Aphrodite's victory is made still more clear on contemporary Judgement scenes by the Nikias, Kadmos and Modica Painters, where Athena gazes out into the distance, plainly bored with the whole affair, Hera turns her back on Paris, and Eros brings a victory fillet to Aphrodite, who may have usurped the central position previously accorded to Paris, now relegated to a distant corner.⁶⁰¹ This emphasis on Aphrodite results in part from the general enthusiasm of the late fifth century for this goddess; it may also be another indication of the same loss of interest in narrative which was observable on the Nereid scene: in both cases, there is more concern for spectacle than for the story.

Although there is no extant Judgement scene by the Meidias Painter himself, the two painted by two of his more significant adherents, and the several versions of near contemporaries from other schools, are sufficient demonstration of the popularity of the theme in the later century. The dramatists too were attracted by the Judgement. Sophocles' satyr play, Krisis, was a burlesque on the theme, with the goddesses representing, or somehow represented by, abstract qualities - Aphrodite Pleasure, and Athena Mind -⁶⁰² and Aristophanes' contemporary Cratinus wrote a Dionysalexandros, in which Dionysos assumed Paris's role as judge, with a view to enjoying Helen for himself.⁶⁰³ But it was Euripides who was most irresistibly drawn to the theme, returning to it in five of his extant plays.⁶⁰⁴ Sometimes the references are brief and factual,⁶⁰⁵ but others are more detailed. The Andromache provides a detailed account of Hermes leading the goddesses to Mount Ida, their bathe in a mountain spring, and the victory of Aphrodite.⁶⁰⁶ In the Iphigeneia in Aulis first the chorus and then Iphigeneia herself recall in lyrical and romantic terms the peace and beauty of Paris's secluded life as a herdsman, tending his snow-white cattle among the hyacinth-strewn glades of Ida, a rustic idyll irretrievably shattered

by the arrival of the goddesses for Judgement.⁶⁰⁷ And in the Trojan Women the Judgement turns up in the formal debate of Helen and Hekabe: Helen gives a factual summary of the case, putting all the responsibility on to Aphrodite, but Hekabe pours scorn on her - the gods aren't fools, and Helen should talk not of Aphrodite but of the irresistible charm of Paris:

ὁ σὸς δ' ἰδῶν υἱν νοῦς ἐποίηθη Κύπρις .⁶⁰⁸

Some of Euripides' lines on the Judgement find echoes in the Meidian scenes. These too emphasize the rural setting, the trees and flowers, the life of the herdsman as indicated by the dog and the club on CP 1. But such features are not innovations introduced by these painters. Euripides' major use of the Judgement theme is to heighten the horror of the ensuing war with all its misery and slaughter, by setting it against the idyllic peace of Ida: whenever the Judgement is mentioned, we are never allowed to forget that this was the ἀρχή, the beginning of all the trouble:

∴∴∴ Hence blood and steel and rape and the looting of
houses:
some Spartan girl too, by the deep-flowing Eurotas,
red-eyed with tears, sits keening in her house;
and a grey-haired mother beside her
mourns her dead children,
her head and her cheeks all bloody,
all gashed and torn with bloody hands and nails...

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Euripides' use of the Judgement is also designed to point out the wretchedness of the human condition, with man at the mercy of fate and destiny - the vanity of the goddesses involved men in so much suffering and futile death. He is also concerned to point out the parallel between the Trojan and the Peloponnesian wars, and by stressing the cause of the first, he draws attention to the slight pretext on which Athens had rushed into the second. The vase painters would, I think, be straining at the limits of their art if they were consciously trying to imbue their scenes with the same significance. But the presence of

Eris on CP 1, like that of Priam and Hekabe on a Judgement scene by the Nikias Painter,⁶¹⁰ is a reminder of the future strife. And if the vase painters could not be so explicit as Euripides in contrasting the Judgement with the causes of the Peloponnesian war, those of Euripides' contemporaries who saw the scenes could surely have made the comparison for themselves. The idyllic nature of the Judgement scenes might serve as momentary distraction from reality. But soon thoughts of the Trojan war, and by natural extension the Peloponnesian war, would intervene. No less than Euripides, the painters and their clients would recognize the analogy.

The final group of Trojan scenes concentrate on Helen.

1. Description

MP 6 HYD

figs. 123-126

Helen (HAENE)⁶¹¹ sits among other women, her head bowed. An Eros perches on her knee, with one hand on her shoulder, the other waving to the right, and she puts an arm around him, but looks down past him to the ground. The vase is very fragmentary, but the remains of seven women can be seen around Helen. Leaning on her shoulder is Peitho, her face shown in three-quarter view. Behind her on the left are another couple, Phoibe or Phaidra (Φ.Ι.Δ.Α), who raises a hand in conversational gesture, and Klytaimnestra or Hypermnestra (.....NEΛTPA), who bends to tie her sandal. On the other side of Helen are Hermione (HPMION[E]), of whom only part of the head and the wreath she held in her hand survive, two women with caskets, one standing and the other seated, and another who rests her chin on her hand, which in turn is propped on her knee. All the women wear finely pleated chitons.

AW 3 HYD

fig. 122

Helen (EΛENE) sits to the right on a chair, while an Eros

adjusts her hair. Around her are seven women, two with tympana and one with a fan. An incense burner stands in front of Helen. Some of the women are named, but the inscriptions are fragmentary and faint: the woman on the far right is Kleo (ΚΛΕΩ), while two more are Kale (ΚΑΛΗ).

MM 38 OIN(C)

Helen sits to the right, her right elbow propped over the back of the chair and her left hand resting against the strings of the lyre that she holds in her lap. She looks boldly up at Paris, who, in travelling dress, stands leaning on his spear. Between Helen and Paris is an Eros, leaning forward on to Paris and resting one hand on his shoulder: with the other hand he gestures towards Helen. Behind Helen is a woman who lifts her hand, muffled in her dress, to her head, in a gesture perhaps of apprehension.

MM 48 LEK(S)

Helen sits to the left in a chair, her left elbow propped over the back, while an Eros adjusts her hair. In front of her stands a youth in travelling dress, leaning on a spear, and behind him a woman approaches with a casket. A second woman must have stood behind the chair, but only the wreath in her hand survives. A kalathos is set between the youth and the woman on the far left.

MM ADD 71A LEK(A)

Helen sits to the left, looking towards Paris, who stands in front of her in travelling costume, with two spears. An Eros hovering between them lays one hand on Helen's shoulder, while pointing back towards Paris with the other. Behind Helen stands Aphrodite(?) with sceptre, and a second youth dressed like Paris. Behind Paris is another woman, and below Helen's seat an Eros plays with an armiferous bird.

2. Discussion

The scenes may be divided into two groups, those of Helen and

Paris (MM 38, MM 48, MM ADD 71A) and those of Helen and her women (MP 6, AW 3). Scenes of the encounter, rather than the abduction of Helen, become popular only late in the century. One of the earliest scenes of this type is attributed to the Painter of Berlin F2536:⁶¹² here a woman and an Eros wait on Helen, who sits turned away in an attitude of deep dejection and misery, while Paris, accompanied by Aineias, practically brushes Menelaos to one side in his eagerness to approach. On a slightly later hydria by the Kadmos Painter⁶¹³ Paris brings Helen a casket and lifts the lid for her as she holds it in her lap. Our scenes continue this tradition. In the absence of inscriptions, the identity of the characters on the scenes is not always obvious. But in all three cases the youth whom we may identify as Paris is dressed in travelling costume, as is appropriate for the Trojan prince; and the second, identically dressed, youth on MM ADD 71A is neatly explained as Paris's companion, Aineias. Moreover, the grouping of the youth and the Eros on MM 38 is practically identical to that of the securely identified Paris and Himeros on the Heimarmene Painter's amphoriskos.⁶¹⁴

Whereas the kalathos on MM 48 suggests the scene is set inside, and MM 38 could be either in or out, MM ADD 71A is very definitely set outside, in a garden filled with trees and flowers, where Helen sits on a rock to receive her guests. This outdoor setting, and the pose adopted by Helen on all three scenes are reminiscent of the Meidian Aphrodite scenes, and possibly influenced by them. On all three, Helen looks up and meets Paris's gaze with a bold stare. There is no sign of her shrinking away from him, as on the earlier cup. The intervention of the Eros on MM 38, tugging at Paris's arm and pointing back to Helen, is clearly not required, for the couple's gaze has already met above his head.

Helen's attitude on these scenes is in keeping with the character

given her by Euripides. The Cypria seems to have presented Helen as the passive victim of Aphrodite.⁶¹⁵ But the lyric poets emphasized the guilt and responsibility of the human actors, and the tragedians developed this theme further. Aeschylus calls Helen *ἑλένας, ἔλανδρος, ἐλέπτολις*, the lion cub reared in the house that turns to bite the hand that gave it food, spattering the hearth with blood,⁶¹⁶ and he points out that Paris too was guilty, for he transgressed the laws of marriage and of hospitality. Neither of Sophocles' Helen plays survives.⁶¹⁷ But Euripides returns inexorably to the theme; admitting her irresistible beauty, the poet violently attacks her as a shameless, wanton woman, whose passions caused the deaths of thousands, and her name is rarely mentioned without a passing curse.⁶¹⁸

Euripides' Helen is a very different figure from the Helen who broods among her women on MP 6. The scene on AW 3 bears a superficial resemblance to this: on both Helen sits, attended by an Eros, amongst women. But while there is nothing remarkable about AW 3, MP 6 is a scene of tension and emotion. Helen sits sunk in thought, her head bowed. The subject, and the outcome, of her brooding, are made quite clear by the Eros on her lap, and by Peitho behind her chair. Eros makes an inviting gesture, and Peitho's presence adds the influence of Aphrodite to his words. But if the outcome is clear to us, to Helen the decision she will make is far from evident. She looks dejected, as if the weight of her responsibilities lies heavily upon her. She has the air of a truly tragic character - not Euripides' Helen, but rather a Sophoclean heroine, pondering on the implications of her actions and struggling to make the right decision, hopelessly unaware that she is foredoomed to disaster.

The brooding Helen is not new in vase painting. Apart from the cup mentioned above, there is the Heimarmene Painter's amphoriskos,⁶¹⁹ which has strong affinities with the Meidian scene. Here Helen sits

on Aphrodite's knee, her hand to her chin like the Agamemnon of MM 77, and Peitho stands behind, with the goddesses of destiny, Nemesis, Heimarmene and others. These figures, again, make the outcome obvious to the spectator. But Helen, it would appear, scarcely sees these figures, does not realize that her decision is made for her: she sits in the lap of one of the figures chiefly responsible for her downfall, and thinks she has a choice. In its tragic intensity, this scene at once anticipates and surpasses the Meidian. On a second scene by the Washing Painter⁶²⁰ Aphrodite again has her arm round Helen's shoulder, but Helen does not raise her head, either to meet the eyes of the goddess, or to look beyond her to where Paris stands leaning on his spears. These three scenes offer a remarkably thoughtful and sympathetic interpretation of Helen, quite at variance with that of Euripides.

The names of the women on MP 6 are of particular interest. In addition to Helen and Peitho we see Hermione, Phoibe or Phaidra, and Klytaimnestra or Hypermnestra. Klytaimnestra and Phoibe were Helen's sisters, and Hermione her daughter,⁶²¹ but neither Phaidra nor Hypermnestra was any relation. But all, save Phoibe, had their tragic destiny in common, and all were unfortunate in marriage. Klytaimnestra, murdering her husband, was herself murdered by her son; Hypermnestra, the only Danaid not to murder her husband on their wedding night, was severely punished by her father; Hermione's first husband was murdered by her second; and Phaidra, falling in love with her stepson, effected his death and her own, and brought enduring grief to her husband Theseus. Helen is the central figure on MP 6, but the tragedy and the irony are intensified by the inclusion of two, or possibly three more victims of destiny. The group recalls Hesiod's Catalogue of Women or Ovid's Heroides: it is also reminiscent of a late archaic pyxis, where Iphigeneia is shown as a bride, along

with Helen, Klytaimnestra, Danae and Cassandra.⁶²² Here no account is taken of the fact that Danae, her daughters Helen and Klytaimnestra and her grand-daughter Iphigeneia represent three different generations, and that Cassandra is a foreigner. The scene lacks the tragic intensity of the Meidian. But it demonstrates the same lack of concern with the niceties of narrative; the heroines are lifted from their proper contexts, and the effect is that they appear not as mere elements of a narrative, but as tragic individuals.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the most significant common characteristic of the Nausikaa, Aymone and Ixion scenes is the evidence of theatrical influence that they display. The theatre is suggested by the subjects themselves: all three are rare in art, and in each case the painter's interest could well have been stimulated by a dramatic performance. Further theatrical features include dress and 'literary' spellings of some names.

Theatrical influence may also be suspected in a number of the Trojan scenes. The Trojan cycle was hardly a major source of inspiration for artists of the Meidian Group. Doubtless this was largely because the Trojan stories revolved around men and action, while the Meidian artists preferred inactive women. And this preference is manifest in both their choice and their treatment of the Trojan themes. Their favourite characters are Helen and the goddesses of the Judgment. In the scene of new weapons for Achilles the hero is relegated to a distant corner, and Thetis with her sisters occupies the centre of the stage; in the Palladion scene an extra woman is introduced, and a static group of figures is preferred to the lively quarrel depicted by Makron. But the best of the scenes, MP 6 and MM 77, offer significant and thoughtful interpretations of the traditional stories, worthy artistic counterparts to the tragedies of Euripides.

CHAPTER VI

NON-MYTHOLOGICAL SCENES: WOMEN AND CULT

The last four Chapters have discussed the mythological scenes of the Meidias Painter and his associates: this Chapter proposes to examine those scenes whose content is not mythological, but which depict, or purport to depict, aspects of contemporary life. It may have been observed that the myth scenes are dominated by female figures, goddesses or heroines, and the same is true of the non-mythological representations. Earlier in the century, a wide range of subjects drawn from contemporary life is shown on pots. Women, usually hetairai, appear from time to time, but they are outnumbered by ephebes in the palaestra or on horseback, male courting couples, warriors fighting or leaving home, and scenes of sacrifice or libation. In the mid-century, a new interest in respectable women is developed by such artists as the Sabouroff and Washing Painters,⁶²³ and this interest is adopted and pursued with great enthusiasm by artists of the Meidian Group. Although there is a small group of Meidian scenes which appear to be connected with cult activities, the great majority of the non-mythological representations are concerned with women, and these we shall look at first.

WOMEN

There are approximately 108⁶²⁴ Meidian vases or fragments of vases which bear representations of anonymous women. Since the numbers involved are so large, the majority of the pieces mere fragments, and the iconography repetitive, it seems neither practical nor useful to give exhaustive lists or full descriptions of each piece. Instead, the scenes have been divided into two groups, those which appear to have some connection with weddings, and the rest, and each group will be discussed in general terms, with particular reference to select examples.

Wedding Scenes⁶²⁵

Few scenes have a clear and obvious connection with weddings. Two, however, illustrate the ceremony by which the bride was led by the wrist to her husband's house. The scene on the loutrophoros MM 20 shows the moment before the procession starts. The bride stands with lowered eyes, while an Eros and an attendant put the finishing touches to her veil and head-dress. A second woman stands by with torches, and the bridegroom stretches out his hand to take the bride by the wrist. On the name vase of the Painter of the Athens Wedding, AW 1 (a calyx krater), the procession is under way, with the bride and groom escorted by torch bearers, a piper, relatives and friends; two bearded elders appear to have thrown shoes at the bride, and a pair of Erotes are supervising women who pile striped cushions into a cart, presumably in preparation for a wedding journey. Scenes of groom leading bride appear on loutrophoroi in the second quarter of the fifth century, and are common from the mid-century onwards, but the cheerful exuberance of the Athens Wedding is exceptional. Most of the scenes are rather sober, recalling the funerary as well as the nuptial use of the

loutrophoros, and the light-hearted nature of the Athens Wedding may be partly due to the fact that it decorates a krater.⁶²⁶ Other scenes of bride and groom are hard to identify, though Beazley saw the youth who bends to embrace the seated woman on FA 3 as her groom. Youths visit ladies on a few other pots, such as MM 50 and MM 89, but the meaning of the scenes is not clear; the women may be brides, but they could also be hetairai, or heroines of mythology.

Many of the scenes which recur on lebetes and loutrophoroi, vases which are generally agreed to have been used in wedding celebrations, should probably be connected with aspects of the nuptial ceremony. The scene on LO 558 2 (figs. 127-130) is typical: a richly dressed woman sits on a chair, attended by women and Erotes who bring her scarves, caskets, necklaces and various types of vase, while Nikai fly in under the handles, with further gifts. This scene recurs on other lebetes, such as LO 558 1, MM 12 bis, MM 13, MM 14 and MM 16. The presence of the Erotes makes it legitimate to assume that the seated woman is a bride, not just a mistress with her maids, but it is not clear whether the scenes refer to pre- or post-nuptial celebrations.

Several variations on this theme are found. On MM 18, for example (figs. 131-134), the seated bride is replaced by a procession of women bearing gifts, but the Eros carried by one woman, and the Nikai below the handles, again suggest a wedding context. On the loutrophoros MM 32 (figs. 135-138) the bride stands beside her chair instead of sitting. On the lebes MM 11 the Nikai and one of the women bear torches instead of gifts, and the central woman, who should be the bride, bends to fasten her sandal. Gift-bearing women recur on the stands of the lebetes, and on loutrophoroi such as LO 558 3. There are isolated examples of possible wedding scenes on vases of other shapes. On the acorn lekythos MM 71 a veiled woman stands like

a bride between two attendants, while an Eros kneels to tie her sandal; and on the Frankfort Acorn Painter's lekythoi, FA 1 and FA 3, a seated woman who may be a bride is waited upon by richly dressed attendants, possibly divinities. On the lekaniis MM 79 a scene of mistresses and maids is shown to have nuptial connotations by the lebes that stands on the ground between the two groups of figures.

There are many fragments of lebetes and loutrophoroi on which no more than the head or shoulder of a woman is preserved. This is the case, for example, with MP 8, MP 9, MP 10, MP 20, MM 15 bis, MM 17, MM 19, MM 21 - 30, MM 32 bis or MM 32 ter. It is clearly impossible to assign these fragments to specific scenes, but it is very likely that they derive from one of the standard types described above.

The rest: scenes without wedding connections

A small proportion of the remaining scenes show women engaged in specific activities. There is, for example, a woman who bids farewell to a departing warrior on MM 72, and women who wash themselves on AT 1243 1, MM 70, MM 66 ter, and possibly MM 63. Women run on MM 66 bis and MM 75, one with an alabastron, sash and goose, the other with necklace and bracelet. The fragment MM 10 shows a woman playing the pipes (as do two more women on the choes MP 12 and MM 35, for descriptions of which see below, 252 and 253.) On MM 96 bis one woman dances while another runs, and on MM 74 a woman tries to balance a stick on the palm of her hand, like Paidia on MM 99. These scenes are found on a variety of shapes, from kraters to standard, squat and acorn lekythoi or pyxides.

The great majority of the scenes of women are described by Beazley in such terms as 'mistress and maid' or 'woman, seated, with Eros and women'. These scenes are found on a few hydriai, such as MM 2 (fig. 156), MM 4 (fig. 143), MM 5, MM 6, MM 7 and MM 8, but more frequently they decorate the smaller vases which women would have used for

perfumes and unguents, such as the squat lekythoi MM 52 bis, MM 58 (figs. 139-140), MM 59, MM 60, MM 61 (figs. 141-142), MM 62, MM 73, the lekanides MP 18, MM 78, MM 80, MM 81, MM 82, MM 83, MM 84, MM 88, MM 89, MM 90, and the pyxides MM 91 (fig. 144), MM 93, MM 94, MM 96 (fig. 155), MM 97 (fig. 145), MM 98 (figs. 149-154). The iconography of these scenes is neither varied nor distinguished. The women, elegantly and elaborately dressed, with fine coiffures and plenty of jewellery, sit, stand, or lean on one another's shoulder. They hold caskets, wreaths, scarves, mirrors and vases, sometimes offering them to one another; they fasten their sandals, finger strings of beads, or stare blankly into space. They are generally attended by Erotes, and many of the scenes are set outside in gardens, adorned with flowers, trees and shrubs, and well-equipped with rocks and hillocks which provide convenient resting places.

Many of these scenes are virtually indistinguishable from those which show Aphrodite and her retinue: only the inscriptions differentiate the goddess and her attendant personifications from the anonymous women whom we may, for the time being, assume to be mortal. Not only are their surroundings and occupations identical, but many of the seated figures strongly resemble the seated Aphrodites who appear so often on the Meidian vases. They dress like the goddess in chitons and starred mantles, and they frequently adopt one of the two poses in which Aphrodite is commonly portrayed. On MM 98, for example, there is a woman who sits upon the ground, supporting her pose with one hand while turning her head over her shoulder exactly like the Aphrodite on MP 5 and elsewhere; and the second common Aphrodite pose, where she sits on a chair with one elbow thrown over the back and her feet outstretched and crossed at the ankle, is found on large numbers of these scenes, among them MP 18, MM 6, MM 7, MM 13, MM ADD 41 bis A, MM ADD 43A, MM 73, MM 78, MM 79, MM 82, and MM 98. The significance of

Aphrodite's influence will be considered shortly: first, we may look at a few examples.

MM 44 bis (figs. 146-148) is a typical example of the 'mistress and maid' scenes which were produced in quantity by the less talented members of the Meidian Group. The mistress, in sleeved chiton and starred mantle, richly adorned with diadem, ear-rings and bracelets, turns to admire her reflection in the mirror held for her by an attendant - possibly she is judging whether the necklace in her hand would enhance or detract from the total effect. A large Eros hovers heavily beside her to adjust her hair, while a second attendant, hand on hip, surveys the result of her labours with an air of grim satisfaction.

A few of the scenes stand out by virtue of their superior design and execution. Such are MM 2 and MM 98. The scenes on the walls and lid of the Oxford pyxis, MM 98 (figs. 149-154) are similar: both show women and Erotes in a garden. All the women are richly dressed, and the ornate appearance of the scenes is enhanced by substantial additions of white and gold for the Erotes, the jewellery, and the berries on the shrubs. On the lid there are seven women and two Erotes; they finger necklaces and wreaths, three of them sitting on the ground, one standing, one leaning on another's shoulder, one running forward with a casket, and one bending down towards an Eros. The same activities are continued among the thirteen women and the two Erotes on the pyxis walls, though here there is a woman stooping to tie her sandal, and the seated women have chairs. The scenes may appear tedious, crowded and excessively ornate, but comparison with the more typical rendering of the same theme on the lid of another pyxis, MM 96 (fig. 155), leads to a better appreciation of the talents of the Oxford artist, and of his attempts to create a lively and varied scene.

The most pleasing of all the scenes of women, though scarcely

the most representative, is that on the hydria MM 2 (fig. 156). Here, four women and an Eros are grouped together in a garden. The central figure sits on the ground between two laurel saplings, while an Eros kneels at her feet, perhaps to fasten her sandals. One woman approaches with veil and casket, and two more stand behind the seated woman, the first bending solicitously over her while turning back towards the second, who holds a necklace. The seated woman could be a mistress, a bride, or even Aphrodite. But what seem to matter more are the spacious and restful nature of the scene and the quiet companionship of the women in their idyllic surroundings. The restraint and elegance of this scene are paralleled on few other Meidian works.

Conclusions: who are the women?

The major questions posed by the Meidian scenes of women concern the identity of the participants. Are they ordinary Athenians, and the scenes reflections of their daily life? Or, if the women are not ordinary, who are they, and what do their gardens mean?

Although the Erotes and the Nikai are clearly imaginary, it seems reasonable to accept the other details of the wedding scenes as fair reflections of contemporary practice. The real problem arises with the second group of scenes. Obviously, the women are not, in any straightforward sense, ordinary Athenians. Quite apart from the swarms of Erotes, the very idea of Athenian women sitting around in gardens is implausible. It was not a Greek custom to attach a garden to the house, and women rarely went out on their own. It is scarcely possible to imagine a group of virtuous Athenian wives and daughters going for a picnic in the country; apart from the risks to complexion and reputation, there would scarcely have been time for such frivolity, since the sources suggest that even the well-to-do were kept hard at work, bearing and rearing children, spinning, weaving, and supervising the household.⁶²⁷ But the absence of inscriptions or of attributes which

would allow the women to be identified as divinities or heroines obliges us to assume that they are, to some extent, ordinary beings. And after all, ordinary women may well have devoted their hard-earned leisure hours to dress and cosmetics.

The responsibility for the ambiguous nature of the scenes would seem to lie with Aphrodite. Artists in the Meidian Group liked to show the goddess and her women taking their ease in gardens; and the influence of Aphrodite is apparent in both the dress and posture of individuals in the scenes of women, and in their surroundings. The effect of the Aphrodisian influence is that the scenes participate in both the real and the unreal, the mortal and the divine. The women are human, but their leisure and their gardens belong to the gods. It is easy to imagine that this mingling of two worlds would have appealed to the women of Athens; there is a sense in which these scenes are the female counterpart of those which show the Attic tribal heroes in the Garden of the Hesperides. As the men of Athens would recognize in the heroes their idealized selves, so the women would see, and yet not see themselves, in the elegant beings who rest peacefully in their paradise.

TWO MISCELLANEOUS SCENES

Before turning to the second coherent group of non-mythological scenes, those concerned with cult, we may consider briefly two scenes which refuse to fit neatly into any category. The first appears on MM 42 (fig. 157), a Shape 2 oinochoe. Here, a naked youth sits on his mantle, holding a pair of spears and watching a man and a woman who are busy at a shallow bowl or table mounted on a stand. The man, whose mantle is tucked up round his waist, leans forward over the bowl with both hands well inside it, as though mixing or kneading the contents. The woman on the other side of the bowl has one hand in it but is not really helping. Her other hand hangs down beside the bowl, and she looks up, perhaps across towards the seated youth. Behind her on a low table are three vessels, a plate, an askos, and perhaps a basin or salt cellar. Above the table is a curving lotus tendril with a flower on the end.

The scene is unusual, and Beazley put it down as 'unexplained'.⁶²⁸ W.Burkert and H.Hoffmann have recently suggested that the seated youth is a hero, for whom the man and the woman are preparing an offering on the Day of Chytroi.⁶²⁹ But as J.Boardman is to show,⁶³⁰ this idea rests on too many erroneous suppositions and uncertainties - there is no reason, for example, to associate Shape 2 oinochoai with the Anthesteria or to presume the youth is either dead or a hero, and Hoffmann's contention that askoi were significant in the cult of the dead is far from well-established.

The man with his hands in the bowl, who, as Hoffmann and Burkert suggest, may be a slave, is clearly kneading or mixing; a similar activity is shown on four cup tondi painted by Douris, and on a black-figure stand where various culinary preparations are in progress.⁶³¹

All the scenes with kneading stands contain some reference to a banquet, in the form of wine skins, kraters, skyphoi, couches or tables. The table on MM 42 is of the kind which frequently appears in symposion scenes, and the flower too could indicate imminent festivities. The man and the woman are perhaps preparing bread or cakes for a banquet, and the vessels on the table may contain oil and condiments for the mixture.

The scene may, then, show preparations for a banquet. But it remains enigmatic. The youth is apparently sitting outside on a rock, whereas culinary preparations might be expected to take place indoors. And why has he brought his spears along?

The second unusual scene is that on MM 44 (figs. 158-159), another oinochoe, this time of Shape 4. Hermes, wearing petasos, chlamys and sandals, and holding his caduceus, stands between two women. His stance suggests he is preparing to move off to the right, but in fact he turns back to the woman behind him, and his right hand, with outstretched forefinger, points towards her. The woman stands facing him, her left arm lowered in his direction, and her right hand pulling at a fold of the peplos on her shoulder. The second woman on the far side of Hermes also faces the god, and stretches out an arm in his direction; she wears a mantle over a sleeved chiton.

The gestures of the three may assist in the interpretation of the scene. Hermes' is very clearly one of command; he is ordering the woman to do something, perhaps to follow him.⁶³² The lowered hand of the woman is damaged, so that the arrangement of her fingers is no longer determinable, but the general position of her arm suggests reluctant submission - she may be asking for time in which to obey. As for the gesture of her other hand, numerous women on red-figure vases, especially in the Meidian group, pluck at the shoulders of their peploi or their chitons, but the gesture is especially associated with

brides, for whom it appears to denote modesty.⁶³³ It is hard to think of a heroine of mythology, other than Eurydice, who was constrained to obey the commands of Hermes. The scene does, however, find a parallel on one of the Phiale Painter's white-ground lekythoi,⁶³⁴ where Hermes sits on a rock and gesticulates in a similar way towards the woman who adjusts her head-band in preparation to follow him to her grave. No less than on the Phiale Painter's scene, the Hermes on MM 44 seems to act as Psychopompos, and if the woman's gesture is meaningful, it may suggest she is the bride of Hades. The woman who stands behind Hermes and stretches out her hand may be bidding her friend farewell.

There are problems in this interpretation. Funerary subjects are rare in red-figure, and MM 44 lacks a grave or a properly funereal air. Moreover, Hermes is not at all common on white-ground lekythoi, and when he does appear, it is usually in the company of Charon, or Hypnos and Thanatos.⁶³⁵ His appearances on late fifth and fourth century sculptured grave monuments are equally infrequent.⁶³⁶ But when Hermes appears elsewhere in red-figure, he is always engaged either in some recognizable mythological capacity, or else in pursuit of a woman: there are no parallels for the scene on MM 44.⁶³⁷ Though not totally satisfactory, the interpretation offered above seems to provide the most likely explanation of the scene.

THE CHOES

The second coherent group of non-mythological Meidian scenes is found on Shape 3 oinochoai or choes. Various subjects are shown on the choes, but the connection between the type of vase and the festival of the Anthesteria seems to justify treating them as a group. Since this connection is both controversial and important, a brief defence of it will precede description and discussion of the Meidian examples.⁶³⁸

Chous is a word used in comedy and elsewhere for a jug: it also signified a liquid measure of approximately 3.2 litres. In their discussions of the Anthesteria, the ancient sources use the word in both its senses. They report that on the second day of the festival (the Day of Choes) drinking contests were held at private parties throughout the city, and at a public banquet for prominent citizens in the Thesmotheteion. The circumstances of these banquets were irregular; not only did the guests eat and drink in silence, but each supplied his own food and drank his own chous of wine. After the banquet the empty choes were garlanded and offered to Dionysos in the marshes. When the sources say that each drank a chous of wine, they appear to refer to both the measure and the jug; when they report that the empty choes were offered to Dionysos, the reference must be to the jugs. It is, then, relatively easy to establish that jugs called choes were used at the Anthesteria; it is harder to prove that these choes were Shape 3 oinochoai. The extant Shape 3 oinochoai vary considerably in size, but few are sufficiently large to hold anything like 3.2 litres. It is, however, probable that they were used at the Anthesteria; not only are they the commonest type of jug, but they are frequently shown on vase paintings connected on other grounds with the Anthesteria.

There is, moreover, a special link between the festival and the use of miniature Shape 3 oinochoai in children's graves. Numerous miniature choes are found in children's graves, and the reason for this would appear to be that the Anthesteria of his third year marked an important stage in the life of the future Athenian citizen. Philostratos mentions the Athenian practice of wreathing children with flowers in the month of Anthesterion which fell in their third year; an imperial inscription refers to birth, choes, ephebeia and marriage as four stages on the way to manhood; and a Hellenistic grave stele shows a small boy clutching a jug above an inscription which laments that the subject was ἡλικίης Χοϊκῶν, ὁ δὲ δαίμων ἐφθόκε τοὺς Χοῦς .⁶³⁹ Most of the miniature vases come from the graves of children who died in early infancy, and many bear scenes of children who are no more than babies; these facts combine to suggest that it was customary to lay the jugs in the graves of those who died before the festival of their third year. Just as lebetes and loutrophoroi were among the grave offerings of unmarried girls, so the miniature choes were a poignant reminder of the ceremonies and status their recipients did not live to enjoy.

It is established, then, that Shape 3 oinochoai were significantly connected with the Anthesteria. How closely their scenes relate to the practices of the festival remains to be seen. One source refers to a pot market at Athens during the Anthesteria,⁶⁴⁰ and it is in any case likely that many choes were made and decorated especially for the occasion. But their use will hardly have been restricted to three days in the year, and it would therefore be unreasonable to assume that every scene on every chous must illustrate some aspect of the festival. Each scene must be assessed on its own merits.

Description and discussion of the Meidian choes is divided into

two sections, the first dealing with the miniature jugs and the second with the full-sized examples.⁶⁴¹

Miniature Choes

1. Descriptions

BO 10.190 1

Komos; four small boys move drunkenly from left to right. The pair in the centre, Komos (ΚΩΜΟΣ) and Neanias (ΝΕΑΝΙΑΣ) each have one arm around the other's shoulder, while in his free hand each grasps a wreathed chous. They are naked apart from the mantles which flap around their shoulders and the fillets in their hair. A comrade Paian (ΠΑΙΑΝ) leads the way, turning to light the path with the torch in his right hand, while another child hurries along behind, a long cake in his hand.

BO 10.190 3

Three naked boys, with fillets on their heads, crouch on the ground playing at knuckle bones.

AT 12144 1

Five small boys are playing with a goat. One holds a wreathed chous, two have kantharoi and one a spray of leaves. The goat is being encouraged to rear up over a small three-legged table, on which stands another wreathed jug. Four of the children are named, Komos (ΚΩΜΟΣ) (twice), Chrysos (ΧΡΥΣΟΣ) and Kallinikos (ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ). The neck of the jug is decorated with an ivy wreath.

AT 12144 2

Three boys are playing together; the one in the centre is dancing with outstretched hands and contorted legs, while one of his friends holds up his hands in admiration and the other beats a tambourine.

AT 12144 3

Nike drives a quadriga of winged horses at a furious pace towards

a tripod mounted on a column. She checks the horses so that they rear up and paw the air. Behind the chariot stands a small boy, Chrysos (ΧΡΥΣΟΣ). His hair is bound up under a fillet, he wears a long, patterned robe, and he clutches a chous. On the far side of the tripod stands another boy, Ploutos (ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ), in flapping mantle and fillet; he faces the chariot, one hand raised in salutation. The neck of the jug is decorated with an ivy wreath.

MM ADD 41I

Music lesson; the master sits on a chair with his lyre, while three boys stand around him. All are wreathed and all hold lyres: one wears a chlamys while the other two are naked. On a table stands a wreathed chous and a cake(?), and in the field are a wreath and a kanoun.

MM ADD 41J

A boy with a cake greets his friend, who stands leaning on a three-legged table, on which stands another cake and a fruit(?).

MM ADD 41K

Komos: two boys swagger off with their arms around each other's necks, one holding a torch and the other a chous. They have wreaths and are clad in mantles. A dog leaps up at them, and comrades to left and right encourage their antics, one beating a tambourine and the other waving a torch.

2. Discussion

Parallels for most of these scenes may be found in Van Hoorn's illustrations. Nearly all his children wear wreaths, like ours; they clutch the same wreathed jugs and cakes and play about beside the same low tables. The knuckle-bone players of BO 10.190 3 reappear on Van Hoorn's fig. 284; the komoi of BO 10.190 1 and MM ADD 41K are paralleled by one on fig. 108, as well as by numerous representations of adults

indulging in the same pursuit; the dancer on AT 12144 2 finds colleagues in Van Hoorn's figs. 182, 187, or 188. The music lesson on MM ADD 41I appears unique, but another aspect of education, athletics, does feature on various choes. The two most interesting scenes are AT 12144 1 and 3. Deubner thought the scene on AT 12144 1 was Dionysiac, the central kantharos-holder being the god and his comrades young satyrs; but Metzger and Van Hoorn agree with Beazley that the figures are simply children playing with a goat.⁶⁴² Their names, however, are certainly Dionysiac; this is most obvious in the case of Komos, but Kallinikos could refer to the pleasures of victory in the drinking contest, and Chrysos is perhaps a good-luck name, an expression of the wish that the child to whom this jug was given should grow up rich and prosperous. AT 12144 3 was seen by Van Hoorn as an allegory of wealth (Ploutos) and gold (Chrysos), victorious (the Nike) in the contest (the chariot race and the tripod) for life;⁶⁴³ again the scene may have a more general reference, with the names expressing the fond hopes of parents for their children's future.

Since we have reason to believe that the Anthesteria was significant for children, it seems fair to suppose that the scenes on these choes may relate to the participation of children in the festival. The connection of the music lesson or the knuckle-bone players is not immediately obvious, although it is reported that teachers were paid at the Anthesteria;⁶⁴⁴ but the wreaths worn by the children on both these scenes suggest a special and festive, rather than an everyday occasion. The drunken-looking komoi, the boisterous play with the goat, the low tables, cakes and wreathed choes, even the wreaths painted round the necks of the jugs themselves, all recall aspects of the adult festival. They suggest that children were made much of on the occasion, given little jugs and cakes; the komos scenes in particular make it appear very probable that three-year olds tasted their first wine at

the Anthesteria. But there is also the possibility that some aspects of the scenes derive more from imagination than reality, and that painters were commemorating the Anthesteria for children who did not live to enjoy it by imagining their indulgence in adult practices; so that in the end it is uncertain how far we can rely on these scenes as illustrations of children at the Festival.

Full-sized choes.

1. Descriptions

MP 11

fig.160

Two women stand one on either side of a stool which hangs suspended by ropes to which fillets are attached. On the stool lie richly decorated clothes, and the woman on the right, whose hand is raised, has perhaps just added the fillet on top of the pile. The woman on the left is pouring liquid from an oinochoe on to a pile of twigs or shavings which lie directly below the stool, and from which flames are rising; she pours carefully, one hand steadying the jug to produce an even, controlled flow. Behind this woman stands a small boy; draped in a mantle which leaves one shoulder bare, and with a wreath upon his head, he watches the operation with interest. Behind the woman on the right stands a large chair on which lie more fine garments and another fillet, and on a footstool beside the chair are two pairs of sandals. Both women are finely dressed in sleeved chitons, sandals and jewelled sphendonai; the one on the right has a mantle over her chiton, but her colleague wears a sleeveless patterned overgarment, an ependytes. At the top of the scene, just below the palmette border, is the inscription,

ΓΑΝΥΜΗ[ΔΗΕ] ΚΑΛΟΕ.

MP 12

fig.162

Two dancers perform to the accompaniment of a flute girl. The most eye-catching member of the trio is the dancer in the centre, who

is executing an acrobatic dance, with his left foot flat on the ground and his right leg high in the air. He holds two sticks crossed above his head. The dancer to the left crouches on the ground like a Cossack, his right leg doubled under and his left extended almost fully, so that he seems to be balancing on the heel of his left foot and the toes of his right. He clutches a cushion, or possibly a wine-sack, and like the first dancer he is naked apart from the wreath on his head. To the right stands an elegant candelabrum, and behind it a flute-girl sits piping on a couch, propped up against several cushions. At her side is a small table holding two wreathed choes, and she too is wreathed. In the field are inscriptions: the name of one dancer is Dikaïos (Δ[Ι]ΚΑΙΟΞ) and the flute girl is called Dipsio (ΔΙΨΙΩ).

BO 10.190 2

Komos: a drunken reveller advances to the right, watched by a boy and a flute girl. He walks unsteadily, supporting his wavering steps with a long staff; his balance is precarious, as though he may fall at any moment. He is wreathed, and a mantle hangs from his arm. The flute girl, wreathed and clad in a fine chiton, leads the way, turning back to light the path with the torch in her right hand; her flutes she holds in her other hand. A boy brings up the rear, a lyre in one hand and a wreathed chous in the other.

MM 35

fig. 161

A flute girl, dressed in a finely pleated, swirling chiton, clutches her flutes in one hand while flinging the other up above her head in an ecstatic gesture and dancing with abandon.

MM 35 bis

Symposion, with youth reclining, playing kottabos, kottabos stand, and another youth with a lyre.

MM 36

Preparations for a procession. In the centre stands a kanoun on

a low, three-legged table, and beside it a large Eros, whose uplifted hands grasp a twig which he is about to place in the kanoun. A girl approaches from the right, in long, starred chiton and himation, and on the left of the table is another girl, identically dressed, at whose feet kneels a small Eros, fastening her sandals. Framing the scene on either side are youths dressed in starred mantles which leave one shoulder bare; both are wreathed and hold phialai. The boy on the left stands calmly, while his colleague on the right has an air of greater alertness, as if anxious to get on. The neck of the jug is decorated with a fine lotus and palmette wreath.

MM 37,FR

A small boy with wreath and mantle holds a lyre beside a tripod on a column. All that remains of a figure to the left is the lower part of an arm. A larger youth approaches the tripod from the right; he wears a decorated tunic or perhaps an ependytes over a short chiton. His legs and feet are bare, and his right hand is raised, perhaps to attach a fillet to the tripod above his head.

MM 39

A wreathed youth in a long, decorated tunic, stands on a two-stepped platform, playing the lyre. He is watched by a youth who props one foot on a hydria and holds a laurel twig in one hand, and by Nike, who also holds a twig, and is seated on another hydria. Both pay close attention to the lyre player.

MM 40

Two Nikai stand by a tripod. One holds a lyre, the other fillets with which to deck the tripod.

MM 41

Two small boys on large horses race to the right, the leader looking back over his shoulder to gauge his rival's progress, and waving his goad high in the air.

MM ADD 41A

figs. 163-165

Two women in starred peploi bring offerings to a shrine. The leading woman carries phiale and oinochoe; the second, distinguished from the first by her veil and sandals, is empty-handed. The shrine is indicated by an altar and a tree in whose branches hang two votive plaques, each painted with the figure of a warrior, one seated on his shield. Beyond the altar, facing the women, stands a youth who holds his horse by the bridle. He is dressed for travel, perhaps, with a petasos on his head and flapped fur boots on his feet; he has a skirted cuirass over a short chiton, a sword hangs at his side, and in his left hand he grasps a pair of spears.

MM ADD 41B

Dionysos(?) moves to the right holding a kantharos, between a maenad with torch and oinochoe, and a satyr.

MM ADD 41C

A wreathed youth stands on a low platform beside a column, leaning on a stick. Beyond the column, a charioteer in long, patterned robe, reins in his quadriga, as a Nike flying along the horses' backs offers him a victory wreath. On the far right a youth runs before the horses, turning back to stop them.

MM ADD 41D

On a low base stand the tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton; beside the base is a column.

MM ADD 41E

Komos(?); from left to right appear the remains of a youth, dancing, a woman running, a youth pursuing, and another woman, seated.

MM ADD 41F

Komos; from left to right appear the remains of a youth with a lyre, a youth on horseback with a torch, and another youth with a torch, who leads the procession.

MM ADD 41G

Preparations for a symposion; one wreathed youth holds an olive or laurel branch, perhaps with the intention of bending it into a wreath, and another has a lyre. A third sits while an attendant fastens his sandals(?). A candelabrum stands by them, and a woman with a plate of fruit.

MM ADD 41H

Komos; a flute girl dances to the right, followed by a youth who marches along as if goose-stepping, playing the lyre. A mantle hangs from his left shoulder, and he is wreathed. A small boy, also wreathed, follows along behind; against his shoulder he bears a stick, from which hangs a cloth-covered basket or other receptacle.

2. Discussion

The two most intriguing scenes are those on MP 11 and MM ADD 41A, but several of the others present features of some interest. MM ADD 41B-F are of immediate interest because they all come from the grave precinct of Dexileos. E. Vermeule has suggested⁶⁴⁶ that they were purchased especially for his funeral, their subjects making them peculiarly appropriate offerings for the young cavalry officer who died in action in 394. Their connection with the Anthesteria is less certain; though Vermeule suggests that youths as well as children might be given choes as grave gifts, in symbolic re-enactment of the ceremony whereby miniature choes were given to children, the evidence for this is slight.⁶⁴⁷ And that there were horse races at the Anthesteria is also doubtful. Although only the Dionysiac komoi of MM ADD 41B,E and F can with any confidence be related to the Anthesteria, it may be agreed that the five scenes are highly suited to the circumstances of Dexileos' life and death. The horse-races on MM ADD 41C and the horseman on MM ADD 41F recall his profession and the skill he must

have had with horses, while the komoi suggest his off-duty relaxations. The tyrannicides, above all, are a peculiarly fitting theme for the grave offering of a youth who was born under the thirty tyrants and grew up to see their overthrow before dying for his city and receiving a hero's burial within sight of the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

A number of the scenes show the symposia and komoi which are generally assumed to have been features of the Anthesteria. The most entertaining scene is MP 12's: the contorted poses of the two dancers are unusually lively for the Meidian Painter, their violent movements and doubled-up limbs recalling the satyrs on MP ADD 13A more than any other figures on Meidian pots. Dancers with crossed sticks are hard to parallel, though people dance the pyrrhic or the oklasma on other choes. The cushion held by the crouching dancer recalls Athenaios' reference to a 'cushion dance',⁶⁴⁸ but it is not clear to what he refers, and this is the sole mention of anything of the kind. The exaggerated poses of the dancers suggest they could be miming - they might equally well be acrobats. The wreathed choes on the table by the flute girl suggest there may be a connection with the Anthesteria; the trio may be providing entertainment at a symposion. But we have no evidence for convivial parties at the Anthesteria, although the inauguration of the new wine may well have provided an excuse for revelry; so the dancers of MP 12, or the symposia of MM 35 bis or MM ADD 41G may or may not be connected with the festival.

Komoi, however, like those on BO 10.190 2, MM ADD 41B,E,F and H certainly were a feature of the Anthesteria. After the drinking contest the revellers proceeded in drunken groups to dedicate their jugs at the sanctuary of Dionysos in the marshes; Aristophanes makes his Frogs complain of the incursions of the *κραίπαλόκωμος... ὄχλος*,⁶⁴⁹ the mob with the hangover, on the eve of the third day of the festival. All the Meidian komasts show the effects of the 3.2 litres of new wine

which the revellers have consumed, and the parcel carried by the boy on MM ADD 41H could contain the remains of the provisions which each participant in the drinking contest provided for himself. But the most memorable image of the Dionysiac nature of the festival is provided by the flute girl of MM 35: she has lost her comrades, and her flutes hang forgotten in her hand, as she dances in a private ecstasy of her own.

The scenes with Nikai, lyres and tripods (MM 37, MM 39, MM 40) seem to refer to musical or rhapsodic contests: such scenes are numerous on choes, but there is no more evidence for contests of this sort at the Anthesteria than there is for the horse-races of MM 41 or MM ADD 41C.⁶⁵⁰ The connection of MM 36 with the Anthesteria is also doubtful. This scene clearly shows preparations for a procession, since the youths and girls are festively attired, with their starred robes and wreaths, and the central object in the scene is a kanoun, the basket carried in many ceremonial processions. There is, however, no record of any kanephoria at the Anthesteria; so despite the attractions of Karouzou's suggestion⁶⁵¹ that the youths and girls are preparing to escort the wife of the archon basileus to her wedding with Dionysos, there is no good reason to connect the scene with this festival. As Karouzou shows, the figures derive iconographically from the Parthenon frieze - and it may be the Panathenaic procession for which they are preparing.

The scene on MM ADD 41A is of considerable interest, though it has received surprisingly little attention. The youth with the horse might be a departing warrior, for whom his wife offers a farewell libation, were it not for the emphasis on the shrine, with its altar, and its votive plaques. It seems more likely that the youth is a hero, appearing at his shrine to accept the libation of his votaries, and the scene finds parallels on sculptured votive plaques, where heroes

lead, or more often ride, their horses, while worshippers approach altars bearing offerings.⁶⁵² The connection of the scene with the Anthesteria is uncertain, though Van Hoorn believed the libation is being performed on the third day of the festival, the Day of Chytroi; this was indeed a day on which the dead walked abroad and were placated with offerings of porridge - but there are no specific references to hero worship, which surely was performed on numerous occasions throughout the year. Regardless of any link with the Anthesteria, the scene is of considerable interest for its representation of a shrine, and, if the interpretation is correct, of the encounter of the living with the heroised dead.

The most intriguing scene of all is that on MP 11, which has provoked considerable speculation. At first it was thought to show Nausikaa and a friend doing the washing, or else Athenian housewives sprinkling water on clothes before folding them for storage, 'genau so wie es auch deutsche Hausfrauen machen';⁶⁵³ but apart from the fact that the object on the ground scarcely resembles clothes, and that smoke is rising from it, or that German housewives would sprinkle their laundry for ironing, this theory fails to explain the swing. A more likely idea is that the women are perfuming clothes, the one on the left pouring scented oil on to shavings, perhaps of scented wood, producing smoke which will rise and pervade the clothes above. This was almost certainly a Greek practice, for the literary references to sweet-smelling clothing are numerous, from Homer onwards.⁶⁵⁴ But a rack would be more practical than a stool for such an operation; and why the air of concentration and solemn ritual, the richness of the clothes, and the expectant presence of the little boy?

To understand the scene, we may digress to look at a similar one attributed to the Eretria Painter.⁶⁵⁵ Here again, a stool hangs suspended on ropes adorned with wreaths and fillets. Below the swing

is a pile of twigs, this time easily identifiable as such because of their leaves, and to the left is a strange object, probably the top of a sunken pithos or well-head. To the left stand two boys, dressed and wreathed like the boy on MP 11. To the right is a chair, spread like that on MP 11 with rich clothing. In front of the chair stands a low table with cakes and a phiale. But the most interesting figures are the couple to the right of the swing, the man lifting the small boy on to the suspended stool.

The two scenes clearly have a lot in common - the wreathed children, the swing, the twigs and the chair. They share too the same atmosphere of solemn concentration and ritual. Their mood is quite different from the light-hearted games on the miniature choes. The participants are all too well-dressed to be having fun, and their expressions and attitudes range from solemnity to apprehension.

We know that the Anthesteria was significant for children, and we also know that swinging was a feature of the festival.⁶⁵⁶ Swinging commemorated the death of Erigone, daughter of Ikaros, the man to whom Dionysos had entrusted the vine on his arrival in Attica. The farmers with whom Ikaros shared the wine that he produced thought that he had poisoned them, and so clubbed him to death and threw his body in a ditch. Erigone, finding her father's corpse, hanged herself from a tree, and the Delphic oracle commanded Athenian girls and youths to swing in expiation of her death. But on our swinging scenes there are small children, not youths and girls; and the twigs, the pithos, the chairs, and the actions of the women on MP 11 also require some explanation.

Swinging rituals are performed in various communities for various purposes.⁶⁵⁷ Among the chief functions of swinging is the banishment of spirits. The spirits of the dead were known to wander abroad at the Anthesteria; that they could be unpleasant is shown by the hybrid

monstrosities which appear on some of the choes, and that they were potentially more of a threat to children than to adults is suggested by one scene where a withered and grotesque old man is trying to deprive a child of his chous.⁶⁵⁸ It seems possible, then, that at the Anthesteria children swung to ward off spirits. The child on the Eretria Painter's chous is about to be placed on the swing, and this suggests the same will happen to the boy on MP 11. But here there is a problem with the flames below the swing; and the pithos on the Eretria Painter's scene may also be connected with the production of flames and smoke, as a receptacle for blazing twigs like those on the ground beside it.⁶⁵⁹ On MP 11 the fire is lit directly on the ground, and perfumed smoke is being produced by the woman pouring oil on to the flames. Though roasting children on the flames is likely to damage their health, swinging them through smoke is a well-known rite common to several ancient or primitive societies; its aim is to purify and protect them from the rigours of life to come.

There is no literary evidence to suggest that such an initiation rite for three-year olds was part of the Anthesteria. But the Eretria Painter's scene and MP 11 jointly suggest that swinging was an Anthesterion practice involving children; they were swung through smoke and the intention was partly to drive away evil spirits and partly to purify them and mark their transition from infancy to childhood.

The inscription Ganymedes Kalos on MP 11 may express the parents' hope that the boy will grow up as handsome as Ganymede, though not, presumably, that he should share Ganymede's fate.

The chair and its fine clothing are still unexplained. But fine clothes, special chairs and shoes are commonly associated with brides, and it is possible that these relate to the basilinna, the wife of the archon basileus, who at the Anthesteria celebrated her union with the

god Dionysos. The finest of the few surviving swinging scenes is by the Penelope Painter.⁶⁶⁰ On one side of his skyphos, a satyr pushes a girl on a swing; her feet stretch forward into the floral decoration under the handle, possibly an allusion to the Anthesteria's connections with flowers. On the other side a satyr escorts a richly-dressed woman, holding a parasol above her head. In the context of the Anthesteria the woman treated with such deference by an attendant of Dionysos must be the basilinna. The satyr wears a reed crown, of the type commonly associated with the choruses of youths and maidens who sang songs in honour of newly-married couples on the morning after the wedding. This, then, should be the basilinna on the morning after her union with the god, visiting the swinging rites to impart to the youth of Athens the blessings she has obtained from Dionysos. Since she could not attend all the swinging ceremonies in person, the chairs spread with fine clothes on the Eretria Painter's scene and MP 11 may be intended for her symbolic reception.

CONCLUSION

It would be perfectly legitimate to study the vases attributed to the Meidian Group as works of art isolated from their historical context. But the inherent fascination of the period when they were produced makes it hard to ignore their background, and the attraction of these vases is as much their association with the period as their intrinsic artistic interest. Their imaginative appeal is huge - Socrates could have walked through the Kerameikos as the Meidias Painter put the finishing touches to Eudaimonia on MP 1, Theramenes could have given AT 12144 2 to his son at the Anthesteria, Alkibiades could have drunk from AR 1 on the eve of the departure of the Sicilian expedition; and at the same time, the vases are reminders of the parallel existence of less prominent members of Athenian society, the craftsmen and artisans who contributed as much as Sophocles or Pericles to the glory of Athenian civilization, and whose surviving products are unique, and tangible, evidence of their lives and personalities.

It is the feeling that these vases can contribute towards a fuller understanding of the character of late fifth century society which, in the last five Chapters, has made me keep on asking what might have influenced the painters' choice and treatment of themes. Specific aspects of certain scenes may be attributed to specific influences, from contemporary sculpture to the theatre, political ideology, or new cults. But the dominant overall characteristics of Meidian iconography, the interest in nature and the non-heroic exclusion of violence which combine to produce the typical heavenly garden atmosphere, may yet be susceptible to some more general explanation.

The Meidian interest in nature, as shown by the rocks, trees, shrubs and flowers, the birds, hares and deer which pervade the scenes, the concern for Aphrodite's associations with nature and for the dying god of vegetation, Adonis, may have been anticipated by individual black- or red-figure artists, such as the Andokides-Lysippides, Berlin or Pig Painters, whose work displays a special fondness for trees or animals. But the consistent and concentrated employment of these motifs is new to the Meidian group; the interest in landscape as a subject of art, which increases in succeeding centuries, is incipient in their work. It is a paradox that artists of one of the most city-orientated societies of all time should show this enthusiasm for nature. But the same paradox may be found elsewhere, most strikingly in Plato's Phaedrus, where Socrates, while ascribing his ignorance of the Attic countryside to the fact that 'people in the city have something to teach me, but the fields and trees won't teach me anything' still proves remarkably susceptible to the beauties of the Ilissos where Phaedrus leads him, the tall and spreading plane, the shady agnus-castus with its fragrant flowers, the cool spring of water, the sweet air humming to the chorus of cicadas and the comfortable slope of grassy turf...⁶⁶¹

It has become customary to ascribe the Meidian garden scenes to the Peloponnesian war and the need to escape from its grim realities into something as far removed from it as possible. But this is to overlook the fact that the War was not a continuous disaster for the Athenians, that there were periods of Athenian success, intervals of peace, and times when the fighting was carried on in such distant areas as the Chersonese. And even if the war explained the Meidian scenes, it would hardly account for Plato, writing in the peace of the earlier fourth century. Four centuries later, Vergil too was to dwell on the pleasures of the country: farmers who lack sumptuous

town-houses, swarms of clients, gold and purple garments, statues and exotic foods, have riches of another kind - peace and honesty, lowing cattle, sweet sleep beneath the trees, 'speluncae vivique lacus'.⁶⁶² For Vergil, no less than for the Meidian artists, nature provided a means of escape not just from war, but from the whole of his over-complex, artificial, city-orientated civilization.

The second pronounced characteristic of Meidian iconography, towards which the emphasis on nature makes an important contribution, is its non-heroic exclusion of violence. Nowhere may this be observed more easily than on MP 5, where the Rape of the Daughters of Leukippos has been refined into a gentle elopement, and where Herakles needs not exert himself to secure the apples, his deed being merely an excuse to show the Garden of the Hesperides. In the poetry of Alfred, Lord Tennyson a similar softening and de-heroization of mythology may be observed. Like the Meidian artists he favoured quieter subjects - the death of Arthur, the laments of Tithonus or Cenone. His Ulysses is a refined philosopher and searcher after new experiences; his Lotos-Eaters are not the dangerous vegetarians of the Odyssey, but mild-eyed melancholy goddesses of song. Tennyson's King Arthur announces on his death-bed that 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new': this was the problem which faced Tennyson himself, and which profoundly influenced his writing. The political situation in Europe was shifting and unstable, and in England the nature and structure of established society was dissolving under the impact of the industrial revolution. Most disturbing of all, scientific advances were necessitating a fundamental re-appraisal of conventional religion and morality. All this is reflected in Tennyson's complex approach to mythology. Myth to him was partially an escape from the problems of reality. As the Lotos-Eaters sing, why should men toil and anguish all their lives? Why not forget, eat the Lotos, live like

gods? To enhance the escapism he romanticized mythology, partly by dwelling on the idyllic, pastoral settings of the myths - Tithonus' decaying woods, Oenone's noon-tide Ida, or the island paradise of the Lotos-Eaters, the description of which might well be applied to MP 1 or MP 2:

In the afternoon they came unto a land
In which it seemed always afternoon.
All round the coast the languid air did swoon,
Breathing like one that hath a weary dream... 663

But at the same time Tennyson deliberately spoilt his escapism by projecting on to the characters of mythology the melancholy of his own dilemma: his Ulysses is a restless Victorian romantic in search of truth and meaning, and Arthur, even as he is placed in the funeral barge, admits that he is not wholly confident that he is destined for the island of Avilion, the paradise garden 'crowned with summer sea' - like Tennyson, his 'mind is clouded with a doubt'.

The late fifth century softening and de-heroization of mythology, observable not merely in Meidian iconography but arguably in Euripides as well, has much in common with Tennyson's, and may stem from similar influences. The Greek world too was changing; the Athenian democracy was shown to be mortal, and the long supremacy of Athens was drawing to an end. And in late fifth century Athenian society, no less than in Victorian England, established beliefs and values were threatened, alternative religions invaded from abroad. The Meidian painters are not self-conscious artists in the same way as Tennyson; after all, they use mythological subjects because these are the traditional basis of Greek art. But their treatment of mythology differs from that of their predecessors in that, like Tennyson, they view it as escapism, both from war and from their own civilization, and in that heroism and narrative no longer interest them so much as the creation of idyllic pleasure gardens. Like Tennyson they

project themselves into their creations, in the persons of the Attic heroes or characters like Phaon, a mortal elevated to the status of a god. And though the Meidian gardens are perfectly equipped for pleasure, their general atmosphere is one of subdued and languid melancholy; and occasionally, as in the Helen of MP 6, we find a Meidian figure apparently as oppressed by the dilemma of human existence as Tennyson's Ulysses, or Tennyson himself.

NOTES

- 1 J.D.Beazley, in a letter to C.W.Clairmont of March 17, 1953,
quoted by Clairmont, Yale Classical Studies, xv (1957) 171 n.18.
- 2 G.Minervini, Illustrazione di un vaso Ruvese del Real Museo
Borbonico (1845 or 1850).
- 3 For the dates of these and other works referred to in the Introduction,
see the List of Abbreviations.
- 4 For the method used to refer to individual vases, see the Introductory
Notes to the Catalogue.
- 5 Beazley, VA 185.
- 6 ARV 1315.
- 7 ARV(ed.1) 834.
- 8 For examples of dates assigned to the Meidias Painter, see e.g.
Ducati 135 - 'l'ultimo ventennio del secolo V';
Hahland 5 - 'die beiden letzten Jahrzehnte vor... und die ersten
nach 400 v.Chr.'
- 9 The incident is described by Thucydides (iii 104). For the contents
of the graves, see C.Dugas, Delos XXI, Les Vases attiques à figures
rouges (1952).
- 10 ARV 1209.54, Mykonos 1424; Lezzi-Hafter 4,89, and pl.111b.
- 11 For the limitations of Rheneia in these respects, see Dugas op.cit.
(n.9) 4-5.
- 12 See U.Knigge, 'Untersuchungen bei den Gesandstelen im Kerameikos'
AA 1972 584-629: the black-glaze jug is illustrated on 604-5, figs.
23, 24.3, Kat.Nr.3.
- 13 See K.Gebauer and H.Johannes, 'Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos' AA 1937
184-203: the fragments are illustrated on 194, fig.13.
- 14 See E.Vermeule, 'Five vases from the grave precinct of Dexileos'
JdI lxxxv(1970) 94-111.
- 15 For the black-glaze plates, see Agora XII 146-7 (the 'rilled rim
type') and Cramers 20-26.
- 16 See below, 162 and n.453.
- 17 See amongst others Nicole 72. For the paintings, see Athenaios
xii 534d-e and Plutarch Alkibiades xvi.6.
- 18 ARV 1336.1, Naples 3240; Simon GV figs.228, 229.
- 19 IG II 1234; Aristophanes Ekk1. 102.
- 20 Pliny, NH xxxv.67: the translation is quoted from V.J.Bruno, Form
and Color in Greek Painting (1977) 36.
- 21 As noted by, amongst others, Bruno, op.cit.
- 22 Pliny, NH xxxv.67
- 23 Plutarch, de glor. Ath. ii.345-6; cf Pliny, NH xxxv.129
- 24 Athenaios xii.543c-544 (Overbeck 1700).
- 25 Scholiast to Aristophanes, Ach. 989 (Overbeck 1660).
- 26 Quintilian, Inst.orat., xii.10.4 (Overbeck 1680).
- 27 For Zeuxis see Plato, Protagoras, 318b, Gorgias, 453c; Xenophon,
Mem, i.4.3 (Overbeck 1651, 1652, 972), and for Parrhasios
Xenophon, Mem, ii.10.1 (Overbeck 1701).
- 28 That the two were contemporaries is clear from such stories as
that of Zeuxis' grapes which deceived the birds and Parrhasios'
cloth which deceived Zeuxis (Pliny, NH, xxxv.65). For Zeuxis'
floruit, see Pliny, NH, xxxv.61.
- 29 See e.g. Robertson, HGA 411-412.
- 30 Notably by Becatti.
- 31 Knigge 143.

- 32 For the Nike Temple Parapet, see R.Carpenter, The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet (1929), and for the Fréjus Aphrodite, see Robertson, HGA pl.118b.
- 33 Carpenter, op.cit., pl.XXVII.
- 34 Carpenter, op.cit., pl.VII.
- 35 For the date of the Nike Temple, see C.A.Picón, AJA lxxxii(1978) 75. For the later date of the Parapet, see Robertson, HGA 349.
- 36 Beazley described the Eretria Painter not as teacher but as 'fore-runner' of the Meidias Painter (ARV(ed.1) 831). But for statements of the teacher-pupil relationship see amongst others Robertson, HGA 418 ('the Eretria Painter... his pupil the Meidias Painter...'), or Lezzi-Hafter 2 ('der Meidias-maler...Schüler der Eretria-maler ist...').
- 37 ARV 1173.1, Berlin 30036; Ghali-Kahil, Helen pl.VIII.3.
- 38 Knigge 138.
- 39 ARV 1175.17, London E524; AM xc(1975) pl.50.2.
- 40 ARV 1176.25, Chantilly; Bothmer, Amazons pl.LXXX.4.
- 41 Knigge 141.
- 42 The oinochoe is of Shape 1 and bears a scene of mistress and maid. I must thank D.Cramers for generously sending me photographs of it.
- 43 Two other Adonis scenes by painters not far from Aison are ARV 1179.3, Louvre CA 1679; fig.52, and Para 400, Athens NM 19522; BCH xc(1966) 665 fig.1.
- 44 '...hat Frau Knigges Theorie vieles für sich. Aber ich bin heute überzeugt daß Aison und der Meidias-maler nicht identisch, sondern Lehrer und Schüler sind. Ich denke auch, daß in der Spätzeit des Eretria-malers Aison und der Meidias-maler einträchtig nebeneinander arbeiten. Die letzten zwei sehr nahe zusammen, der Eretria-maler nicht unweit.'
- 45 Cramers 17-19.
- 46 Cramers 64.
- 47 See Cramers' conclusions, 152-3.
- 48 ARV 1157.25, Arrezzo 1460; Simon, GV figs.224-5(side A), and Monumenti Inediti VIII pl.3(side B).
- 49 See especially Plato, Symposion 194E-197E.
- 50 Plutarch, Nikias xiii.
- 51 Plutarch, Nikias xxiii, Thucydides vii.50.
- 52 The vase has been cleaned since the most recent publications, and it is possible that some of the names are different from those previously suggested. I thought the fifth and sixth letters of the name of Theseus' opponent could be O and Π, the seventh probably E, so that the name could be ANTIOΠEIA.
- 53 cf. ABV 367.87, Munich 1414; CVA Munich 1 pl.49.1, or ABV 367.93, Naples 128333; Bothmer, Amazons pl.LXVIII.1.
- 54 In the Theseion was an Amazonomachy which may have been the work of Mikon or Polygnotos, and in the Stoa Poikile was one by Mikon. For the testimonia see Agora III 116.351,33-35.55,56,59,39.80. For discussions of the paintings, see J.P.Barron, 'New light on Old Walls: the Murals of the Theseion' JHS xcii(1972) 20-45, and S.Woodford, 'More light on Old Walls: the Theseus of the Centaur-omachy in the Theseion' JHS xciv(1974)158-165.
- 55 For a mounted Amazon spearing a fallen Greek, cf. Bothmer, Amazons pls.LXXVa, LXXVII.3. Other motifs include an Amazon collapsing backwards.
- 56 It may be noted that when Antiope is named she is always fighting against the Greeks; the occasional Amazon who fights on the Greek side is never identified as Antiope. Theseus and Antiope fight on several scenes, amongst them ARV 991.53, Ferrara T.1052; Aurigemma, Sc. di Spina 2 pls.14-23 (Achilles Painter), and ARV 1030.30,

- Cab.Med. 421 and part of 420; Benndorf, Gjölb 137 fig.128 (Polygnotos).
- 57 ARV 1248.9, New York 31.11.13; Richter and Hall pl.144.
- 58 Aison: ARV 1176.25; see n.40. Eretria Painter: ARV 1248.2, Boston 95.48; Bothmer, Amazons pl.LXXVII.6.
- 59 cf. Bothmer, Amazons pls. LXXVII.3,5, LXXVIII.1-6.
- 60 T.Hölscher and E.Simon, 'Die Amazonenschlacht auf dem Schild der Athena Parthenos' AM xci(1976) 115-148 and pls.43-48 (all previous bibliography listed on 115,n.1).
- 61 The figures on the Shield were probably made individually and then attached to the surface: this would account in part for the absence of overlapping.
- 62 The numbers are taken from Hölscher and Simon's reconstruction, op.cit. 139 fig.2.
- 63 This figure is preserved on the Vatican relief (Mus.Chiaramonti 1738), illustrated by Hölscher and Simon op.cit. pl.44.1.
- 64 Simon (op.cit. 146-7) suggests the hero on the Shield is Chalkodon, hero of Euboea.
- 65 For the stone-thrower see Simon op.cit.116-117 n.10 and 147-8: she thinks that he is Daidalos.
- 66 For axe-waving Amazons, cf. Bothmer, Amazons pls.LXXIV.2, LXXV.a.
- 67 Though a crumpled position similar to Teithras' is assumed by a giant on ARV 1680, Ferrara Sequestro Guardia Finanze di Comacchio; Alfieri and Arias, Spina pls.69,70, 71 (Painter of the Woolly Satyrs?).
- 68 See Kron, Phylenheroen 105 n.472,164,241(Teithras), 145 n.667, 160-1,164,241(Phaleros), 143,164,241(Monichos), 164,241(Phylakos).
- 69 Para 380.5 bis, Japanese private collection; Kron, Phylenheroen pl.23.
- 70 ARV 1030.30 - see n.56.
- 71 Simon, op.cit. 145-6.
- 72 How would individuals on the Shield have been identified? Harrison remarks (Hesperia xxxv(1966) 127-8) that 'It seems likely that all the Greeks on our shield had names, at least in the mind of Pheidias when he created the design, though we may doubt that the names were actually engraved on the shield...'. Simon (op.cit. 140,n.80) suggests there were inscriptions on the shield, but her claim that this is suggested by the inscriptions on A 6 and the Eretria Painter's vase is unconvincing, since inscriptions were an established part of the vase painting tradition - and its conviction is further weakened by the differences between the names she offers for the Shield and those employed by Aison or the Eretria Painter. But if the iconography of the Shield was as complex and as significant as she suggests, it is hard to see how inscriptions could have been dispensed with.
- 73 For the spelling of Ariadne's name, cf Callimachus, Aitia iii frag.67, line 13:
ἧοι εἰδομένη μάλιον ῥέθος οὐδ' Ἀριήδης....
- 74 cf. ABV 288.12, Berkeley 8.3853; CVA California pl.20.3; ARV 120.7, Oxford 303; CVA Oxford 1 pl.1.7.
- 75 cf. ARV 563.6, Ferrara T.503; Alfieri and Arias, Spina pl.8; ARV 853.1, London 1920.2-16.4; JHS xli(1921) pl.III.iv.6.
- 76 cf. ARV 563.5, Brussels R305; CVA Brussels 2 pl.16.1b; ARV 413.25, Florence 70800; CVA Florence 3 pl.99.2.
- 77 On this see C.Dugas, 'L'Evolution de la légende de Thésée' Receuil Dugas 93-107, esp. 104.
- 78 cf. ABV 134.18, Wurzburg 248; Langlotz, GVW pl.80.
- 79 As e.g. on a Polygnotan neck-amphora in the Ludwig collection; R.Lullies, Griechische Kunstwerke Sammlung Ludwig (1968) pls.122-3.

- 80 ARV 1457.10, Athens NM 12541; Schefold, UKV pls.43.1,2,44.1.
- 81 Kodros Painter: ARV 1269.4, London E84; ÖJh 1(1972)134-135 figs.1-2;
Harrow Cup Painter: ARV(ed.1) 660, Harrow School; ÖJh 1(1972)137
fig.3;
The fragment in a Berne private collection is published by R.Blatter,
'Unbekannte Schalenfragmente mit Theseus-Zyklus' AA 1975 351-355,
with illustrations on 352, figs.1,2. Blatter would like to
attribute the fragment to the Kodros Painter, but Robertson, quoted
on 355 n.16, is less sure.
- 82 E.Hudeczek, 'Theseus und die Tyrannenmorder' ÖJh 1(1972) 132-149.
- 83 See Brommer, Vasenlisten 211-12. AV,
- 84 e.g. ARV 861.13, Munich 2670; Gerhard pl.232-3.
- 85 Hudeczek, op.cit.(n.82)148.
- 86 Suggested by Knigge 136 n.39.
- 87 As observed by F.Brommer, Die Wahl des Augenblicks in der griechischen
Kunst (1969) 24-25.
- 88 P.Wolters, Darstellungen des Labyrinths (1907) 120.
- 89 G.W.Elderkin, 'Notes on Greek vase paintings, I.Meander or labyrinth'
AJA xiv(1910) 185-190. The quotation is from 187.
- 90 Elderkin, op.cit. 188.
- 91 The building accounts of 409/8 mention four unplaced blocks in
connection with this altar: see L.D.Caskey and others, The Erechtheum
(1927) 105-110. Caskey suggests the altar was not a stepped
structure but took the form of orthostates around the chasm in the
north porch. Recently K.Jeppeson in 'Where was the so-called
Erechtheion?' AJA lxxxiii(1979) has asked if such an arrangement
would have been described as a bomos, and has suggested that the
blocks could have been erected in steps.
- 92 The coffers of the ceiling of the north porch of the Erechtheion
were enclosed by meander borders: see Caskey, op.cit. 91.
- 93 See Caskey, op.cit. 314 for the state of the north porch in 409/8,
and 454 for the probable commencement date.
- 94 Elderkin, op.cit.(n.89) 189-90. Compare Real 14: the meander
'...ist wohl nicht Symbol für die verschlungenen Wege des Labyrinths.'
- 95 There is an extensive bibliography on meanders and labyrinths.
See in addition to Wolters and Elderkin (op.cit. n.88,n.89)
C.W.Smith, 'Kylix with exploits of Theseus' JHS ii(1882) 57-64;
R.Eilmann, 'Labyrinthos, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte einer Vor-
stellung und eines Ornamentes' (1931);
P.Lehmann Williams, 'The Meander Door: a labyrinthine Symbol' in
Studi in Honore di L.Banti (1965) 215-222;
N.Himmelmann Wildeschütz, 'Über einige gegenständliche Bedeutungs-
möglichkeiten des frühgriechischen Ornaments' (1968) 261-9.
- 96 Haspels, ABL 268.54, Athens NM 1061; Lehmann, op.cit. pl.49A.
ABL 268.53, Utrecht; P.Wolters, Darstellungen des Labyrinths
(1913) pl.1.
- 97 Wolters, op.cit.(n.88) 122-126, and op.cit.(n.96) 20-21.
- 98 Smith, op.cit.(n.95) 60.
- 99 Eilmann, op.cit.(n.95) 61-64.
- 100 Lehmann, op.cit.(n.95).
- 101 Beazley in Caskey and Beazley 3, 83-87.
- 102 ARV 497.10, London E176; JHS xcii(1972) pl.3a (Oreithyia Painter);
ARV 577.55, Agrigento; E.Gabrici, Vasi Greci Inediti dei Musei di
Palermo e Agrigento (1929) fig.9 (Agrigento
Painter);
ARV 1027.2, London 96.7-16.5; Receuil Dugas pl.XVIII.3 (Polygnotos);
ARV 1050.4, Naples H3089; Receuil Dugas pl.XIX.2 (group of Polygnotos).
- 103 On the Centauromachy at the Feast see B.B.Shefton, 'Herakles and
Theseus on a red-figured louterion' Hesperia xxxi(1962) 330-368,

- and Barron, op.cit.(n.54).
- 104 Shefton, op.cit. 356.
- 105 C.Dugas, in Receuil Dugas 86.
- 106 Shefton, op.cit. 342. He adds (in n.54) that there may be other reasons for the inconsistency: 'Some, considering the painter's capacities, will no doubt think this explanation too flattering.' On the Oreithyia Painter's bride-rescue (see n.102) Herakles has the extra abdominal division which is a hall-mark of the artist of the centauromachy in the Theseion: the Oreithyia Painter, no less than Aristophanes, was influenced and possibly confused by the new iconography.
- 107 The numbers refer to Shefton's list of centauromachies at the feast (op.cit.365-7).
- 108 Beazley, op.cit.(n.101) 86-7.
- 109 Barron, op.cit.(n.54) 29.
- 110 For replicas see K.Schauenburg, 'Zu Repliken in der Vasenmalerei' AA 1977 194-204.
- 111 Beazley, op.cit.(n.101) 85.
- 112 So Shefton, op.cit. 39-40. B.Schiffler, Die Typologie des Kentauren in der antiken Kunst (1976) 28, suggests the tufts are the start of the centaurs' horse mane.
- 113 The way the woman's arm is muffled in her cloak recalls that of the boy cup-bearer on AR 2 and 3, and so the centauromachy at the feast.
- 114 For the artistic tradition of the gigantomachy, see Vian, R and Vian, Guerre.
- 115 See M.Moore, 'Lydos and the gigantomachy' AJA lxxxiii(1979) 79-99 and pls.11-15.
- 116 Athena and giant: e.g. ABV 311, Vatican 365; Vian, R pl.XXVII.123; ABV 376.22, Leipsic; Vian, R pl. XXIX.150.
Poseidon and giant: e.g. ABV 509.140, Vienna 668; Vian, R pl. XXX.156.
- 117 ARV 370.10, Berlin 2293; CVA Berlin 2 pls.67-69.
Compare also the fragmentary gigantomachy cup attributed to the Brygos Painter or Onesimos and published by J-J.Maffre, 'Une gigantomachie de la première décennie du Ve siècle' RA 1972 221-32.
- 118 Altamura Painter: ARV 589.1, London E469; Vian, R pl.XXXVI.337;
Hermonax: ARV 490.125, Ferrara T.0; Aurigemma, Sc.di Spina 1 pls.199-201;
Niobid Painter: ARV 602.24, Ferrara T.313; Aurigemma, Sc.di Spina 1 pls.101-111;
Follower of the Niobid Painter: ARV 1667, Lucerne Market AA; AA Auktion 3 (1961) pls.48-49;
Peleus Painter: ARV 1041.6, Ferrara T.300; Aurigemma, Sc.di Spina 1 pls.114-116.
- 119 See e.g. the last three vases cited in n.118.
- 120 ARV 1680 - see n.67.
- 121 The Painter of the Woolly Satyrs was certainly not immune from the influence of wall paintings: see Barron, op.cit.(n.54). The scene on the other side of the gigantomachy vase shows the Rape of the daughters of Leukippos, and may be influenced by another painting in the Anakeion: see below, 75. The influence of the Parthenon is also possible: the crescent moon may recall Pheidias - though the Brygos Painter too had included Selene in his gigantomachy.
- 122 Suessula Painter or near: ARV 1344.1, Louvre S1677; Pfuhl fig. 584;
Pronomos Painter or near: ARV 1346,1691, Wurzburg 4729; Vian, R pl.XLVI.392;
ARV 1338, Naples 2883; Simon, GV fig.232;
ARV 1337:8, Athens NM 1333; Simon, GV fig.233.
- 123 As is argued by, amongst others, A.von Salis, 'Die Gigantomachie

- am Schilde der Athena Parthenos' JdI lv(1940) 90-169. For a discussion and refutation of the theory that the arch of the heavens appeared on the Shield, see K.Schauenburg, 'Gestirnbilder in Athen und Unteritalien' AK v(1962) 51-64 and especially 55-57.
- 124 See F.Brommer, Die Metopen des Parthenon (1967) text 198-209.
- 125 Brygos Painter: ARV 370.10 - see n.417;
Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy: ARV 417.1, Cab.Med. 573; Vian R pl.XXXVI.335.
- 126 See T.Seki, 'Eine neue Schale mit Bogenschützen' AA 1981 44-64 and especially 59-62 for the view that Aristophanes' cup, along with various others, was designed to be hung on a wall, and that this is reflected in the composition of the sides. I am not convinced.
- 127 cf. ARV 294.62, London E165; El.1 pl.3;
ARV 370.10, Berlin 2293; CVA Berlin 2 pls.67-69;
ARV 250.14, Louvre G228; Vian R pl.XXXVIII.339;
- 128 cf. ARV 1193.1, Leningrad 702; Vian R pl.XXXIX.
- 129 cf. ARV 29.20, Athens NM Acr.211; Vian R pl.XXXIV.331;
ARV 292.29, London E443; Vian R pl.XXXIV.344;
ARV 589.1, London E469; Vian R pl.XXXVI.337.
- 130 Barron, op.cit.(n.54).
- 131 cf. ARV 602.24 -see n.118.
- 132 ARV 1680 - see n.67.
- 133 For giants in skins, cf. ARV 319.3, London E47; EAA iii 538;
ARV 294.62, London E165; El.pl.3.
- 134 cf. ARV 598.4, Boston 00.342; Vian R pl.XLI.382;
ARV 417.1 -see n.125.
- 135 ARV 602.24 - see n.118.
- 136 cf. ARV 294.62 - see n.133.
- 137 Vian, Guerre 137.
- 138 See n.115.
- 139 ARV 1338 - see n.122.
- 140 For illustration see E.Schmidt, The Great Altar of Pergamon (1965) pl.10.
- 141 cf. the Birth of Erichthonios scenes illustrated by Berard, Anodoi pl.2 figs.4-6.
- 142 cf. the Penthesilea Painter's tondo, ARV 879.2, Munich 2689; Pfuhl fig.502: Ge, who holds out the folds of her dress in a manner indicative of distress and alarm, stands behind her son. He, pierced by Apollo's arrows, falls against his mother's legs, while looking piteously up at his tormentor. cf. too the scene on a Polygnotan pelike, ARV 1032.54, Louvre G375; CVA Louvre 8 pl.42: here, as on Aristophanes' scene, Ge is separated from her son by his slayer, and like Aristophanes' Ge she lifts a hand in supplication - in both cases the gesture underlines the futility of her presence.
- 143 For the characteristics of Persians and the confusion which can arise in artistic representations of various kinds of orientals, see K.Schauenburg, 'ΕΡΡΥΜΕΔΩΝ ΕΙΜΙ' AM xc(1975) 97-121 and especially 107-110: he cites all previous bibliography.
- 144 For bearded Persians cf. Herodotos' account of the Athenian Epizelos, blinded at Marathon by the apparition of a huge man 'whose beard overshadowed his shield' (Herodotos vi.117). For beardless Persians see a classical red-figure column krater with a Persian symposion, illustrated in AM xc(1975) pl.38.2.
- 145 For Persians in art see Schauenburg, op.cit.(n.143) and also 'Siegreiche Barbaren' AM xcii(1977) 91-100 (the original publication of MP ADD 21A). See also M.Vickers and J.Barrett, 'The Oxford Brygos cup re-considered' JHS xcvi(1978) 17-24: they remark

- that 'the Greeks seem to have been willing to overcome their reluctance to introduce historical scenes into their art when personalities of the east are involved'(21).
- 146 For examples, see AM xc(1975) pls.34-42.
- 147 ARV 1550.4, Ruvo, Jatta 1515; no published illustrations.
- 148 Schauenburg, op.cit.(n.145) 100.
- 149 Herodotos viii.53.
- 150 Herodotos vi.101.
- 151 Herodotos viii.33.
- 152 cf. the two vases made in the Sotadean workshop probably for Persians in the Delta, discussed by L.Ghali-Kahil, 'Un nouveau vase plastique du potier Sotades au musée du Louvre' RA 1972 271-284, and also the pieces discussed by K.deVries, 'Attic pottery in the Achaemenid Empire' AJA lxxxi(1977) 544-8.
- 153 Herodotos vi.16.
- 154 Herodotos vi.137-9.
- 155 For illustrations of the Ilissos frieze, see C.A.Picón, 'The Ilissos Temple Reconsidered' AJA lxxxii(1978) 47-81, and especially figs.6 and 7 on 54 and 55, discussed on 64-67.
- 156 F.Studniczka, 'Zu den Friesplatten vom ionischen Tempel am Ilissos' JdI xxxi(1916) 169-230, especially 190-197.
- 157 Schauenburg, op.cit.(n.145) 100: he also suggests the possible influence of a wall painting.
- 158 For the cult of Artemis at Brauron see L.Ghali-Kahil, 'Autour de l'Artémis attique' AK viii(1965) 20-33, and 'L'Artémis de Brauron, Rites et Mystère' AK xx(1977) 86-98. Pyxides were certainly dedicated to Artemis at Brauron.
- 159 A strange protruberance projects from Kastor's side: this is presumably a scabbard, but if so the artist has omitted to paint in the baldric.
- 160 O.Jahn, Archäologische Beiträge (1847) 115; A.S.Murray, 'Two vases from Cyprus' JHS viii(1887) 317-323.
- 161 D.E.Papastamos, 'Η αυτοκτονία εις τήν αρχαίαν παραστατικήν τεχνήν' ADelt xxv.1(1970) 36-53.
- 162 C.Robert, Oidipus (1915) 49-51.
- 163 ARV 1344.1 - see n.122.
- 164 Murray, however (op.cit. in n.160, 321), prefers to see the column as an indication of a shrine or temple: 'It is not, I think, likely to be the column on which the sphinx is sometimes seen to be seated.'
- 165 Euripides Phoin. 1507; Sophocles OT 1198. cf. too a scholiast to Euripides Phoin. 26: ἀνελεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν (Oedipus) οὐ μόνον τὴν σφίγγα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τευμησίαν ἀλώπεκα ὡς κόρυνα....
- 166 Thebes, Museum; illustrated in Festschrift B.Schweitzer (1954) pl.29.2 (accompanying the article by R.Lullies, 'Die lesende Sphinx' 140-146).
- 167 Capua 183; illustrated in Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg ix(1972) 11 figs.2a-b (from the article by U.Hausmann, 'Oidipus und die Sphinx' 7-36).
- 168 Robert, op.cit.(n.162) 56.
- 169 For the couplet see Hausmann, op.cit.(n.167) 12,33-34 n.42.
- 170 Hausmann, op.cit.
- 171 Stuttgart, Landesmuseum; Hausmann, op.cit. 23, figs.21-23.
- 172 Schefold, GUH 292-3 n.195.
- 173 cf. a Klazomenian amphora in London, B122, illustrated in Festschrift B.Schweitzer (1954) pl.30.1.
- 174 Boston 97.374; AJA xv(1911) 379 fig.1; cf. too various Etruscan gems, mostly of the third century, on which Oedipus approaches the seated sphinx from behind with a sword, or (once) faces her in

- head-on conflict: see I.Krauskopf, Der thebanische Sagenkreis und andere griechische Sagen in der etruskischen Kunst (1974) 52-53 and pl.19.8,9.
- 175 See J.Boardman, 'A Sam Wide Group Cup in Oxford' JHS xc(1970) 194-195 and pl.II.1,2.
- 176 Oedipus alone: as e.g. on the Oedipus Painter's cup, ARV 451.1, Vatican; Neumann 129 fig.62.
Oedipus with Thebans: as e.g. on Hermonax's pelike, ARV 485.24, Vienna 3728; Hausmann, op.cit.(n.167) 15 figs.5-7.
- 177 cf. amongst others AW 4 or MM 9.
- 178 Murray, op.cit.(n.160) 321-2.
- 179 For the Dioskouroi as σωτήρες see W.Burkert, Griechische Religion (1977) 324.
- 180 For Oedipus' adoption see Sophocles, OC 637: Theseus enfranchises Oedipus with the words χώρα δ' ἔμπολιον κατοικίω.
For the adoption of the Dioskouroi, see Plutarch, Theseus xxxiii.
- 181 ARV 601.22, Louvre G341; see E.Simon, 'Polygnotan Painting and the Niobid Painter' AJA lxxvii(1963) 43-62, and for Oedipus and the Dioskouroi especially 49.
- 182 For the connections of the three with Samothrace see N.Lewis, Samothrace. The Ancient Literary Sources. (Samothrace Volume 1, 1959) 77-78, nos.168 and 168b, 79-80, no.174 (the Dioskouroi); P.M.Fraser, Samothrace. The Inscriptions on Stone. (Samothrace Volume 2 part 1, 1960) 123 (the Dioskouroi) and 16-17 (Aineas); D.Hemberg, Die Kabiren (1950) 98-99 (the Dioskouroi).
- 183 Pliny NH xxxv.10.71: 'laudantur et Aeneas Castorque et Pollux in eadem tabula'.
- 184 B.M.W.Knox, Oedipus at Thebes (1957) 67. For the exposition of this idea, see his second chapter, 53-106.
- 185 Pausanias i.28.7 (Areopagos), i.30.4 (Colonos).
- 186 cf. OC 92,287-8,459-60,576-582,1518ff.
- 187 Quoted by Jebb in the Introduction to his 1900 edition of the OC, xxix.
- 188 For scenes of geographically linked deities and heroes cf. the contemporary Lambros pelike, ARV 1187.1, San Francisco Legion of Honour 1811; CVA San Francisco 1 pls.20.2,21,30.5: here Apollo is visited in his shrine on the sacred way at Daphni by gods and goddesses from neighbouring shrines. For shrines in the Agora see Agora XIV, Chapter VI, Shrines (117-170).
- 189 For the literary sources see E.Kuhnert in Roscher sv. Leukippiden.
- 190 See A.S.F.Gow, Theocritus (1950) vol.2, 383-4.
- 191 Pausanias iii.18.11 (Amyklai), iii.17.1 (Sparta).
- 192 Foce del Sele metopes: P.Zancani Montuoro and V.Zanotti-Bianco, Heraion alla Foce del Sele (1951) pls.95,97;
Siphnian treasury frieze: J.Boardman, Greek Sculpture: the archaic period (1978) fig.212.3.
- 193 Reggio 1027,1028; A.Rumpf, Chalkidische Vasen (1927) pl.XXXV no.15.
- 194 See Brommer, Vasenlisten 509-10.
- 195 Ruvo, Jatta 1096; Sichtermann, GV in Unteritalien pl.61, K39.
- 196 Pausanias i.18.1.
- 197 Benndorf, Gjöl 159-168, especially 165-8. The part of the frieze with the Leukippidai is illustrated on pl.16.
- 198 Pausanias refers to the rape as a ἄρπάζη at Amyklai and Sparta (see n.191).
- 199 The case against Benndorf is put by F.Eichler, Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa (1950) 30-31, and by G.Körte, 'Zu den Friesen von Gjölbaschi, der 'ionischen' Kunst und Polygnot' JdI xxxi(1916) 257-288.
- 200 Euripides Helen 190: the reference is to Pan and the nymphs.

- 201 For the habit of snatching girls from sanctuaries see above, 60.
202 ARV 599.4, Halle 211; E.Bielefeld, Die Antiken-Sammlung des
archaeologischen Instituts der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-
Wittenberg (1952) 125-6 figs.1-3.
203 ARV 1680 - see n.67.
204 Herodotos i.4.
205 For the names of the Leukippidai see Kuhnert, op.cit. (n.189).
206 Pausanias i.19.2.
207 For a detailed study of statues of gods on vase painting, see E.
Bielefeld, Götterstatuen auf Vasenbildern: eine religions-
geschichtlich-archaeologische Studie (1955).
208 Plutarch Nikias iii; Aristophanes Knights 30-31.
209 The vast increase in scenes of the birth of Erichthonios at this
time may be seen in the catalogue given by Kron, Phylenheroen
249-251.
210 Details of this vase were not available to me: it is to be
published in the LIMC s.v. Attica by G.Berger.
211 No full description of this fragment is given because there is
no more to be said about it. For Aglauros and the Kekropids, see
T.Hadzisteliou-Price, Kourotrophos (1978) 104-5.
212 ARV 1248.8, Kansas 31.80; AK Beiheft ix(1973) pl.20 (illustrating
the article by I.Jucker, 'Kephalos im Göttergarten' 63-69).
213 For the Kourotrophos cults of the Acropolis see Hadzisteliou-
Price, op.cit.(n.211) 106-117.
214 For the patriotic role played by Erechtheus in Euripides' Erechtheus
see C.Austin, 'De nouveaux fragments de l'Erechthée d'Euripide'
Récherches de Papyrologie iv(1967) 11-67; for Erechtheus as a
symbol of Attic αὐτοχθονία and εὐγένεια, see G.Walsh, 'The
Rhetoric of birthright and race in Euripides' Ion' Hermes cvi
(1978) 301-315.
215 For the later popularity of the apotheosis see Metzger, Représent-
ations 210-229.
216 The Sosias Painter's cup: ARV 21.1, Berlin 2278; Simon, GV figs.
118-119.
217 For scenes of Herakles with Deianeira see Brommer, Vasenlisten 38.
An example of Herakles parting from Deianeira is ARV 1642.5 bis,
Padula T.xliiii; AJA lxiv(1960) pl.104.5. For scenes of Herakles,
Nessos and Deianeira, see n.102.
218 F.Brommer, 'Herakles und die Hesperiden auf Vasenbildern' JdI lvii
(1942) 105-123.
219 Herakles picks the apples: e.g. ABV 476, Gela Navarre 125; CVA
Gela 3 pls.17.3,4,18.3,4;
Herakles holds the sky: e.g. ABV 522.60, Athens NM 1132; Haspels,
ABL pl.47.3;
Herakles makes off with the fruit: e.g. ABV 472, Berlin 3261;
Brommer, op.cit.(n.218) 109 fig.2;
Hesperides on the scene: black-figure amphora in Boulogne; Gerhard,
AV pl.98.
220 Kleophradean fragments: A.Greifenhagen, Neue Fragmente des
Kleophrades-malers (1972) pl.25;
Providence Painter: ARV 639.56, Leningrad 640; Annali 1859 pls. G,H;
Syracuse Painter: Illinois 70-8-4; W.G.Moon, Greek vase-painting
in Midwestern collections (1980) 176-177. Professor Robertson
kindly supplied this interpretation of the scene in a letter of
19 November 1978: '1st Hesperid 'Give us back our apples, you
nasty man'; 2nd Hesperid 'Oh dear, oh dear'; 3rd Hesperid (to snake)
'How dare you let him take them? What do you think you're here
for?'; Snake 'Well, look at that stick. I have my back to think
of'.
221 See Metzger, Représentations 202-210, and for examples of fourth

- century vase paintings of the Hesperides, pl.27.1-4.
- 222 Olympia metope illustrated by B.Ashmole, N.Yalouris and A.Frantz, Olympia, the sculpture of the Temple of Zeus (1967) fig.188.
- 223 Three-figure relief illustrated in Hesperia xxxiii(1964) pl.11a-d.
- 224 The fragmentary state of the surviving sculpture from the Hephaist-eion makes reconstruction of its iconography speculative. One of the metopes may show Herakles with the apples: Hesperia xxxi(1962) pl.76A; an acroterion may show a pair of Hesperides: Hesperia xxxii(1963) pl.35C; the pediment may have shown Herakles entering Olympus with the apples: Hesperia xviii(1949) pl.63.
- 225 ARV 806.90, London E772; FR, pl.57.2.
- 226 ARV 763.1, London D6; Pfuhl fig.527.
- 227 The best is the Orchard Painter's name vase, ARV 523.1, New York 07.286.74; Richter and Hall pl.91.87.
- 228 Examples of women seated on either side of a tree are:
Palermo, Banco di Sicilia 684; CVA Palermo. Banco di Sicilia pl.12.1,2;
Vienna, University 739.6; CVA Vienna University pl.6.11;
Athens, Kerameikos; AM lxxxi(1966) Beil.21.4;
Athens, Kerameikos; Kerameikos IX pl.86.5,E.22.1.
Examples of women shaking the tree are:
Athens, Kerameikos; Kerameikos IX pls.27.2,2,4, 27.7, 16.5 (tree with snake-like trunk).
- 229 The references in the Theogony are 215-216:
Ἑσπερίδας θ' αἰς μῆλα πέρην κλυτοῦ Ἰλκεανόου
χρυσέα καλὰ μέλουσι φέροντά τε δένδρεα καρπὸν
and 334-5, describing the snake:
ὅς ἐρεμνῆς κεύθεσι γαίης
πέριαιον ἐν μεγάλοις παγχρυσέα μῆλα φυλάσσει
- 230 Odyssey vii.113-132 (Alkinous' estates) and xv.403-414 (Eumaios' fertile homeland).
- 231 For the Greek fascination with gardens cf. Xenophon's description of Cyrus' παρὰδεισοῦ at Kelainai or Sittake (Anabasis ii.7-8, iv.14), or his report of Cyrus' own gardening activities (Oec. iv.20-25). For Persian gardens see D.Stronach, Pasargadae (1978), and A.L.Oppenheim, 'On Royal Gardens in Mesopotamia' Journal of Near Eastern Studies xxiv(1965) 328-333.
- 232 Quoted by D.L.Page, Lyrica Graeca Selecta (1968) 118 frag. 224.
- 233 Quoted by D.L.Page, op.cit. 136, frag. 266.
- 234 For a general discussion of the ancient symbolism of apples see M.K.Brazda, Zur Bedeutung des Apfels in der antiken Kultur (1977).
- 235 For the love and death association see especially M.Alexiou and P.Dronke, 'The lament of Jephtha's Daughter: Themes, Traditions, Originality' Studi Mediaevali xii.2(1971) 819-63.
- 236 Hesiod, Theogony 215,335 (Hesperides); Works and Days 168,170 (Islands of the Blessed).
- 237 Pindar Ol. 2.71ff.
- 238 Hesiod, Works and Days 170. On the god-like existence of the heroes in the Islands of the blessed see D.Roloff, Göttähnlichkeit: Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu seligen Leben (1970), especially 93ff.
- 239 Euripides Hippolytos 742-751.
- 240 The Three-figure reliefs are discussed below, 98-100.
- 241 Rutherford-Roberts, Pyxis 186-7. The Iphigeneia pyxis, ARV 805-6. 89, London E773, is illustrated in pls. 62 and 103.1.
- 242 Athens NM; partially illustrated in BCH lxxxv(1961) 604 fig.4.
- 243 It may be suggested that the iconography of other black-figure lekythoi may be interpreted as funerary too: for a discussion of some possible candidates see M.Wegner, 'Schwarzfigurige Lekythos mit Unterweltsbild' Festschrift für Frank Brommer (1977) 303-5.
- 244 The monument is discussed by Kron, Phylenheroen 228-241.

- 245 The reference in Aristophanes' Peace (1183ff) is to the unlucky man who happens to be chatting by the statue of Pandion when he notices his own name in a list of men due to leave that day.
- 246 ARV 1153.17, Syracuse 30747; Kron, Phylenheroen pl.20.21; cf. the departing heroes on an oinochoe attributed to the Eretria Painter, ARV 1249.21, Palermo 12480; AK xix(1971) pl.30.2-4.
- 247 For the dates of the Nike Temple see n.35.
- 248 For the historical Myrrinhe, see D.Lewis, 'Notes on Attic Inscriptions (II)' BSA 1(1955) 1-36.
- 249 For the shrine of Pandion see Kron, Phylenheroen 109ff.
- 250 J.D.Beazley, AJA xxxix(1935) 487.
- 251 The two vases are ARV 1337.8, Athens NM 1333, discussed and illustrated by S.Karouzou, 'Une tombe de Tanagra' BCH xcv(1971) 109-145, especially 124-138, and ARV 1440.4, Athens NM 1435, discussed and illustrated by S.Karouzou, "Ἡρώεις ἄγγυαί" σ'ἐνὶν Ἀττικῶ κρητήρα' ADelt xix(1964) 1-16, pls. 1-4 and opposite 8. This second vase is also discussed by E.Simon, 'Attische Monatsbilder' JdI lxxx (1965) 105-123.
- 252 Akamas may be singled out for special distinction because he was the local hero of the Kerameikos, the deme of which belonged to his tribe. The latest discussion of the iconography of the heroes is that of E.Harrison, 'The iconography of the eponymous heroes on the Parthenon and in the Agora', in Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: essays in honour of Margaret Thompson (1979) 71-85. Harrison refers to the chthonic aspects of Akamas on 76.
- 253 Plato, Gorgias 523a-524a.
- 254 For this interpretation see amongst others Furtwängler in FR i 43, or H.B.Walters in CVA London 6 7: 'In the lower zone is a scene from the story of the Argonauts'.
- 255 Medea always carries her casket, for example, on the Talos scenes, including the Talos Painter's, ARV 1338.1, Ruvo, Jatta 1501, Simon, GV fig.230.
- 256 Pausanias reports (viii.11.3) that the daughters of Pelias are never named by the poets, but that Mikon called them Asteropeia and Antioe. In the Iliad (ii.715) one is called Alkestis. On a red-figure krater in Tarquinia, ARV 864.16, Annali 1876 pl.F, one is named Alkandra.
- 257 For Medea's relationship with Aigeus, see Pausanias ii.3.6, or Euripides Medea 663ff.
- 258 C.Robert, 'Archäologische Nachlese' Hermes xxxv(1900) 650-668 (the snake is referred to on 663).
- 259 The reports of a connection between Herakles and Medea are late and uncertain: a scholiast to Apollonios Rhodios i.1289 and Diodoros Siculos iv.54.6 and 55.4 say that Herakles acted as an intermediary between Jason and Medea in Colchis, and when Medea fled from Corinth after the murder of her children and of Jason's bride she went first to Herakles in Thebes, whom she cured of a frenzy; since he had a lot of labours to do he was unable to offer her protection, and so she went on to Athens to seek the help of Aigeus. Another tradition recorded by Pausanias (i.5.2, x.10.1) says that the hero Antiochos was the son of Herakles and a woman named Meda or Mideia. But these traditions may not have been current in the classical period, and cannot be relied upon.
- 260 See B.B.Shefton, 'Medea at Marathon' AJA lx(1956) 159-163.
- 261 See Brommer, Vasenlisten 493-4, and H.Meyer, Medeia und die Peliaden (1980).
- 262 See the Hypothesis to Euripides' Medea.
- 263 For magic and witches cf. Aristophanes Clouds 749ff; Plato Gorgias 513a; the Hippocratic treatise on Epilepsy iv; Antiphon,

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- 264 For Aristophanes and rejuvenation, see F.M.Cornford, The origin of Attic comedy (1914) 88ff. The reference in Euripides Bacchai is 184ff. cf. too Alkibiades' use of the metaphor of old age and rejuvenation in reference to the state, Thucydides vi.18.6.
- 265 Aristophanes, Knights 1321 and scholiast.
- 266 The literature on the Three-figure reliefs is vast. See especially the following:
H.Götze, 'Die attischen Dreifigurenreliefs' RM liii(1938) 189-280;
H.Götze, 'Die Deutung des Hesperidenrelief' JdI lxxiii-lxxiv(1948-9) 91-99;
H.Thompson, 'The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora' Hesperia xxi(1952) 47-82;
R.E.Wycherly, 'The Altar of Eleos' CQ N.S.iv(1954) 143-150;
E.Harrison, 'Hesperides and Heroes: a note on the three-figure reliefs' Hesperia xxxiii(1964) 76-82;
O.Lee, 'Mystic Orpheus, another note on the three-figure reliefs' Hesperia xxxiii(1964) 401-404;
W.Möbius, Die Reliefs der Portlandvase und das antike Dreifigurenbild (1965) 13ff;
Agora III 119-122.363-378(testimonia for the altar of the twelve gods) and 67-74.163-190 (testimonia for the altar of Eleos);
E.Langlotz, 'Das Hesperiden-Relief Albani' Bonner Festgabe J.Straub (Bonner Jbb.Beiheft xxxix, 1977)91-112;
B.S.Ridgway, Fifth century styles in Greek sculpture (1981) 206-10;
H.Meyer, Medeia und die Peliaden (1980) 133-139.
- 267 Thompson, op.cit.(n.266)
- 268 For criticism of Eleos meaning pity, see G.Zuntz, 'The Altar of Mercy' Classica et Mediaevalia xiv(1953) 71-85. On the separate altar of Eleos, see most recently E.Vanderpool, 'The 'Agora' of Pausanias I,17,1-2' Hesperia xliiii(1974) 308-310.
- 269 Harrison, op.cit.(n.266).
- 270 L.Beschi, Sculture Greche e Romane di Cirene (1959) 76 n.40.
- 271 Langlotz, op.cit.(n.266).
- 272 Ridgway, op.cit.(n.266).
- 273 Sophocles, Antigone 332-375.
- 274 The suggestion is Beazley's: see L.Ghali-Kahil in AK Beiheft i (1963) 26.
- 275 The two most important discussions of Adonis are by W.Atallah, Adonis dans la littérature et l'art grecs (1966) - a straightforward survey and discussion of the evidence - and M.Détienne, Les Jardins d'Adonis (La mythologie des aromats en Grèce) (1972) - a fascinating structuralist analysis of the god and his cult.
- 276 D.L.Page and E.Lobel, Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta (1955) frags. 140(a) and 168.
- 277 See e.g. Servius, commenting on Aeneid iii.279:
'Phaon of Lesbos... was a boatman whose job it was to ferry passengers from Lesbos to the mainland for a fee. To Venus, disguised as an old woman, he gave a free passage. She rewarded him with an alabastron of unguent. Daily anointment with this caused women to fall in love with him...One woman, failing to win him, is said to have thrown herself from the Leukadian cliff.'
- cf. Aelian, Hist.Var. xii.18, and Palaiphatos, περὶ Ἀπλοτών xlviiii.
- 278 See H.Jacobson, Ovid's Heroides (1974) 281 and G.Nagy, 'Phaethon, Sappho's Phaon, and the white rock of Leukas' HSCP lxxvii(1973) 137-177.
- 279 This is the view taken, for example, by C.M.Bowra in Greek Lyric Poetry (ed.2 1961) 213-4.
- 280 For Cyprus in the diffusion of the cult of Adonis and Aphrodite

- see B.D.Merritt, Hesperia iv(1935) 573-4. For general trading and cultural connections between Cyprus and the mainland in the fifth century see R.Meiggs, The Athenian Empire (1972) appendix 7.
- 281 Athenaios xiv.638e-f (Adonia), ii.69d (Phaon).
- 282 Aristophanes, Peace 420, Lysistrate 387-398.
- 283 See W.A.Roscher in Roscher sv. Adonis.
- 284 For Menander's Samian see N.Weill, 'La fête d'Adonis dans la Samienne de Menandre' BCH xciv(1970) 591-593.
- 285 For Plato's Phaon see J.M.Edmonds, The fragments of Attic comedy (1957-61) i 541-547 frags. 173-182.
- 286 For Antiphanes' Phaon see Edmonds, op.cit. ii 275-7, frag. 214, and for Menander's Leukadian, ii 674 frag. 308A.
- 287 See n.282.
- 288 See Atallah, op.cit.(n.275), Deubner 220-222 and N.Weill, 'Adonia-zousai ou les femmes sur le toit' BCH xc(1966) 664-698, for a general picture of the Adonia.
- 289 Plutarch Nikias xiii.7.
- 290 Plutarch Alkibiades xviii.4.
- 291 Aristophanes Lysistrate 393,396. cf. Ammianus Marcellinus' account of the entry of the emperor Julian into Antioch in 362A.D. during the festival of the Adonia, when 'on all sides melancholy wailing was heard and cries of grief...' (xxii.9.15).
- 292 The literary sources for the gardens are conveniently assembled by Deubner, 221.
- 293 For Menander see Weill, op.cit.(n.284) and for Alkiphron F.R. Walton, 'The date of the Adonia at Athens' Harvard Theological Review xxxi(1938) 65-72, especially 69-72.
- 294 D tienne, op.cit.(n.275) passim.
- 295 See Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazousai.
- 296 Published by G.Gullini, 'Un nuovo frammento del maestro di Pentesilea' Archclass N.S.ii(1950) 191-193 and pl.53.1,2.
- 297 Agora P10270; AJA liv(1950) 320 fig.6.
- 298 ARV 1058.86, Bologna 288 bis; Pfuhl fig.557.
- 299 ARV 1145.24, Agora P7784; no published illustrations.
- 300 ARV 1179.3, Louvre CA1679.
- 301 Para 400 - see n.43.
- 302 For examples, see Metzger, Repr sentations 92-99 and pl.VII.
- 303 Simon, GV 148.
- 304 Theocritus, Idylls xv.119-123 (trans. Gow).
- 305 Theocritus, Idylls xv.112.
- 306 At all events Demonassa can hardly be any one of the five women of this name listed by H.W.Stoll in Roscher s.v. Demonassa - the mother of Philoktetes or of a pair of Argonauts, the wife of Adrastos or Hippolochos, or the daughter of Amphiaraos.
- 307 Theocritus, Idylls xv.128-131.
- 308 On the inyx see A.S.F.Gow, 'ἰϋγγυ, ρόμβος, rhombus, turbo' JHS liv(1934) 1-13, and G.W.Nelson, 'A Greek votive inyx-wheel in Boston' AJA xliv(1940) 443-456.
- 309 Pindar, Pythians iv.213-216.
- 310 Theocritus, Idylls ii.17,22,27 etc:
ἰϋγγυ, ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα.
It is suggested that the bird's use in erotic magic may have been inspired by the curious writhing movements of its neck in the mating season...
- 311 ARV 1250.32, London E774; FR pl.57.3.
- 312 For Pan at the Birth of Aphrodite cf. ARV 888.155, Boston 01.8032; E.Simon, Die Geburt der Aphrodite (1959) 48 fig.30. For the gesture of ἀποσκοπεῖν, see I.Jucker, Der Gestus des Aposkopein (1956). Pan also appears on a fourth century Adonia scene where

- women and Erotes bring Adonis gardens down a ladder, ARV 1482.1, London E241; Nicole 150.
- 313 Quoted by Weill, op.cit.(n.284) 591.
- 314 Compare the same action performed by a figure on MM 92 where preparations for a festival in honour of Aphrodite are in progress, or two figures on the Parthenon frieze, W6 and W15, illustrated by F.Brommer, Der Parthenonfries (1977) pls.20,43.
- 315 Another Thamyris scene, on a squat lekythos of 'tallboy' shape was to have been included here. The vase, in Basle, shows the musician playing between two muses in a sanctuary; it is illustrated by K.Schefold, Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst (1960) 233 no.287. But it has recently been brought to my notice that Beazley thought the vase was 'false': I have therefore decided to exclude it from the list until I can obtain good photographs or see the vase itself.
- 316 For Mousaios see Höfer in Roscher s.v. Musaios and G.M.A.Richter in her publication of MP 7, 'Two recent acquisitions by the Metropolitan Museum of Art: (1) A pelike by the Meidias Painter' AJA xliii(1939) 1-6.
- 317 Mousaios with Apollo: e.g. ARV 116.35, Bologna 292; CVA Bologna 4 pl.77;
Mousaios with Muses: e.g. ARV 1259.4, Victoria and Albert 666.1864; L'Antiquite Classique iv(1935) pl.XXXI;
Mousaios with Linos: e.g. ARV 1254.80, Louvre G457; Pottier pl.148.
- 318 For Marsyas see J.Boardman, 'Some Attic fragments: pot, plaque and dithyramb' JHS lxxvi(1956) 18-25, especially 18-20; C.Clairmont, 'Apollo and Marsyas' Yale Classical Studies xv(1957) 161-178; K.Schauenburg, 'Marsyas' RM lxxv(1958) 42-66; B.Otto, 'Marsyas im Thiasos' Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg xii(1975) 21-38; Froning, Dithyramb 29-44.
- 319 For an early representation of Olympos and his story see S.Karouzou, 'A proto-Panathenaic amphora at Athens' AJA xlii(1938) 495-505.
- 320 Plutarch, περὶ μουσικῆς vii.11.
- 321 Euripides, Iphigeneia in Aulis 577-9; Aristophanes, Knights 9.
- 322 For the Thasos torso see BCH lx(1936) pl.43.
- 323 See the catalogue compiled by Froning, Dithyramb 40-44.
- 324 Illustrated by Karouzou, op.cit.(n.318) figs.1-3.
- 325 Illustrated by K.Schefold, op.cit.(n.315) 153 no.132.
- 326 As e.g. on ARV 1477.5; E.M.W.Tillyard, The Hope Vases (1923) pl.27, no.169.
- 327 Polygnotos' Marsyas and Olympos are described by Pausanias, x.30.9. They appear together on a fourth century mirror, New York 14.130.4, illustrated by G.M.A.Richter, Handbook of the Greek Collection (1953) pl.89b, and also on South Italian vase paintings, such as one illustrated by Schauenburg, op.cit.(n.318) pl.30.
- 328 e.g. Minervini, in his original publication of the vase, op.cit. (n,2).
- 329 Schauenburg, op.cit.(n.318) 47.
- 330 Both spellings, Thamyris and Thamyras appear in the literary sources. Since he is Thamyris on the vases I have kept this form. On his history see Höfer in Roscher s.v. Thamyras, and Froning, Dithyramb 75-86.
- 331 Iliad ii.594-9.
- 332 Euripides, Rhesus 921-5.
- 333 Froning, Dithyramb 75-84.
- 334 See Froning, Dithyramb 84-86.
- 335 Apollodoros i.3.3.
- 336 Pausanias x.30.8.
- 337 The other Thamyris vases are:
ARV 1020.92, Vatican; A.D.Trendall and T.B.L.Webster, Illustrations

- of Greek Drama (1971) fig.III.2.9;
ARV 1020.93, Naples 3143; ÖJh viii(1905) 39 fig.7;
ARV 1061.152, Oxford 530; Trendall and Webster, op.cit. fig.III.2.10;
ARV 1123.6, Leningrad 711; A.Greifenhagen, Alte Zeichnungen nach unbekanntem griechischen Vasen (1976) fig.24;
ARV 1171.1, Ferrara T.127; Alfieri and Arias, Spina pl.108. (Polion)
338 A.Michaelis, Thamyris und Sappho (1865).
339 A.Furtwängler, Eros in Vasenmalerei (1874) 33-34.
340 K.Schefold, 'Statuen auf Vasenbildern' JdI lii(1937) 30-75 (the Thamyris scenes on 47-48).
341 Froning, Dithyramb 75-7.
342 ARV 1578, Agora P43(393); illustrated by M.Wegner, Musikgeschichte in Bildern (1964) 93 fig.58.
343 G.M.A.Richter in Richter and Hall, 204.
344 Froning, Dithyramb 118 n.485.
345⁶ As suggested by M.Robertson in BSA lx(1965) 43 n.11. For Polygnotos' hare see Mantiss. proverb. ii.66, Overbeck no.1065:
... δόξαν παρέοχετο τοῖς ὀρώσει ζῶν εἶναι τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο...
346⁵ Compare the animal on a hoof-vase in New York, 38.11.2, illustrated in AJA xliii(1939) 7 fig.5, which lifts a paw in just the same way.
347 Sichtermann, GV in Unteritalien 22-23.
348 Real 69.
349 Froning, Dithyramb 77.
350 Sichtermann, op.cit.(n.347).
351 For Apollo see Froning, Dithyramb 77,118 n.487.
352 Schefold, op.cit.(n.340) 48.
353 The Phiale Painter's scenes are on ARV 1020.92 and 1020.93 - see n.337.
354 Kadmos Painter: ARV 1184-1187; nos.1,4,5,13, and 14 have Marsyas scenes;
Pothos Painter: ARV 1188-1191; nos.19,20, 21 and 22 have Marsyas scenes.
355 Froning, Dithyramb e.g. 83.
356 Plutarch, Alkibiades ii.4-5.
357 Plato, Republic 399A.
358 Suidas, s.v. Antigenides.
359 The bibliography on personifications is vast. Among the most useful are the following:
B.Pappadaki-Aggelidou, Αἱ προσωποποιήσεις εἰς τὴν Ἀρχαῖαν Ἑλληνικὴν τέχνην (1960);
F.W.Hamdorf, Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der Vorhellenistischen Zeit (1964);
H.A.Shapiro, Personification of abstract concepts in Greek art and Literature to the end of the fifth century B.C. (Dissertation Princeton 1977);
D.Metzler, 'Eunomia und Aphrodite, Zur Ikonologie einer attischen Vasengruppe' Hephaistos ii(1980) 73-88.
360 For the all-night festivals, παννυχίδες, see L.Ziehen in PW s.v. παννυχίς. Various festivals incorporated a παννυχίς, but the gods most frequently honoured in this way were Aphrodite and Dionysos.
361 Only 19 vases are listed in the chart, but MM ADD 10A has a personification scene on sides A and B.
362 The popularity of Paidia may be linked with that of παιδεία, games, in the later fifth century: the comic poet Krates is said to have written a play with this title, for which see A.Körte in PW s.v. Krates 4.
363 Pappadaki-Aggelidou, op.cit.(n.359) 128-9.
364 Munich 234; Metzger, Représentations pl.V.1.

- 365 cf. a pelike in the Kerch style, New York 25.190, Richter and Hall pl.164.177: here Pompe appear with Dionysos, holding a branch before the seated god, while a kanoun lies on the ground and an Eros fastens his sandal.
- 366 As suggested by G.M.A.Richter in Richter and Hall, 202.
- 367 For literary personifications see Hamdorf and Shapiro, op.cit.(n.359).
- 368 The Shield of Achilles is described in the Iliad xviii.535ff. The Shield of Herakles is described in the Hesiodic Shield 144ff: it includes such figures as Φόβος, "Ερις, Προϊώξεις, Παλιΐώξεις, "Ομαδος Φόβος and Άνδροκτασίη. For a full discussion of both Shields see K.Fittschen, Archaeologica Homerica, Bildkunst Teil 1, Der Schild des Achilleus (1973).
- 369 Dike and Adikia, Eris, Nyx and Phobos on the Chest of Kypselos: Pausanias v.18.9,19.2,18.1,19.4.
- 370 ARV 1073.4, ex market, Rosi; illustrated by J.D.Beazley, 'The Rosi krater' JHS lxxvii(1947) 1-9 and New York 12.229.14; Richter and Hall pl.138.136.
- 371 ARV 1173.1 - see n.37.
- 372 E.M.W.Tillyard, The Hope Vases (1923) pl.15.114 and 63-4.
- 373 ARV 1250.34, Athens NM 1629; Simon, GV fig.216.
- 374 ARV 1248.8 - see n.212.
- 375 On the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous see Ghali-Kahil, Helen 60.
- 376 For the paintings of Alkibiades see n.17.
- 377 For Parrhasios' Demos see Pliny xxxv.69 and for Dionysos and Virtus Pliny xxxv.70.
- 378 E.Pottier, 'Les représentations allégoriques dans les peintures de vases grecs' Mons.Grecs. xvii-xix(1889-90) 1ff.
- 379 T.B.L.Webster, 'Personification as a mode of Greek Thought' Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes xvii.1-2(1954) 10-21, with the quotation taken from 19.
- 380 For elaboration of this idea in reference to other aspects of Greek religion see T.Hadzistelious-Price, 'Double and Multiple Representations in Greek Art and Religious Thought' JHS xci(1971) 48-69.
- 381 cf Diotima's explanation of Eros in Plato's Symposion (202E-203A) as a go-between for gods and men.
- 382 The date of the establishment of the cult of Eirene is uncertain. Plutarch (Kimon xiii.6) says the altar of Eirene was raised after the battle of the Eurymedon (465) or the Peace of Kallias (446), but this is not reliable, and there is no real certainty before the fourth century. See Hamdorf, op.cit. (n.359).
- 383 For the cult of Hygieia see Shapiro, op.cit.(n.359) 242-5.
- 384 As suggested by Shapiro, op.cit.(n.359) 243.
- 385 For Peitho see Hamdorf, op.cit.(n.359) 63-4,117-8.
- 386 Pausanias i.22.3.
- 387 Aeschylus, Agamemnon 385-6.
- 388 The most important discussion of these two is that of R.Hampe, 'Eukleia und Eunomia' RM lxxii(1955) 107-123; starting from MM 87 he goes on to consider the character and functions of the pair, their cult and its history.
- 389 Bacchylides Ep.xii.183ff.
- 390 Hampe, op.cit.(n.388). Certainly young couples offered to Eukleia in Boeotia and Locris before marriage (Plutarch Arist.xx).
- 391 Pausanias i.14.5: ναός Ευκλείας, ἀνάθημα καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Μήδων οἱ τῆς χώρας Μαλαθῶνι ἔσχον.
- 392 E.Harrison, 'The architectural sculpture of the so-called Theseum' Acta of the XIth International Congress of classical archaeology (1979) 220.
- 393 Pseudo-Demosthenes xxv.35.
- 394 Hampe, op.cit.(n.388) 119. The fragment of the Persai is Diehl's

frag.6e,249-254: to me it does not appear to provide conclusive evidence for the establishment of Eunomia's cult, but the reference could be taken this way:

ἄλλ' ἐκαταβόλε Πύθι, ἄγν' ἄν
 ἔλθοις τάνδε πόλιν, σὺν ὀλ-
 βωι, πέμπων ἀπήμονι λα-
 ῶι τῶδ' εἰρήνην,
 θαλλοῦσαν εὐνομίαι..

- 395 For the association of Eunomia with weddings, cf. an Apulian vase illustrated in FR pl.149 and iii 172, on which Eunomia appears at the wedding of Herakles and Hebe.
- 396 F.Brückner, Athenische Hochzeitsgeschenke' AM xxxii(1907) 78-122, with the quotation taken from 117.
- 397 Hesiod, Theogony 902.
- 398 Odyssey xvii.487.
- 399 M.L.West, Iambi et elegi Graecae (1972) ii 122, from Solon frag.4.
- 400 Thucydides i.18.1.
- 401 Bacchylides Ep. xiii.186-9, Pindar Ol. xiii.6-9.
- 402 West, op.cit.(n.399) 149-152, Tyrtaios 1-4.
- 403 G.Grossmann, Politische Schlagwörter aus der Zeit des peloponnesischen Kriegs (1950).
- 404 cf. amongst other examples Xenophon, Const.Lak. viii.1, Plato, Alk.122C, Thucydides ii.11.9.
- 405 Thucydides viii.1.4.
- 406 Thucydides viii.64.
- 407 Aristotle, Pol. 1300A (cf.1322B-1323A), Xenophon Oik. ix.14.
- 408 Agora P1700, Hesperia xviii(1949) pl.4 and 104-7.
- 409 Boston 00.354, Caskey and Beazley pl.106, no.175.
- 410 Euripides also employs personifications: cf. his invocation of Eulabeia in Phoin. (782-3), Lyssa in Herakles Main.(822ff), or Hope in Iphigeneia at Aulis (392-3).
- 411 Plato, Phaedrus 248.
- 412 Aristophanes, Acharnians 989-92.
- 413 The piece is published by P.Pericay, 'La escena de figuras femeninas con nombres de deidades, en un fragmento de ceramica griega de Ullastret (Gerona)' Miscelanea Arqueologica 1978 vol.2,165-172.
- 414 ARV 458.1, Boston 1386, Caskey and Beazley pls.76-77 and iii 32-39 for discussion.
- 415 Pausanias ii.21.2.
- 416 J.D.Beazley, op.cit.(n.414) 37.
- 417 Froning, Dithyramb 52-56.
- 418 ARV 1188, Vienna 1144; CVA Vienna 3 pl.118.4-6.
- 419 Scholiasts to Sophocles Philoktetes 194.
- 420 This is explained by Philoktetes in Dio Chrysostom lii.
- 421 Plutarch Theseus xxvii.
- 422 See above, 78.
- 423 H.Sichtermann, 'Hyakinthos' JdI lxxi(1956) 97-123 (the Meidian vase is discussed on 122).
- 424 For the libating Apollo see E.Simon, Opfernde Götter (1953) 13-46.
- 425 For Apolline palms and the references in Plutarch see C.Dugas, 'Fragment de bas-relief du musée du Louvre' BCH xxxiv(1910) 233-241, especially 236-7, n.4, and W.Deonna, 'L'ex voto de Cypselos à Delphes: le symbolisme du palmier et des grenouilles' BHR cxxxix-cxl(1951) 162-207; especially 174-178. Palm trees are common in Apollo's libation scenes: cf. ARV 604.53, London E274; CVA London 3 pl.13.2.
- 426 As is argued by Simon, op.cit.(n.424).
- 427 As e.g. on ARV 606.72, Leningrad; T.B.L.Webster, Der Niobiden-

- maler (1935) pl.21a.
- 428 Simon, op.cit.(n.424)36.
- 429 Metzger, Représentations 270. The later vase is ARV 1439.2, Vienna 935; CVA Vienna 3 pls.131.5,6,132.1,2.
- 430 Metzger, Représentations 270.
- 431 F.Eichler, CVA Vienna 3 text 23.
- 432 The sisterly resemblance has been noted by, amongst others, O. Brendel, in 'The Corbridge Lanx' JRS xxxi(1941) 100-27 (the reference is on 120.)
- 433 ARV 1277.22, Ferrara T.27 CVP; N.Alfieri, Spina, Museo archeologico nazionale di Ferrara, 1 (1979) 92 figs.214,215.
- 434 Strabo xiv.20.
- 435 Cab.Méd. 306; CVA Bib.Nat. 2 pl.86.2,6-8.
- 436 ARV 1187.1 - see n.188.
- 437 e.g. Furtwängler in FR ii 56 n.3.
- 438 e.g. E.Simon in her article 'Neue Deutung zweier eleusinischer Denkmäler des vierten Jahrhunderts v.Chr.' AK ix(1966) 72-91: on 89 she states that the torch-bearer 'durch die Inschrift rechts neben seinem Kopf als Eumolpos gesichert ist'.
- 439 See Bérard, Anodoi 94 n.5: according to museum staff in Boston 'the inscription... could not be found anywhere on the fragments'.
- 440 For the character and ancestry of Eumolpos see Mylonas, Eleusis 6,14,19,25-6,28,41,205,234,292. and N.Richardson, The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (1974) 197-8.
- 441 ARV 459.3, London E140, Simon, GV fig.167.
- 442 Simon, op.cit.(n.438).
- 443 For Iacchos see Mylonas, Eleusis 318. Bérard, Anodoi 94 n.5 and n.7 suggests he may be the figure here.
- 444 Herodotos describes how Demaretos the Spartan and Dikaios the Athenian see a vision of the sacred procession travelling from Athens to Eleusis, and believe τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχόν (Herodotos viii.65).
- 445 Aristophanes, Frogs 340ff.
- 446 Plutarch, Alkibiades xxxiv.
- 447 Pausanias i.2.4.
- 448 For the Dadouchos see Mylonas, Eleusis 208-10, 227, 242-3, and for Keryx, the ancestor of the Kerykidai, 234.
- 449 ARV 1052.23, Eleusis 636; K.G.Kanta, Eleusis (1979) 141 fig.76 (group of Polygnotos).
- 450 For the bacchos see Mylonas, Eleusis 317.
- 451 ARV 1513.24, Vatican; Receuil Dugas pl.XXXIV.
- 452 Plutarch, Alkibiades xxxiv.1-4.
- 453 D.Cramers, 'Ein neues Werk des Meidias-malers' AA 1978 62-73.
- 454 For Asklepios in general see E.J. and L.Edelstein, Asclepios: a collection and interpretation of the testimonies (1945) and for his introduction to Athens and association with Sophocles F.R.Walton, 'A problem in the Ichneutai of Sophocles' HSCP xlvi (1935) 167-189.
- 455 See 145-6.
- 456 For the literary tradition of the Death of Pentheus see E.R.Dodds in the introduction to his edition of Euripides' Bacchai (1960) xxviii-xxxiii, and for a discussion of both artistic and literary traditions, see A.Greifenhagen, 'Der Tod des Pentheus; (eine rotfigurige Hydria)' Berliner Museen NF xvi(1966) heft 2 2-6.
- 457 Euphronios' psykter: ARV 16.14, Boston 10.221; Caskey and Beazley ii pl.31 below;
Pioneer hydria: Berlin 1966.18; Greifenhagen, op.cit.(n.456) 3 fig.4.
Nikosthenes Circle cup: ARV 133.21, Louvre G69; Phillipart, Id. des Bacchantes pl.13A;

- Berlin Painter's stamnos: ARV 208.144, Oxford 1912.1165;
CVA Oxford 1 pls.25.1,2,20.10-12.
- 458 Lekanis lid: Louvre G445; Pottier pl.14.5.
Cup fragment: Villa Giulia 2268; CVA Villa Giulia 2 pl.32.1,2;
South Italian representations include Munich 3267; L.Curtius,
Pentheus (1929) fig.14, and Ruvo, Jatta 1617; Sichtermann, GV
in Unteritalien pl.139.
- 459 cf. for arms muffled in cloaks Theseus facing the boar on the
Penthesilea Painter's cup, ARV 882.35, Ferrara T.18 CVP; Simon,
GV figs.184-8.
- 460 E.Simon, in her publication of MM ADD 10A, 'Kratos und Bia',
Wurzbürger Jahrbuch für die Altertumswissenschaft NF i(1975)
177-186 (the suggestion that the youth is Akamas on 186).
- 461 For a bearded and a beardless Dionysos by the Kadmos Painter, who
seems to maintain this distinction between the god of cult and
the god of the thiasos, see (out of numerous examples)
ARV 1185.7, Leningrad St.1807; Metzger, Représentations pl.XXV.3
(Dionysos and Apollo meet at Delphi, and Dionysos is bearded) and
ARV 1184.1, Ruvo, Jatta 1093; Sichtermann, GV in Unteritalien
pl.17 (Dionysos with thiasos, beardless).
- 462 Euripides, Bacchai 416-7.
- 463 Euripides, Cresph. frag.15, 7-8.
- 464 Aristophanes, Peace 308-9.
- 465 For Thyone see J.Schmidt in Roscher s.v. Thyone.
- 466 For Dione see von Sybel in Roscher s.v. Dione. The two other
vases on which she appears are
ARV 1151.2, Naples 2419; Simon, GV fig.212, and
ARV 1152.8, Vienna 1024; CVA Vienna 3 pl.105.1-4.
- 467 This figure may be seen in the illustration of the Derveni krater
in BCH lxxxvii(1963) pl.16/17.
- 468 M.Robertson, 'Monokrepis' GRBS xiii(1972) 39-48.
- 469 The only other child I can find held by a maenad is on a stamnos
by the Dinos Painter, ARV 1151.1, Bologna 283; Pfuhl fig.581.
But no violence is offered to this child, who might in any case
be a satyr.
- 470 Curtius, op.cit.(n.468).
- 471 cf. MM 76 or the maenad on a neo-Attic relief, illustrated by
G.Caputo, Lo Sculture del grande bassorilievo con la danza della
della menadi in Tolemaide di Cirenaica (1948) pl.13 fig.26.
- 472 Robertson, op.cit.(n.468).
- 473 Pausanias i.20.3.
- 474 See M.Robertson, 'Greek Mosaics' JHS lxxxv(1965) 72-89; the
Pronoman fragment is illustrated on pl.XXII.2, the Delian leopard-
rider on pl.XXII.1.
- 475 The closest parallel to the woman on MM 119 occurs on an amphora
in Naples (126033) attributed to the Oinomaos Painter by E.Zevi,
who suggested the seated figure could be one of the wives of
Herakles. This is speculative, and the precise meaning of the
scene remains undetermined: she could equally be Aphrodite. See
Zevi's article, 'Un nuovo vaso del Pittore di Oinomaos' Rendiconti
della Pont. Accad. Rom. d'Archeol.xv(1939) 37-45 (the vase is
illustrated on 40-41, figs.2,3.)
- 476 For the kanoun and its multiple uses see J.Schelp, Das Kanoun,
Der griechische Opferkorb (1975).
- 477 Compare Sappho's invitation to Aphrodite to take the reins of her
sparrow-drawn chariot and descend to earth (Page, op.cit. in n.232,
98, frag.191,9-12).
- 478 MP 14, MM 52 bis, MM 67, MM 69, MM 85, MM 86, MM 99, MM 119.
- 479 MP 1, MP 5, MP 7, MP 16, CP 1, AW 4, AT 1243 2, MM 45, MM 46,

- MM 47, MM 55, MM 56, MM 57, MM 60, MM ADD 66A, MM 87.
- 480 Achilles Painter: ARV 998.161, Athens NM 1818; Simon, GV figs. 196-7;
Kleophon Painter: ARV 1147.61, Tübingen E112; AM xciii(1978) pl.13.2;
Shuvalov Painter: ARV 1206.4, Ferrara T.512; AM xciii(1978) pl.12;
Painter of Athens 1454: ARV 1179.3, Louvre CA 1679; fig.52.
- 481 E.Langlotz, Aphrodite in den Garten (1953-4).
- 482 Pausanias i.19.2: τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης τῆς ἐν κήποις ἔργον ἔστιν Ἀλκαμένους, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνησίων ἐν ὀλίγοις θέας ἔχει.
- 483 Most of which are succinctly stated by M.Milne in her review of Langlotz, AJA lx(1956) 201-205.
- 484 Pliny xxxvi.16: amongst the works of Alkamenes is a 'Praeclarum... Veneris extra muros quae appellatur Aphrodite ἐν κήποις .'
- 485 For this period of Pheidias' career see Robertson, HGA 321-2.
- 486 As on MM 98.
- 487 B.Schlörb, Untersuchungen zur Bildhauergeneration nach Pheidias (1964).
- 488 A.Delivorrias, 'Das Original der sitzenden 'Aphrodite-Olympias' AM xciii(1978) 1-23 and pls.1-14.
- 489 Pausanias i.23.2: near the Propylaea is ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης ὁ Καλλίου τε φασὶν ἀνάθημα εἶναι καὶ ἔργον Καλλιάμιδος. For the base itself see Agora III 225, Ag.1.5128.
- 490 On the north slope sanctuary see O.Broneer, 'Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis in Athens' Hesperia i(1932) 31-55, and 'Excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis' Hesperia ii(1933) 321-417. For a fragment of Eros see Hesperia ii(1933) 333 fig.4. The Eros frieze is discussed by Delivorrias, op.cit.(n.488).
- 491 Plutarch, Vit. X orat. 2.839C, quoted by Deubner, 15 n.3.
- 492 The ceremony is described by Pausanias, i.27.3. For its interpretation see Broneer, op.cit.(n.490).
- 493 Ridgway, op.cit.(n.266) 234-6.
- 494 Illustrated by Brommer, op.cit.(n.314) pl.179.
- 495 Ampharete is illustrated in AM lix(1934) pl.5 and Beil.3; the Athena from the Nike Parapet is illustrated by Carpenter, op.cit.(n.32) pl.XXIV.
- 496 Aristophanes, Lysistrate 556.
- 497 Pausanias i.19.2: ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταῦτ'α καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς.
- 498 One of the most recent and comprehensive discussions of the origins of Aphrodite may be found in P.Friedrich's The Meaning of Aphrodite (1978) where the relevant references to Innana, Ishtar and the rest are all conveniently assembled.
- 499 See Hesperia i(1932) 43 fig.10. The inscription reads
 Τοῦ Ἑροῦ κε εορτῆ
 Τετράδι κλισταμέν[ο
 Μονόχρον[ο]ς μεν[ος]
- 500 The stones, set in mortar, are illustrated in Hesperia ii(1932) 342 fig.14.
- 501 For the inscription, dated 287/6, see BCH xiii(1889) 162ff. The astynomoi are charged with preparations for a procession, νόμμη, in honour of Aphrodite Pandemos. They must look to the sanctuary of the goddess, prepare a dove for the purification of the shrine, sweep the altars, pitch up the roofs, wash the statues, and prepare purple dye (to repaint the statues?). The ancient establishment of the ceremony is suggested by the phrase κατὰ τὰ πατρί'α .

- 502 For Pannychides see n.360.
- 503 Plutarch, Mor.ii.769A.
- 504 See A.N.Oikonomides, The Two Agoras (1964) 7-8; the inscription is IG II²,5149, and dates from the second century A.D.:
[ἱερ]ῆ[ας Ἀφρο]δο[δίτ]ης Πανδήμου, Νύμφης...
- 505 For bridal shoes see n.366.
- 506 For the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos below the Nike bastion see G.Dontas in Ergon 1960 10-13, and Oikonomides, op.cit.(n.504) 1-14.
- 507 They may also have been placed in the graves of those who died before marriage: see S.Rutherford Roberts, 'Evidence for a pattern in Attic pottery production ca 430-350 B.C.' AJA lxxvii (1973) 435-7.
- 508 The worship of Aphrodite under this cult title was said to have been established by Phaidra in her passion for Hippolytos: see Euripides, Hippolytos 30-33, scholiasts to this passage and to Odyssey xi.326, Diodoros Siculus iv.46 and an inscription from the Acropolis (CIA i.212) which refers to Ἀφροδίτη ἐφ' Ἰηπολύτῳ.
- 509 Pausanias i.14.7: the temple contained a Parian marble cult statue of the goddess by Pheidias. For a possible site for the temple see J.Travlos, Hesperia Supplement viii 391ff. From a well north-east of the Hephaisteion came a third-century female herm, illustrated by J.Travlos, A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens (1970) 82 fig.5.
- 510 The inscription is IG II²,2798.
- 511 The temple of Aphrodite Hetaira at Athens is mentioned by Photios in his Lexicon s.v. Ἐταίρας Ἀφροδίτης, and by Athenaios (571C). Aphrodite Hetaira may be the same as the goddess Blaute who occupied another of the sanctuaries below the Nike bastion. For Blaute see G.W.Elderkin, 'The hero on a sandal' Hesperia x(1941) 381ff.
- 512 cf. Deubner, 216 and n.5.
- 513 For tetradists and Aphrodite see Athenaios 659D.
- 514 On the magisterial capacities of Aphrodite see J. and L.Robert, 'Bulletin Epigraphique' REG lxxii(1959) 229-30; F.Sokolowski, 'Aphrodite as Guardian of Magistrates' Harvard Theological Review lvii(1964) 1-8; F.Croissant and F.Salviat, 'Aphrodite Gardienne des magistrats: gynéconomes de Thasos et polémarques de Thebes' BCH xc(1966) 460-471.
- 515 Xenophon, Hell.v.4.4.
- 516 Plutarch, Comparison of the Lives of Kimon and Lucullus i.3.
- 517 Pausanias i.22.3.
- 518 For Solon the source is Nikander of Kolophon as quoted by Harpokration s.v. Πανδήμος Ἀφροδίτη; for Kleisthenes' possible promotion of the Pandemos cult as a unifying force see E.Simon, 'Aphrodite Pandemos auf attischen Münzen' Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau 1970, band ii 5-19. For the possibility of a similar connection between Aphrodite Pandemos and synoecism on Cos see S.Sherwin-White, Cos (1978) 304.
- 519 For the association between Aphrodite and unguents see F.Brommer, Kretische Löwenschale des siebten Jahrhunderts v.Chr. (1969) 29-32.
- 520 cf. Plato, Symposion 188E: Ἔρως τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμῖν εὐδαιμονίαν παρασκευάζει καὶ ἀλλήλους δυναμένους ὀμιλεῖν καὶ φίλους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς κρείττων ἡμῶν θεοὺς...
- 521 Metzger, Représentations 41-42 explains this change.
- 522 Odyssey vi.
- 523 Pearson, Fragments ii 92-4.
- 524 Vita Sophoclea xii.

- 525 Pearson, Fragments ii nos.441,439.
- 526 cf. amongst others Eustathios, commenting on Iliad, 381,10:
... εοφοκλήης περιάσεται.... δεινός εἶναι σφαιρίσας, ὡς ἡ
κατ' αὐτὸν ἐδηλώσε δραματικῆ Ναυσικάα...
- 527 Pausanias v.19.9.
- 528 Pausanias i.22.6.
- 529 F.Hauser, 'Nausikaa' ÖJh viii(1905) 18-41; cf Touchefeu-Meynier, Thèmes Odysseens 211-213.
- 530 (a): ARV 1281, London E156; Touchefeu-Meynier, Thèmes Odysseens pl.XXXI no.363;
(b): ARV 1107.2, Munich 2322; Touchefeu-Meynier, Thèmes Odysseens pl.XXX no.364;
(c): ARV 857.6, London E316; Touchefeu-Meynier, Thèmes Odysseens pl.XXXI no.366.
- 531 For the pebbly shore in Polygnotos' Troy see Pausanias x.25.11. For other characteristics of the Polygnotan style see Robertson, HGA 240-70.
- 532 Odyssey v.333-353,459-462.
- 533 On this garment see H.Thiersch, Ependytes und Ephod (1936) 29-39.
- 534 For cult scenes with ependytes cf. MP 11 (fig.160) or ARV 1185.7 (see n.461). For theatrical representations of the garment cf. Hephaistos on MM ADD 10A, figs.112-113.
- 535 E.Simon, 'Amynone' LMC Model Articles 1, 7-14, and S.Kaempf-Dimitriadou, Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5.Jahrhunderts v.Chr. (1979) 26-30. See Simon's article for all references to the artistic and literary examples.
- 536 With the possible exception of the two white-ground cups from Brauron, Simon, op.cit.(n.535) nos. 1,2.
- 537 For these see J.D.Beazley, 'Prometheus Firelighter' AJA xliii(1939) 618-639.
- 538 ARV 571.75, Boston 03.788; F.Brommer, Satyrspiele (1959) 14 fig.6.
- 539 There are several choes with satyr scenes. cf. ARV 1660.71 bis, Berlin 1962.33; A.Greifenhagen, Ein Satyrspiel des Aischylos (1963) pls.1-4.
- 540 Simon, op.cit.(n.535).
- 541 Hera must be in the centre of the scene because the chevron border pattern changes direction immediately above her head.
- 542 Simon, op.cit.(n.460). See this article for all references to the literary sources. For further details of the Ixion story in art as well as literature, see E.Simon, 'Ixion und die Schlangen' ÖJh xlii(1956) 5-26.
- 543 ARV 178, Rome, Antiquarium Forense; ÖJh xlii(1956) 16 fig.6;
ARV 110.7, Agora P26228; Hesperia xxviii(1958) pl.22b.
- 544 ARV 832.37, London E155; ÖJh xlii(1956) 5,6, figs.1,2.
- 545 Apulian volute krater in Leningrad: ÖJh lxii(1956) 18-19 figs.8,9;
Campanian amphora in Berlin: ÖJh lxii(1956) 17 fig.7;
Lucanian cup fragment, Tübingen 67.6202; Trendall, LCS Supp.1, 13, no.351a (no published illustrations).
- 546 Hesiod, Theogony 383-388.
- 547 Aeschylus, Prometheus Vincetus 1-87.
- 548 Simon, op.cit.(n.460).
- 549 Plutarch, Mor. xixE.
- 550 Iliad xviii.82-5,191,616-7, xix.3-5.
- 551 Iliad xviii.65-7.
- 552 Euripides, Electra 442ff.
- 553 See B.Döhle, 'Die Achilleis des Aischylos in ihrer Auswirkung auf die attischen Vasenmalerei des 5 Jahrhunderts' Klio il (1967) 63-149, and O.Taplin, 'Aeschylean Silences and Silences in Aeschylus' HSCP lxxvi(1972) 57-97.

- 554 ARV 1248.9 - see n.57.
555 Pliny xxxvi.26.
556 J.D.Beazley in ARV 1326-7.
557 See Neumann 123-4;
Heimarmene Painter: ARV 1173.1 - see n.37;
Oedipus Painter: ARV 451.1 - see n.176;
Late Judgement scene: ARV 1475.5, Athens NM 1181; Neumann 127 fig.61.
- 558 See E.Vermeule and S.Chapman, 'A protoattic human sacrifice?' AJA lxxv(1971) 285-293 and pls.69-72.
- 559 ARV 446.266, Palermo; Kurtz, AWL pl.10.1 (part), Rutherford-Roberts, Pyxis pl.104.3 (drawing of whole vase).
- 560 Photographs of the vase are in the Beazley Archive. A third scene may possibly be associated with the sacrifice: this is on a white-ground pyxis from the Penthesilea workshop in Basle (AAA, Auktion V, 1964,no.134). A youth wearing a helmet and a chlamys and wielding a long spear advances at a rapid pace leading a veiled woman by the wrist. Two women and a man follow with caskets and a sack. Facing the procession is an older, bearded man wrapped in a mantle and with a sceptre in his left hand - his right is raised to his forehead. The heroic dress of the youth and the old man's sceptre suggest a mythological scene, and the arrival of Helen and Paris in Troy is suggested in the AAA Catalogue. In this case the king is Priam, whose gesture expresses anxiety as to the outcome of the matter, and the attendants bear the fabled wealth which Helen brought to Troy. However, there are no other known representations of such a theme, and the rapid pace of the procession is peculiar. It is also unusual, though not without precedent, for Paris to be wearing a helmet. Might the scene instead show some rare version of the Iphigeneia story, with the youth being Achilles, the older man Agamemnon? In the absence of any literary evidence that Achilles ever accepted Iphigeneia as a bride, this is all rather speculative.
- 561 As suggested by B.Sparkes in his review of Rutherford-Roberts, Pyxis, in JHS c(1980) 282.
- 562 For a discussion of artistic representations of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia see Vermeule and Chapman, op.cit.(n.558) and their bibliography, especially E.Löwy, 'Der Schluss der Iphigenie in Aulis' ÖJh xxiv(1929) 1-41.
- 563 Löwy, op.cit.(n.562) 2,10,11,13, figs.2,10,11,12.
564 Löwy, op.cit.(n.562) 29,31, figs.23,23A.
- 565 Séveryns, Récherches sur la Chrétomathie de Proclus vol.iii (1962) text VI-VII, 135-143.
- 566 Aeschylus, Agamemnon 184-246; Pindar, Pyth.xi.23.
567 Euripides, Iphigeneia in Aulis 442-3.
568 Aeschylus, Agamemnon 219.
569 Euripides, Iphigeneia in Aulis 1549-50:
ἀνεστέναιγε, κάμπηλι στρέψης, κάρη
δάκρυα προῆκεν, ὀμμάτων πέπλον πρόθεις
- 570 Timanthes' Sacrifice of Iphigeneia is mentioned by Pliny, xxxv.73: '...patris ipsius voltum velavit, quem digne non poterat ostendere'.
- 571 See Löwy, op.cit.(n.562) for illustrations.
572 See Döhle, op.cit.(n.553) or for a particularly striking illustration, Neumann 143 fig.72.
- 573 The most recent discussion of the Ajax scenes is that of D.Williams, 'Ajax, Odysseus and the arms of Achilles' AK xxiii(1980) 137-45 and pls.33-36. The eight cups are listed on 142 n.39.
- 574 See Séveryns, op.cit.(n.565) text IX, 228-9.
575 See Iliad vi.297ff. That the woman on the pot could be Theano

- was first suggested by E.Braun, Annali 1836 298.
- 576 This tradition is preserved by a scholiast commenting on Iliad vi.311.
- 577 cf. an Apulian pelike, Naples 3231; Moret, Ilioupersis pls.34-5.
- 578 Starting with F.G.Welcker, Die griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus (1839) i 148.
- 579 Severyns, op.cit.(n.565) text IX, 225-6: Odysseus ἀναγνωρίσθεις ὑφ' Ἑλένης περὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῆς πολέως συντίθεται...
- 580 Moret, Ilioupersis 74 n.3.
- 581 Apollodoros v.13.
- 582 Welcker, op.cit.(n.578).
- 583 Moret, Ilioupersis 74.
- 584 Moret, Ilioupersis 74; O.Jahn, Vasenbilder (1831) 31-33.
- 585 Aristotle, Poetics xxiii.1459b; Pollux (ix.4) reports that Sophocles was the author of the Lakainai. For the fragments attributable to the Lakainai see Pearson, Fragments ii 34-38.
- 586 Moret, Ilioupersis 74-5.
- 587 Moret, Ilioupersis 74.
- 588 Makron: ARV 460.13, Leningrad 649; Moret, Ilioupersis pls.30,31; Tyszkiewicz Painter: ARV 1643.33 bis, Stockholm 1963.1; Moret, Ilioupersis pl.29.
- 589 See Moret, Ilioupersis 72 and 72 n.6 and n.7.
- 590 One is illustrated in EAA iii 108 fig.138.
- 591 Pausanias i.22.6. A lost Pompeian painting, published by E.Gerhard, 'Taurisches Palladion' AZ vii(1849) 66-72 and pl.7.1, showed a woman with a Palladion standing between two men in a scene very comparable to ours. Although it has been thought to show Iphigeneia in Tauris with a Palladion instead of a statue of Artemis, the arguments are not conclusive, and it is not impossible that it derived from the Greek original mentioned by Pausanias. The non-survival of either painting makes it difficult to estimate the influence the original might have had on ours.
- 592 ARV 1516.1, Oxford 1931.39; EAA iii 108 fig.140.
- 593 The theory that in the juridical reforms of 409/8 or 403/2 the court ἐνὶ Πάλλασίῳ was transferred from the surveillance of the ephetai to that of a number of heliasts is now generally discounted: on this see A.R.W.Harrison, The law of Athens, 2 Procedure (1971) 37-42.
- 594 See G.Lippold in PW s.v. Palladion.
- 595 For full catalogues and surveys see C.Clairmont, Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst (1951) and I.Raab, Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst (1972).
- 596 Metzger, Représentations 275.
- 597 Severyns, op.cit.(n.565) text V, 84-90. The overpopulation of the world is referred to by a scholiast commenting on Iliad i.5,6; see Metzger, Représentations 271.
- 598 ARV 1185.7, Leningrad St.1807; Metzger, Représentations pl.XXXVII; ARV 1187.32, Berlin 2633, Gerhard, AV pl.C; ARV 1334.28, once Cancellio; Pfuhl fig.591.
- 599 ARV 1185.7 - see n.598.
- 600 The gesture is comparable to that which Desmond Morris has identified as the 'O.K.' gesture; cf.D.Morris and others, Gestures (1979) 100-5.
- 601 cf. ARV 1334.28 - see n.598: here Athena stares broodily out into the middle distance and Hera has turned her back; on ARV 1340.1, Syracuse 38031, CVA Syracuse 1 pls.26-7, Aphrodite sits in the centre while Paris occupies an upper corner; and on a fragmentary krater in Delphi, illustrated in Fouilles de Delphes v (1908) 169 fig.710, Aphrodite is again in the centre, and an Eros brings her a fillet of victory.

- 602 Athenaios mentions the Krisis at 687C.
- 603 For Cratinus' Dionysalexandros see Ghali-Kahil, Helen 143-4.
- 604 See T.W.Stinton, Euripides and the Judgement of Paris (1965).
- 605 As in the Helen, 23-30 or the Hekabe 644-6.
- 606 Euripides, Andromache 274-92.
- 607 Euripides, Iphigeneia in Aulis 573ff, 1280ff.
- 608 Euripides, Trojan Women 913-1042, especially 924-37 and 971-86: the quotation is from 988.
- 609 Euripides, Hekabe 644-56, trans. Stinton, op.cit.(n.604).
- 610 ARV 1334.29, Palermo; Gerhard, AV pl.D.1.
- 611 I owe all I know of the inscriptions to D.Cramers, who examined the vase in its case with the aid of a torch and a telephoto lens. He read the inscription of the woman on the left as Φ .ΙΔ.Α, and did not notice one beside the woman leaning on Helen's chair. Knigge, however, refers to these two as Phoibe and Peitho (Knigge, 134,143), although she does not say if there are inscriptions or not.
- 612 ARV 1287.1, Berlin F2536; Ghali-Kahil, Helen pl.IX.1,2.
- 613 ARV 1187.36, Plovdiv; Ghali-Kahil, Helen pl.XIII.3.
- 614 ARV 1173.1 - see n.37.
- 615 Severyns, op.cit.(n.565) text VI-VII, especially 100-101:
Ἀφροδίτῃ συναγεῖ τὴν Ἑλένην τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ...
- 616 Aeschylus, Agamemnon 689-90,717-734.
- 617 These were the Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις and possibly the Ἑλένης ἀρπαγή.
There may also have been a satyr-play, the Ἑλένης γάμος.
For all these, see Ghali-Kahil, Helen 141-2.
- 618 See Ghali-Kahil, Helen 128-41.
- 619 ARV 1173.1 - see n.37.
- 620 ARV 1133.197, Athens NM 14792; Ghali-Kahil, Helen pl.XV.1.
- 621 Phoibe is more usually a daughter of Leukippos. But Euripides describes her as a daughter of Leda (Iphigeneia in Aulis 50), and Ovid refers to her as the sister of Helen (Heroides viii.77-8). On a black-figure hydria from the Archippe Group (on loan to the Antiken Museum, Basle) Helen and Phoibe together welcome home the Dioskouroi: AK xii(1969) pls.17,18.
- 622 ARV 805.89, London E773; Rutherford-Roberts, Pyxis pls.62,103.1.
- 623 For the Sabouroff Painter see ARV 937-857 and for the Washing Painter ARV 1126-1133.
- 624 The number is approximate because a few of the scenes which have been included in the section on Aphrodite may possibly show ordinary women rather than the goddess.
- 625 For wedding scenes see A.Brückner, 'Athenische Hochzeitsgeschenke' AM xxxii(1907) 79-122 and for scenes of women in general E.Götte, Fraügemachbilder in der Vasenmalerei des fünften Jahrhunderts (1957).
- 626 Though Lydia Tartaglia, who kindly read this section for me, points out that there is no specific evidence for the funerary use of loutrophoroi painted with nuptial scenes.
- 627 The most recent and informative article on the status of women in classical Athens is that of J.P.Gould, 'Law, custom and myth: aspects of the social position of women in classical Athens' JHS c(1980) 38-59: he cites all relevant previous bibliography.
- 628 J.D.Beazley, in ARV 1324.
- 629 W.Burkert and H.Hoffmann, 'La cuisine des morts' Hephaistos ii (1980) 107-110.
- 630 J.Boardman, in Hephaistos iii(1981), forthcoming. I am very grateful to Professor Boardman for letting me read this article.
- 631 The four red-figure cup tondi decorate
ARV 291.192, Tarquinia RC 1116; CVA Tarquinia 1 pl.10;

- ARV 443.226, Boston 01.8029; Hephaistos ii(1980) 95 fig.9;
ARV 444.248, Boston 97.369; Hephaistos ii(1980) 96 fig.11;
ARV - , King's Point, Schimmel; Hephaistos ii(1980) 97 fig.12.
The black-figure stand is
Para 169, Toledo (Ohio) 58.69B; CVA Toledo pl.16.
For the bibliography on kneading tables see C.Boulter in CVA Toledo
text 10.
- 632 Hermes' gesture is what Neumann would class as 'herrisches Befehlen'
(Neumann 30).
- 633 For this gesture see Simon, GV 143.
- 634 ARV 1022.138, Munich 2797; Simon, GV pls.46-7.
- 635 See Kurtz, AWL 215. The only other white-ground lekythos mentioned
in AWL where Hermes appears alone with a woman is one painted in
the manner of the Achilles Painter, ARV 1004.41, Athens NM 1940;
Kurtz, AWL pl.38.1.
- 636 cf. A.Conze, Die attischen Grabreliefs (1903-22) pls.CCXII and
CCXLIII (lekythos of Myrrinhe).
- 637 The scene on MM 52, unpublished, may have affinities with that on
MM 44; here again Hermes appears with women, but the significance
of the scene is impossible to judge from the available photographs
in the Beazley Archive.
- 638 There is a great deal of literature on the Choes and the Anthesteria.
See especially Van Hoorn and Deubner 93-123, and the following:
S.Karouzou, 'Choes' AJA 1(1946) 122-139;
H.R.Immerwahr, 'Choes and Chytroi' TAPhA lxxvii(1946) 245-60;
A.Rumpf, 'Attische-Feste-Attische-Vasen' Bonner Jb clxi(1961)
208-214;
E.Simon, 'Ein Anthesterion-skyphos des Polygnotos' AK vi(1963)
6-22;
J.R.Green, 'Choes of the later fifth century' BSA lxvi(1971) 189-
228 (Green, 'Choes');
J.R.Green, 'Oinochoe' BICS xix(1972) 1-16;
W.Burkert, Homo Necans (1972) 236-273.
- 639 For Philostratos see Deubner 115 n.1; for the inscription see
Deubner 115 n.5; for the grave stele see Deubner 115 n.4, and for
a good illustration see Conze, op.cit.(n.636) pl.CCCCXXIX.
- 640 For the pot market see Deubner 97 n.6.
- 641 Green, 'Choes' 223-5 suggests a division between 'larger' and
'smaller' choes may usefully be made at either 12 or 15 cms.
All our miniature choes are less than 12 cms. high, with the
exception of BO 10.190 1 (13.5cms) and possibly BO 10.190 3, the
dimensions of which are not known.
- 642 Deubner 99, Metzger, Récherches 62, Van Hoorn 148, no.668.
- 643 Van Hoorn 18.
- 644 Deubner 121 n.6.
- 645 Immerwahr, op.cit.(n.638) 245, and Simon, op.cit.(n.638) 10,
both assume this was the case: it seems very likely, but there
is no firm evidence for it.
- 646 Vermeule, op.cit.(n.14).
- 647 It amounts, in fact, to the interpretation of the inscription
ΑΚΡΥΠΤΛΙ Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ on the fragment of a full-sized chous in
Baltimore: see CVA Baltimore 3, text to pl.12.3 - it seems very
uncertain that this can only be interpreted as Vermeule's argument
requires.
- 648 Athenaios xiv.630, the word being ἐπαγκωνίσμος, which is
translated as 'cushion dance' by C.B.Gulick in the Loeb edition.
The word ἐπαγκωνίστιον is otherwise known only from Aetius,
who uses it at xvi.108, where it is generally translated 'cushion'.
- 649 Aristophanes, Frogs 211-213.

- 650 Greifenhagen, op.cit.(n.539) 11, complains that modern scholarship, 'durch alles was sie mit dem Choenfest in Verbindung bringen wollte, das Festprogramm dieses Tages reichlich überladen hatte', while Rumpf, op.cit.(n.638) 113 complains that all we really know about the Day of Choes is that there was a drinking contest, that the wife of the archon basileus swore an oath, and that children aged three were wreathed: he therefore concludes that 'die Anzahl derjenigen Kannen, die unbedingt auf das Choenfest bezogen werden müssen, sei gleich Null.'
- 651 S.Karouzou, 'Ein Choenkanne der Sammlung Vlastos' Festschrift A. Rumpf (1950) 119-124.
- 652 For a hero plaque with hero leading horse, cf Torlonia M433, illustrated by E.Mitropoulou, Attic votive reliefs of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. (1977) fig.94. For painted votive plaques like those hanging in the tree, see J.Boardman, 'Painted votive plaques and an early inscription from Aegina' BSA xlix (1954) 183-201.
- 653 Hauser, op.cit.(n.529) 30-31.
- 654 That the perfuming of clothing is the activity on MP 11 is suggested by G.M.A.Richter, Richter and Hall 200. For additional evidence for the widespread occurrence of this practice in antiquity see Immerwahr, op.cit.(n.638) 257 and n.47.
- 655 ARV 1249.14, Vlastos; Pickard Cambridge, Festivals (ed.2, 1968) fig.9. Both choes were made in the Chevron Workshop: see Green, 'Choes' 197.
- 656 For the links between the Aiora and the Anthesteria see Simon, op.cit.(n.638) 18.
- 657 For swinging rites in general see Sir J.Frazer, The Golden Bough (Macmillan edition, 1900) ii 449-456. For the habit of swinging children through smoke see the same author's commentary on Apollodoros, ii 311-317.
- 658 Athens NM; discussed and illustrated by Van Hoorn, 'Kunika' Studies presented to David Moore Robinson (1953) ii 106-110 and pl.33a.
- 659 See Pickard Cambridge, Festivals 11.
- 660 ARV 1301.7, Berlin F2589; AK vi(1963) pl.3.1,3.
- 661 Plato, Phaedrus 230.
- 662 Vergil, Georgics ii 458-474.
- 663 Tennyson, The Lotos-Eaters 3-6.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used for standard works are those listed in the Journal of Hellenic Studies lxxxix (1969) 5-6, except that ARV refers to the second (1963) edition of J.D.Beazley's Attic red-figure Vase-painters.

The following abbreviations are also used:

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- Agora XII B.A.Sparkes and L.Talcott, The Athenian Agora. Volume XII. Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (1970).
- Agora XIV H.A.Thompson and R.E.Wycherley, The Athenian Agora. Volume XIV. The Agora of Athens: the history, shape and uses of an ancient city centre (1972).
- Alfieri and Arias, Spina N.Alfieri and P.Arias, Spina: die neuentdeckte Etruskerstadt und die Vasen ihrer Graben (1952 and 1958).
- Annali Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica (Rome, from 1829).
- Archclass Archeologica Classica (Rome, from 1949).
- Athenaios, Deipnosophistai.
- Aurigemma, Sc.di Spina S.Aurigemma, La Necropoli di Spina in Valle Trebba. Scavi di Spina, vols.1 and 2 (1960 and 1965).
- AZ Archäologische Zeitung (Berlin, 1843-85).

- Beazley, VA J.D.Beazley, Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums (1918).
- Becatti G.Becatti, Meidias: un Manierista antico (1947).
- Benndorf, Gjölb. O.Benndorf and G.Niemann, Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa (1889).
- Bérard, Anodoi C.Bérard, Anodoi. Essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens (1974).
- Bonner Jb Bonner Jahrbücher (Bonn, from 1842).
- Bothmer, Amazons D.von Bothmer, Amazons in Greek Art (1957).
- Brommer, Vasenlisten F.Brommer, Vasenlisten zur griechischer Heldensage (ed.3, 1973).
- Caskey and Beazley L.D.Caskey and J.D.Beazley, Attic vase-painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1931-63).
- Collignon and Couve M.Collignon and L.Couve, Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes (1902-4).
- Cramers D.Cramers, Aison en de Meidias-Schilder (thesis presented at the Catholic University of Leuven, 1980).
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- Ducati P.Ducati, I vasi dipinti nello stile del ceramista Midia (1909).
- El. C.Lenormant and J.de Witte, Elite des monuments céramographiques (1837-61).
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- FR A.Furtwängler, K.Reichhold and others, Griechische Vasenmalerei (1904-32).
- Gerhard, AV E.Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder (1840-58).
- Ghali-Kahil, Helen L.Ghali-Kahil, Les enlèvements et le retour

- d'Helene (1955).
- Graef B.Graef and others, Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen 1 (1901-25).
- Greifenhagen, AK A.Greifenhagen, Antike Kunstwerke (ed.2, 1966).
- Hahland W.Hahland, Vasen um Meidias (1930).
- Haspels, ABL C.H.E.Haspels, Attic Black-figured Lekythoi (1936).
- Herodotos Herodotos, Histories.
- Hesperia Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Athens, from 1932).
- Kerameikos IX U.Knigge, Kerameikos IX. Der Südhügel (1976).
- Knigge U.Knigge, 'Aison, der Meidiasmaler? Zu einer rotfigurigen Oinochoe aus dem Kerameikos' AM xc (1975) 123-162 and pls. 43-51).
- Kurtz, AWL D.C.Kurtz, Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters (1975).
- Kron, Phylenheroen U.Kron, Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen (1976).
- Lezzi-Hafter A.Lezzi-Hafter, Der Shuwalow-maler (1976).
- LIMC Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
- Metzger, Représentations H.Metzger, Les Représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle (1951).
- Metzger, Recherches H.Metzger, Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne (1965).
- Mylonas, Eleusis G.E.Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (1961).
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- Nicole H.Nicole, Meidias et le style fleuri (1908)
- Neumann G.Neumann, Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst (1965).

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- Overbeck J.Overbeck, Die antiken Schriftquellen zur bildenden Kunste bei den Griechen (1868).
- Para J.D.Beazley, Paralipomena. Additions to attic black-figure vase-painters and to attic red-figure vase-painters (1971).
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- Pearson, Fragments A.C.Pearson, The Fragments of Sophocles (three volumes, 1917).
- Pfuhl E.Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen (1923).
- Phillipart, Ic. des Bacchantes H. Phillipart, Iconographie des Bacchantes d'Euripide (1930).
- Pickard-Cambridge, Festivals A.Pickard-Cambridge, The dramatic festivals of Athens (ed.2, 1968, revised by J.Gould and D.M.Lewis).
- Pliny, NH Pliny the Elder, Natural History.
- Pottier E.Pottier, Vases antiques du Louvre (1897-1922).
- Real W.Real, Studien zur Entwicklung der Vasenmalerei im ausgehenden 5.Jahrhundert v.Chr. (1973).
- Receuil Dugas Receuil C.Dugas (1960).
- RA Révue archéologique (Paris, from 1869).
- RHR Révue de l'histoire des religions (Paris, from 1860).
- Robertson, HGA M.Robertson, A History of Greek Art (1975).
- Richter and Hall G.M.A.Richter and L.F.Hall, Red-figured

- Athenian vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1935).
- Roscher W.H.Roscher and others, Ausführliche Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie (1884-1937).
- Rutherford-Roberts, Pyxis S.Rutherford-Roberts, The Attic Pyxis (1978).
- Simon, GV E.Simon, Die griechischen Vasen (1976).
- Schefold, GUH K.Schefold, Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst (1978).
- Schefold, UKV K.Schefold, Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen (1934).
- Select Ashmolean Museum, Department of Antiquities, Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts to the Ashmolean Museum 1912-1966 (1967).
- Sichtermann, GV in Unteritalien H.Sichtermann, Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien aus der Sammlung Jatta in Ruvo (1960).
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- Thucydides Thucydides, Histories.
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