The Iconography of the Athenian Hero in Late Archaic Greek Vase-Painting

Elizabeth Anne Bartlett

Tucson, Arizona

Bachelor of Art, Scripps College, 2006 Master of Art, University of Arizona, 2008

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McIntire Department of Art

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-ABSTRACT-

This study questions how Athenian vase-painters represented heroic figures during the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. – specifically from the death of Peisistratos in 528 B.C. to the return of Theseus' bones to Athens in 475/4 B.C. The study focuses on three specific Attic cult heroes with a strong presence both in the Greek world and on Athenian vases: Herakles, Theseus, and Ajax. Although individual studies have been published regarding various aspects of these three heroes, such as subject matter, cult worship, literary presence, and social history, the current one departs from them by categorizing, comparing, and contrasting the different portrayals of the three chosen heroes. Using Athenian vases as the primary form of evidence, the current study endeavors to uncover how individual iconography can – or cannot – identify the heroic figure. By using an iconographic approach of looking at attributes, dress, gestures, poses, and composition, a more complete picture of the image of the hero may be understood. Evidence of both the cult of, and importance of, the Athenian hero is stressed both in ancient texts and through archaeological evidence, thus supplemental material is taken into consideration.

Illustrations of Greek heroes can be found on a variety of vase shapes of various techniques, and the accompanying catalogue includes almost 300 examples. The first chapter introduces the concept of the hero in ancient Athens. The subsequent chapters are organized by the hero examined (e.g., Herakles, Theseus, Ajax) and the final chapter is devoted to combinations and juxtapositions of heroic subjects. Based upon the evidence, there appears to be no correlation between the general iconography of all heroic figures; yet the evidence does

support the conclusion for certain similarities between the iconography among individual heroes, or natural pairings and groupings of heroes, whether by means of poses, attributes, or even composition. In addition, the evidence points to a similarity in representation between heroic figures and general depictions of athletes and warriors on vases. As a result of this iconographical conclusion, along with the combined and juxtaposed compositions of heroic subjects on a single vase, one can argue that these three heroes were presented in a manner that alluded to everyday life of the active citizen.

For my brother, Daniel, who was the bravest hero that ever lived.

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I take responsibility for the information presented in this study, and, of course, all mistakes are my own.

-ABBREVIATIONS¹-

ABFV	J. Boardman, Athenian Black Figure Vases, A Handbook (London 1974)
ABL	C. H. E. Haspels, <i>Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi</i> (Paris 1936)
ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (Oxford 1956)
Add. ²	T. H. Carpenter, <i>Beazley Addenda</i> , 2 nd ed. (Oxford 1989)
ARV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (Oxford 1942)
ARV^2	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . 2 nd ed. (Oxford 1963)
ARFV I	J. Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period. A Handbook (London 1975)
ARFV II	J. Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period. A Handbook (London 1985)
AWG	J. R. Mertens, <i>Attic White-Ground</i> (New York 1977)
BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database (http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk)
CVA	Corpus vasorum antiquorum
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin 1923-)
IG	M. Fraenkel, Inscriptiones Graecae (Berlin 1895-)
LIMC	J. Boardman, <i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae</i> classicae (Zurich 1981-2009)

¹ Abbreviated journals follow *American Journal of Archaeology* guidelines and are not included in this listing of abbreviations; ancient sources follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

OCD	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 4 th ed. (Oxford 2012)
ODCW	The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World (Oxford 2005)
Para.	J. D. Beazley, Paralipomena (Oxford 1971)
PMG	D. L. Page, Poetae melici Graeci (Oxford 1962)
SIG	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum</i> . 3 rd ed. (Leipzig 1915)
ThesCRA	Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (Los Angeles 2004)

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INTRODUCTION: HEROES, VASES, AND ICONOGRAPHY

The definition of a hero is ever-changing, but the heroic figures of ancient Greece remain solidified in religion, text, and art. The term "hero," derived from the Greek word "ἡρως" ("*hrws*"), is used by ancient writers, such as Homer, to refer to powerful warrior figures. Homeric epic has been seen as "providing the inspiration not only for the practice of a cult of heroes, but also for the linguistic development of the word '*hrws*' to mean 'hero' in a cultic sense."¹ In English, the term "hero" has become one with a flexible and changing definition over time according to the individual or group using it. A hero today may fall among various categories. He or she may be real or fictional, living or deceased, a role model or source of inspiration, someone who transcends nature, or a figure to be worshipped or revered. The hero may personify an idea one wishes to portray or emulate, a personification of values and ideals. The concept of the hero is influenced by chronological, geographic, and cultural changes.

When one ponders Greek mythology and literature, powerful images invariably come to mind and one relives heroic struggles against innumerable odds, battles against magical monsters, and the gods' periodic intervention in mortal affairs. Herakles, Theseus, and the warriors of the Homeric epics, such as Ajax, were not only heroes honored by Athenian cults but

¹ Currie 2005, 29.

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also imposing forces in mythology who are well-attested in the visual record. The episodes of heroic narrative permeated the daily lives of Athenian citizens as they were illustrated on blackand red-figure pottery. It is these exact figures and their iconography at a specific place (Athens) and time (late sixth to early fifth centuries B.C.) that are the focus of this dissertation.

Vase-painting provides the best source of visual evidence for heroes, and other mythological figures, since it is the most prominent art form that survives from Archaic and Classical Greece. The decoration on Greek vases has dominated the attention of scholars who have studied the images and attempted to attribute specific hands of painters.² Sir John Davidson Beazley (1885-1970) was the most well-known Athenian vase connoisseur of the twentieth century, spending years studying the minutiae of decorated vases by handling them, drawing them, photographing them, and honing an acute visual memory.³ After Beazley, the study of vase attribution has continued, but with the addition of questions regarding technical production of vessels, archaeological contexts, local and foreign distribution, as well as various types of illustrations.⁴ The study of iconography, the "writing of images," has become increasingly popular since the 1980s in a vast array of specificity.⁵ Tom Carpenter is a prominent supporter of using the images on Greek vases as a form of textual evidence, yet he cautions that it must be done with great care and to "be extremely careful not to ignore contexts or problematic elements of imagery, and not to focus only on elements we think we understand."6 The same author stresses the importance of never viewing the image as if it were a photograph of reality, but

² Sparkes 1996, 34; Boardman 2001, 128; Mannack 2002, 15-18; Nørskov 2002, 27-71. See Beazley's list of necessary skills for connoisseurship, cited by Sparkes 1996, 101. Also see Nørskov 2002, 75-76. On vases of specific periods, see: Coldstream 1968, 1977; Morris 1984; Roberston 1992; Mannack 2002; Mannack 2012.
³ On Beazley, see: Sparkes 1996, 62, 93; Rouet 2001, esp. Ch. 4; Nørskov 2002, 75-76. Beazley used the Morellian method to attribute specific scenes to specific hands/artists (Boardman 2001, 131).

⁴ Oakley 1998, 209-13.

⁵ On iconography, see: Höslscher 2002, 86-88; Nørskov 2002, 80. On the research of Greek vase-painting, also see: Oakley 2009; Smith 2012.

⁶ Carpenter 2007, 417.

rather to consider it within its cultural and archaeological context, reiterating the methodological advice of François Lissarrague: "Do not make a connection to the outside – to a ritual, to a text, to the theatre –before having noticed how the images are constructed from the inside."⁷Although there is a recent trend towards the context of vases, the current study focuses rather on the socio-political and religious context of the images themselves.

To quote Emily Kearns: "vase-paintings can give an idea of a hero's popularity (for example Theseus), and occasionally more recherché information on some of the less well-known heroes." ⁸ Figure-decorated vases can be used to date the fashionable trends of heroes: namely, during the late sixth century and early fifth some heroic subject choices, such as Perseus, decline in popularity and are replaced by subjects new to the visual record.⁹ The red-figure technique, invented in Athens approximately 530 B.C., becomes the catalyst for new heroic themes as well as variations on old ones.¹⁰ With this technical change comes an alteration in subject matter, composition, introduction of new heroes in Greek art, and a notable adjustment in the popularity of previous heroes on vases. Some scenes that commonly decorated black-figure vases (the older technique) fell out of fashion and were replaced by new ones in red-figure.

Since heroic imagery makes up a large corpus of extant vases today (in large part due to the Panhellenic nature of Herakles, with over 4,000 known instances of him alone on Greek vases), the scope of this study is confined to those heroes in Athens who were both honored with cult rites and who also have a strong presence as visual evidence: Herakles, Theseus, and Ajax. With those constraints, the author has sought to examine as many of the known representations

⁷ Lissarrague 2001, 67.

⁸ Kearns 1989, 7.

⁹ Perhaps influenced by new literature, such as the (now lost) *Theseid*, or plays of Aeschylus (Mills 1997, 19-20; Schefold 1992, 175-82).

¹⁰ On the invention of the red-figure technique, see: Boardman 1985, 29-31; Robertson 1992, 7; Boardman 2001, 66.

as possible with the aid of museum collections, the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD) and the physical Beazley Archive in Oxford.¹¹ A total of 284 vases are included in the catalogue of this study and additional vessels are often noted when the iconography is pertinent to the general discussion.¹² The descriptions and analyses of key features of certain heroes and their subjects are relegated to representative and also unique examples that are worthy of note.¹³ After the vessels were collected, it became possible to establish the visual criteria relevant for this study, including: composition, painting technique, date, shape, overall subject, and number of figures (mortal/divine/animal). Additionally, the individual heroic figure is considered separately with particular attention paid to gesture, attributes, dress, and placement within the composition. Objects have been consulted first-hand whenever possible.

Because this study cannot deal exhaustively with the subject of heroes on Greek vases, it is confined to specific subjects of chosen heroes' known illustrations on Athenian vase-painting, and also limited to the specific time period framed by the following documented events in history, which may or may not be directly relevant to the iconography of heroes: the death of Peisistratos in 528 B.C. and the return of Theseus' bones by Kimon to Athens in 475/4 B.C. (i.e., the late Archaic through early Classical periods). For the purposes of this dissertation, an Athenian hero will be defined as an individual who was once mortal (either in mythology or history) and did something extraordinary in life. After his death he acquired a place of worship

¹¹ All Beazley Archive Pottery Database searches for this study took place during the Fall of 2011 and Spring of 2012. Since then, the author has attempted to keep the collected samples current, but a thorough search today may yield slightly greater results for a given hero's known vases.

¹² This number only reflects the corpus of vases discussed within this study, not the total collected amount of vases examined as whole. A more specific reflection of that quantity is presented within the given chapters.

¹³ The majority of examples used here are based on the Mythological Indexes of J.D. Beazley's *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painting (ABV)*, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painting (ARV)* and *Paralimpomena (Para.)*, F. Brommer's *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (1973), the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologicae Classicae (LIMC)*, the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD), and wherever possible the result of my own visits to museum collections.

with documented cult rites. As will be discussed below, the matter of having an actual cult is extremely important for our definition of "hero." A hero was once mortal but is still not divine. To simplify, this dissertation defines a hero with a cult as simply that: a hero with a cult. Using Athenian vases as the primary form of evidence, along with relevant ancient literature, the following study explores how the ancient Athenians perceived and visualized their heroes.

Finding the Greek Hero

When one thinks of Greek heroes, the legendary warriors from Homeric epic, such as Achilles and Odysseus, often spring to mind. However, one should note the distinction between the literary figure or mythological hero and the cult hero. In fact, the worship of an individual Greek hero was centered at the hero's tomb, and therefore localized and specific to each Greek city-state (*polis*). But, as Ekroth has pointed out, literature – our most abundant source of ancient evidence – has a tendency to throw around loosely the term "hero," as if the definition were universally understood and all ancient heroes were thought to be the same:

Most heroes known from ancient sources have no attested cults, but this is probably due simply to lack of evidence, as every hero seems to have been a potential candidate for some form of worship. On the other hand, a number of heroes are documented only in cultic contexts and no details of their biographies are known.¹⁴

Put another way, there are no extant myths about some local heroes, and this lack of evidence hinders our knowledge.

The study of the cult of heroes and hero worship has long interested Classical scholars. The main question asked, and perhaps never adequately answered, by some early scholars and many later ones, is: "what is a hero?" The early studies on hero cult centered on defining what

¹⁴ Ekroth 2007, 121.

the hero was and the origins of hero worship, and how the Greeks perceived both hero worship and the afterlife.¹⁵ Philologists dominated the scholarship, utilizing the literature, texts, and epigraphy as their main sources. The early focus on hero worship attempted to relate Greek religion to modern day Judeo-Christian beliefs, particularly regarding the continued existence of the soul. Lewis Farnell, an influential Oxford scholar, took the position that the spread of hero cult was directly attributable to the transmission of epic poetry throughout Greece. He believed that hero cult was a derivative of ancestor worship. Rejecting the existing view of Erwin Rohde, a German philologist from the nineteenth century, about the rise of hero cult, Farnell concluded that all hero cults were post-Homeric.¹⁶ He suggested that heroes belong to seven categories, a conclusion which enabled him to posit different origins for different types. Within the seven categories, three of them derived heroes from divine origins, and the other four traced historic humans who were accorded a cult. Farnell was also influenced by the "faded god" theory of the Cambridge School of thought. His somewhat arbitrary seven categories of hero, made a very useful contribution by pointing out systematically that different types of roles could be accommodated in the term "hero."¹⁷ Friedrich Pfister, a contemporary German scholar, combined the theories of others (i.e., Rohde and Usener) and decided that the forms of hero cult derived from ancestor cult, but that the heroes themselves were originally gods.¹⁸ The idea formed that heroes were originally deities later reduced to the status of quasi-divine legendary personages. In fact, early twentieth century scholar Paul Foucart tried to classify where the hero

¹⁵ Especially Foucart 1908.

¹⁶ Farnell 1921, 15-18.

¹⁷ Farnell 1921.

¹⁸ Foucart 1922; Pfister 1912; Usener 1896; Rohde 1894. Pfister is influenced by Usener's theory regarding the divine origin of hero cults, while Foucart is influenced by Rohde's theory that heroes were originally men (1922, 67). For further discussion on the early scholarship of hero cult, see: Asirvatham, Pache, and Watrous 2001, xx; Pache 2004, 3-4.

fit in among the ranks of Greek divinities, and also to determine the different ranks of hero.¹⁹ Foucart was novel in his approach because he took into account the archaeological evidence of tomb cults and their associated votive offerings. Eventually, classical archaeologists of the middle to late twentieth century would emphasize the necessity of studying the art and artifacts in context as an important approach to the study of Greek religion. In fact, Martin Nilsson, an influential scholar of Greek religion, was original in his approach to the study of hero cult because he was the first to use archaeology and material evidence as the primary sources for his research.²⁰

Recent scholars have tended to categorize heroes based on the popularity of their cult and mythology. The two areas are not mutually exclusive – mythology (often considered history to the Greeks) was an important element in cult. Assigning heroes to specific categories is risky, however, since such categories easily can be misconstrued as being genuine instead of the modern conventions they really are. To quote Bruno Currie:

We have seen nothing to support the view, widespread among literary scholars and archaeologists, that there were for the Greeks of the fifth century BC two distinct kinds of hero, and two distinct models of heroization, corresponding to the hero of epic and the hero of cult.²¹

A hero who had a grave, mythological narrative, and was honored with regular sacrifices was a hero of cult whether or not he was also a hero of epic. However, not all the great warriors whom Homer praised were honored with cult rites. It is important to recognize a distinct difference between heroes from epic mythology and heroes with distinct cult centers, yet one must consider whether or not this dichotomy is a modern construction. What we do know is that the ancient Greeks distinguished their heroes from gods and ordinary dead, and that the

¹⁹ Foucart 1908, who followed Rohde 1898.

²⁰ Nilsson 1949.

²¹ Currie 2005, 69.

importance of heroes in Greek religion is indisputable. Gunnel Ekroth simplifies her definition of a hero with the concept of being exceptional: "to qualify as a hero in ancient Greece, one had to be extreme, in every sense of the term, in life or death; virtue was not necessarily a qualification."²² The crucial concept is the mortality of the hero, an important aspect concerning the difficulty in defining the manner of their worship. Many scholars tend to conflate myth and religion, seeing no clear distinction between legends of heroes (or gods) and their worship or cults.²³

Both philologists and archaeologists have increasingly incorporated a variety of available evidence, including art, literature, sites, and inscriptions, in their studies of Greek heroes. For example, writing from an archaeological perspective, Anthony Snodgrass has situated hero worship within the context of the political structures of the *polis*.²⁴ He has highlighted the significance and vitality of the hero cult with regard to both *polis* formation and political administration. Snodgrass does not agree with the theory of epic influence on hero cult and instead suggests that the rise of hero cult is connected to the expansion of agriculture. The focus was preservation of the heroic founder in the form of the tomb cult. A more recent book by David Boehringer uses an interdisciplinary approach by examining archaeological finds and historical interpretations to define and classify Greek hero cult.²⁵ He organizes the heroes according to region and within each region looks at individual centers where archaeological excavations have occurred; he then analyzes and interprets the archaeological finds in context. Gunnel Ekroth takes the most literal, but also the most wide-ranging approach to defining a

²² Ekroth 2007, 121.

²³ See Pirenne-Delforge 2009, 38-54.

²⁴ Snodgrass 1980. For an important study of the earlier evidence see Antannacio 1995.

²⁵ Boehringer 2001.In fact, much recent scholarship on hero cults has become more interdisciplinary, considering evidence from literary texts, inscriptions, iconography, archaeology, and even osteological remains (Ekroth 2007, 131).

hero.²⁶ Looking at the etymology and definition of the term hero, Ekroth asks how one becomes a hero and here positions myth and cult against each other:

Many heroes (and heroines) are found in myth, epic, and other narratives (including iconography), but there are also a large number solely known from cultic contexts and for whom we have no biographical details. Similarly, there is an intricate relationship between stories told about heroes and heroines and actual hero-cults.²⁷

She also discusses who can be a hero, and how and why that hero was worshipped.

Returning to the ancient Greeks themselves, we must also ask how and if they defined a "hero." For Hesiod, the chronology of heroes spanned from before the Argonauts to the men who fought at Troy and were celebrated in Homer's *Iliad*, and "the first heroes of Greek literature are those who died on the battlefield of Troy."²⁸ For later authors, such as Pindar, Herodotus and Thucydides, a "hero" was a person with an identifiable cult site. What each hero had in common was his or her mortality. Pausanias is an invaluable source when it comes to the different ways one can worship a hero.²⁹ The travel writer enumerated countless roadside shrines in his account of Attica, especially on the Sacred Way leading from Athens to Eleusis.³⁰ He also uses many nouns, seemingly interchangeably, to describe hero tombs and shrines (*taphos, mnema, heroon*), as well as various verbs for types of sacrifice (*thyein, enagizein*, the former generally for heroes and latter for gods, but Pausanias does not always seem to distinguish clearly between the two). The ancient sources specify that heroes lived, died, and were afterwards worshipped at their tombs. Most heroes, and their worship, are limited to one location. Because a hero is associated with a specific place, he gives a distinctive character to the local religious pantheon.

²⁶ Ekroth 2007.

²⁷ Ekroth 2007, 103.

²⁸ Jones 2010, 22.

²⁹On Pausanias as an ancient source, see: Pretzler 2007, esp. Chs. 6-8. On Pausanias and divine worship, see: Pirenne-Delforge 2010, 375-87. On Pausanias and hero cult worship, see: Ekroth 1999, 145-58.

³⁰ Pausanias 1.29.2.

Also, from the perspective of the ancient Greeks, heroes had different functions and types. Some were thought of as "protective" figures, some as "ancestor" heroes, and some as "founder" figures (of a city or a specific cult).³¹ Some heroes were Panhellenic, others were local, and still others were somewhere between these two extremes. Some heroes had multiple sites of worship throughout Greece.³² These figures are interesting because although their worship was not confined to a specific locale, the exact manner of worship in each region was different. Such heroes were typically mythological figures from the Homeric epics, and a tomb – or the bones of the hero – was not necessary to invoke worship at a specific site. A hero of cult is often associated with a god, sometimes to the extent that the two may share a cult site. As textual evidence make clear, the worship and reverence of heroes seldom varied from that of the gods.³³

There were different types and levels of worship for different heroes; a difference in importance and popularity as seen by physical evidence. Just like the heroes themselves, hero cults varied in character. They had diverse worship sites, structures, and rites. Early scholarship on hero cults often associated the worship of heroes with that of ancestors, given that a tomb was considered central to both. Though the presence of a tomb is a good indication of a hero cult, it is not necessarily a prerequisite for founding or maintaining the cult of a hero. However, a burial located within the city walls could very well suggest a hero cult, since the tombs of heroes "were not considered to be a source of pollution."³⁴ The physical remains – shrines, altars, buildings, and votives – help us understand the spaces of worship and types of objects associated with each hero. Votives specifically for heroes were: "miniature vases, terracotta tablets showing type

³¹ Examples include: Kings of Athens, such as Kekrops, Erechtheus/Erichthonios, Aigues, and also Archegetes.

³² Examples: Ares, Theseus, Herakles, Dioskouroi.

³³ Kearns 1989, 11.

³⁴Ekroth 2007, 123.

scenes such as the seated hero with wine cup and serpent [like at Sparta]. Pottery might be inscribed with the name of the hero or simply 'to the hero'."³⁵

Greek hero shrines came in all different shapes and sizes and were located almost everywhere. Shrines were located "virtually any place that was of significance for the actions of legendary and historical heroes."³⁶ Pausanias enumerated countless roadside shrines in his account of Attica, especially on the Sacred Way leading from Athens to Eleusis.³⁷ Sometimes hero shrines are found in groups, clustered together associated with other gods and/or heroes. The tombs of heroes, unlike those of mere men, could be established in the agora (some examples in Athens include Theseus and the Unnamed Physician Hero). They were also on the Acropolis, alongside roads, at crossroads within the city, at the city's gates, and at the far ends of a city's territory. Some hero cults, those to whom the hero was also the founder of the cult, or first priest, were included within sanctuaries of the gods.³⁸

The connection between a hero and a place of worship could be reflected in the mythological narrative associated with that hero.³⁹ For a person living in ancient Greece, the mythology was not a (false) legend, but rather was treated as factual and historical; the hero being honored with religious rites really did exist, as did the heroes of legend and epic. Like Herodotus, other ancient Greeks believed that Orestes' bones really were larger than life-size, and that he was a real person who was the son of Agamemnon.⁴⁰ In the late Archaic period, most Greek heroes are associated with only one deed or adventure (or a cycle of adventures, like Herakles). A major hero who differs in this way is Theseus, whose depictions form a sort of

³⁵ Larson 1995, 14.

³⁶ Abramson 1978, 68.

³⁷ Pausanias 1.29.2.

³⁸ Abramson 1978, 68.

³⁹ Mikalson 2011, 41-49.

⁴⁰ See: Malkin 2003, 26-32; Patterson 2010, 40-43; Clark 2012, 68-79.

chronological narrative. These stories from his youth in Troizen through maturity as king of Athens provided the material for Plutarch to write his "Life of Theseus" which reads as a biography of a real historical figure. These myths can be described as aetiological when placed in relationship to their cults. They are myths that explain the importance of the hero, and it is these myths that are most often depicted in art, as opposed to representations of the cult rites for that hero. The myths explain the need to offer religious sacrifice and worship to the hero. The mythological narratives and/or stories became a way of giving a personality to the hero of the cult and explained his or her importance. Regrettably, sometimes myths of the cult heroes are not known, such as those related to many of the Eponymous heroes of Athens.

Heroes in Athens

Much of what we know concerning the mythology and cults of Athenian heroes is based on the combination of literary sources, inscriptions, and the visual record, specifically vasepainting.⁴¹ A strict definition of an Athenian hero may never be possible to attain; what can be understood, however, is how the heroes were worshipped: cult activity at a (real or supposed) tomb. Emily Kearns' 1989 detailed regional study of all known Attic cult heroes combined the various types of evidence, but is mainly concerned with how the heroes were worshipped and the distinct difference between a hero and a god (especially in the ritual sense).⁴² The majority

⁴¹ Two very important documents that are most valuable for understanding the worship of heroes are the Athenian calendar of festivals and the religious financial records. For example: every eighth day of the month was dedicated to Theseus (as son of Poseidon, along with Poseidon), and every fourth day was dedicated to Herakles (and Hermes and Aphrodite). On the Attic calendars, see: Dow 1968, 170-86; Mikalson 1977, 424-35; Parker 1987, 137-47; Ekroth 2002, 343-56. For the Nikomachos calendar, see: Mikalson 1975, 16-17; Gawlinksi 2007, 37-55. For the Thorikos calendar see Mikalson 1974.

⁴² Kearns 1989. Kearns' is the closest approach to a general work on heroes and hero cult [in English] since Farnell. Her focus is Attic heroes, but she also examines the nature of heroes and origin of hero cult. She organizes the

of all types of evidence for Athenian heroes and their worship is later than 500 B.C. There are only a few explicit references for the existence of hero shrines during the period of Peisistratid rule (545/5-511/0 B.C.).⁴³ The literary sources and the iconography each tend to focus on the mythological aspects of these heroes, which can still provide a significant amount of information regarding their cult practices and relevance to daily religious life due to the symbiotic relationship of mythology and cult in Athenian religion. The archaeological evidence for hero cults supports and corroborates the historical, textual, and artistic evidence, and also reflects the increase in cult activity in Athens. The foremost historical evidence for the cult of heroes is that of the Kleisthenic Reforms in 508/7, that is, the transition from tyranny to democracy in Athens; the reforms also led to a shift in cult/religion and here we begin to see different elements in art, as well.⁴⁴

Athenian heroes were all either Athenians themselves or, like Herakles, had myths which linked them to Athens and explained the origins of their cults there. But, as must have been the case in other regions of ancient Greece, there existed a wide variety of different hero types. The Athenian heroes with known cults include heroes from the Homeric epics, (mythical) kings of Athens, Eponymous heroes, warriors who perished at key battles, even a group anonymously known only as the "Physician Heroes."⁴⁵ Historic heroes, or cults devoted to real people for whom we have historical records, include the 192 warriors who perished at Marathon, as well as

heroes into specific thematic categories. Kearns' work in this area is crucial as it provides a solid base of material concerning the cult of heroes upon which to build.

⁴³ Shapiro 1989, 143.

⁴⁴ In these Democratic reforms Kleisthenes re-structured the demes of Attica by naming each one after a specific hero (thus they are called "Eponymous"). What is known is that no new hero cults were introduced during these reforms, just that some cults were now given a new kind of importance, and sometimes a new religious structure (new priests, for example). On the influence of the Reforms on religion in Athens, see: Mikalson 2003, 129-31. ⁴⁵ See Mikalson 1977, 40*ff*.

the Tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, to whom the polemarchs sacrificed.⁴⁶ Protector heroes were those with shrines at or near city gates, located as such to better protect and defend the city. Some heroes had the honor of being associated with a major divinity. Hero and deity shared a sacred space, often a large physical structure, such as a temple; and they often shared an etymology or epithet (such as "earth-shaker," an epithet shared by Erechtheus and Poseidon, who both shared a temple with Athena, the Erechtheion).⁴⁷ The mythology of this hero typically included him or her as the first priest or priestess of the associated divinity. Other heroes were associated not with another deity, but with another hero. Such groupings of heroes would share a [group] shrine and be worshipped together.⁴⁸ Some Athenian heroes, however, remain anonymous to us now because they are not associated with any known myths, nor are they depicted in art.⁴⁹

Past Study of Heroic Iconography

Another question posed, but never fully answered by past scholarship, is: what role – if any – do heroes play in the iconography of Greek vases, or in ancient Greek art in general? How did ancient Athenians view and depict their heroes? By giving them a cult they revered them, but how did they imagine them (visually), and what can this tell us about their relationship with said hero? As early as 1882, Jane Ellen Harrison's monograph, *The Odyssey in Art and Literature*,

⁴⁶ Pausanias 1.32.3-4; for cult, see: Deneken 1886-90, 2523; and Kearns 1989, 55. Aristotle. *Ath Pol* 58.1, testimonia collected in R. E. Wycherley, *Agora III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 93-98.

⁴⁷ Mikalson 2011, 57-59; Papachatzis 1989, 175-85.

 ⁴⁸ Examples: Kekropides are close to Athena, and they share names and priestesses; Iphigeneia is close to Artemis, and they share names and priestesses; Erechtheus is close to Poseidon, and they share names and priests.
 ⁴⁹ On such localized heroes, see: Kearns 1989, 139 (Aglauros), 152 (Boutes), 156 (Diomos), 164 (Leukaspis);

Stafford 2012, 176-79 (Diomos); Rice 1979, 62-64 (Eurysakes, son of Ajax). Also see: *LIMC* I, s.v. "Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos," 283-98 (Kron).

made the novel suggestion that both Homer's *Odyssey* and the motifs on Greek vases drew upon similar sources for mythology.⁵⁰ Indeed, depictions of heroes on vase-painting are most often mythological scenes. The circumstance of transmission of myth to vase-painting not only controls the viewers' knowledge of the myths, but also demonstrates the willfulness with which the Athenians treated local myth. Religion, that is, cult worship, was a daily constant in Athens. It is difficult to consider that such a prevalent activity would not have been reflected visually.⁵¹ The mythological context – or an inscription – is often what identifies the specific hero on a vase since they appear as a generic mortal, though sometimes they are accompanied by Athena or another divine escort, or other heroes.

Not surprisingly, there is no single approach to the study of the iconography of Greek heroes (or of myth), as is evident by several recent publications. Such publications include Susan Woodford's account on the various manifestation of Greek mythological imagery, Jocelyn Penny Small's analysis of the divergences between the literature and artistic representations of myth, and Luca Giuliani's study that follows the artistic methods used to form a visual narrative.⁵² Studies of the images of mythology often focus on deities, and one or two heroes, usually major Panhellenic figures or characters from the Trojan War, such as Achilles.⁵³ Recent scholars incorporate the visual evidence of heroes into their studies, given that these most often depict scenes from myth. Few of them have utilized vase-painting iconography to approach and understand heroes either individually (e.g., monographs on Theseus) or as a group (e.g., the epic

⁵⁰ Harrison argues that the vase-painters offered unusual commentaries on mythology and ritual, and should be examined as a text just as would Homer's *Odyssey*.

⁵¹ Shapiro 1989, 16.

⁵² Woodford 2003; Small 2003; Giuliani's 2003 (also 2014 translation into English).

⁵³ Emily Kearns' valuable 1989 collection of hero cults in Attica provides the solid foundation for anyone attempting to understand Athenian heroes and hero worship, discussed further in Chapter One.

heroes).⁵⁴ It is not until the past decade that scholars have focused more heavily on the contextual meaning of the images, let alone the iconography of "the hero" as a single entity.⁵⁵

Several iconographic studies have been concerned with the iconography of individual heroes, most notably of Herakles and Theseus. While Olaf Borgers' (1994) studies have led him to focus on the Theseus Painter, recent scholarship on the iconography of the hero Theseus has been undertaken by others.⁵⁶ Jenifer Neils, apart from writing the entry for Theseus in *LIMC*, was one of the first to explore the visual representation of an individual hero with a visual study of Theseus' deeds on his way from Troizen to Athens as well as his role as a lover.⁵⁷ Claude Calame provides a general overview of Theseus in Athenian art, while Cristina Servadei focuses on only the vase-painting.⁵⁸ More specific examinations of Herakles' various aspects in Greek art have been undertaken, such as images of Herakles and sea-monsters by Gudrun Ahlberg-Cornell (1984).⁵⁹ Emma Stafford's 2012 study of Herakles complements an earlier 1998 collection of articles on the visual motifs of Herakles, with a vast array of articles by imminent scholars including John Boardman, and Annie Verbanck-Piérard, each of whom discuss Herakles and his beastly foes, as well as Beth Cohen's commentary on the lionskin in Greek art, and many more.⁶⁰ Unlike the attention that the figures of both Herakles and Theseus have received by scholars of

⁵⁴ Jenifer Neils' 1980 Princeton dissertation "Youthful Deeds of Theseus: Iconography and Iconology" was later republished in 1987 as a book by Bretschneider in Roma. She followed this with further iconographic studies on Theseus, such as the 1981 article "The Loves of Theseus: An Early Cup by Oltos" (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 85.2 (Apr.): 177-179). In *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (1966), Karl Schefold examines art, mainly depictions of the cyclical narratives and the Homeric heroes, as an interpretation of legend by each period (Prehistory, the age of "Homer," Archaic Art). Guy Hedreen's book, *Capturing Troy* (2001), approaches the heroes from the Homeric epics by attempting to understand the function of narrative representations on vase-painting. He highlights key events from the poems and examines how they are represented on vases from the sixth through mid fifth centuries BC.

⁵⁵ Junker 2012.

⁵⁶ Borgers 2004.

⁵⁷ *LIMC* VII, s.v. "Theseus" (1994, 922-51). Neils 1981, 177-79.

⁵⁸ Calame 1990; Servadei 2005.

⁵⁹ Ahlberg-Cornell 1984.

⁶⁰ Bonnet, Jourdaine-Annequin, and Pirenne-Delforge 1998.

iconography, there are very few studies that have focused solely on the image of Ajax.⁶¹ Rather, the figure of Ajax is more often demoted to one worthy of note only in the context of either Trojan War imagery or the mastery of the Athenian vase-painter Exekias.⁶²

There have been even fewer attempts to examine the heroes in Greek art comparatively or as a collective whole. For example, how do images of Herakles resemble those of Theseus? Or, how do they differ? Alan Shapiro was the first to analyze the changing ways heroes are portrayed during the sixth century in Athenian vase-painting.⁶³ Shapiro draws examples strictly from black-figure vase-painting to identify the changing iconography of individual heroes while tracing their developing narrative composition and iconography. He examines the correlation between changes in narrative art and mythological repertoire during the early development of black-figure vase-painting in Athens (the first two-thirds of the sixth century). He also first surveys the mythological subject matter in the Attic black-figure vase-painting of the early Archaic period and then details a variety of possible factors that relate these changes to both intellectual and artistic developments. Eleni Hatzivassiliou similarly highlights the introduction of new subjects to vase-painting, changes to existing ones, innovative painters and approaches, and sets each group and/or figure individually within the larger scheme of black-figure painted pottery from Athens.⁶⁴ Her recent book, organized thematically into groups, such as deities. heroes, epic cycles, cult and life, is very welcome as a sturdy base upon which this study can build. In fact, the contributions of these two scholars – Shapiro and Hatzivassiliou – have largely shaped the current iconographic approach.

⁶¹ Woodford 1982, 173-85; Padgett 2001, 2-17; Jenkins 2002, 153-56; Mariscal 2011, 394-401.

⁶² On Trojan War imagery, see: Woodford 1993; Hedreen 2001; Lowenstam 2008. On Exekias, see: Technau 1936; Moore 1980, 41-34; Shapiro 1981, 173-75; Basille 1999, 15-22; Mackay 2010; Moignard 2013.

⁶³ Shapiro 1990, 113-48.

⁶⁴ Hatzivassiliou 2010.

Also important to mention is the 2009 exhibition held at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, MD organized around the theme of the Greek hero: "Mortals and Myth in Ancient Greece." ⁶⁵ Both the catalogue and the exhibition separated Greek heroes into three conventional categories: heroes in myths, heroes in cults, and heroes to be emulated. The exhibition's separate categories illustrate well the distinction between epic and cultic heroes, and that the epic heroes (such as Achilles, Herakles, Helen, and Odysseus) are represented in vase-painting and sculpture, while the lesser known heroes with localized cults (founders, ancestors, children, healers) are not depicted on the vases as often as they are on sculpted votive reliefs dedicated to them. However, the exhibit at the Walters confirms the growing importance of iconographic studies in relation to heroes. The supplementary essays in the exhibition's catalogue examine such issues as what makes a hero, what is expected of a hero, and how the hero was worshipped and portrayed in art. The authors cover a wide range of topics such as the origin of hero cult, child and heroine cults, and aspects of specific heroes, such as Achilles and Herakles.⁶⁶ The archaeologists who authored these contributions are primarily scholars of vase-painting and iconography.

Athenian Heroes on Late Archaic Vases

The focus of this dissertation lies with the iconography of the three Athenian heroes most prominent on Athenian vases during the late Archaic period: Herakles, Theseus and Ajax. All three heroes have both mythological and cultic ties to Athens, and their mythological narratives were also Panhellenic (i.e., known to all Greeks). But, these are not the only reasons for selecting

⁶⁵ Albersmeier, Ed. 2009.

⁶⁶ The exhibit catalogue contains articles on different aspects of the hero written by the foremost scholars in the field of iconography, heroes, and religion (e.g., Guy Hedreen, Alan Shapiro, John Oakley, Gunnel Ekroth, and Jennifer Neils).

them. The political and historical circumstances, the changes in artistic technique, and the quantity of evidence are motivating factors for choosing these figures. The prevalence of heroic iconography on vases at this time encourages one also to consider the concept of the hero in Athens. Not one of the figures, however, can be thoroughly examined without looking at the well-attested pairings of Theseus with Herakles and Ajax with Achilles, as well as the organic combinations of these specific heroes on vases produced during the time period framed by this study. The prevalence of heroes in the literature and extant depictions may shed light on their everyday importance to Athenian culture, myth, and religion. The represented scenes would have had an immediate impact on their viewers, perhaps even influencing how the Athenian people perceived their heroes, and so should assist in our understanding of the relationship between worshiper and worshipped.

To date there has been no collective study on the iconography of heroes represented in Athenian vase-painting of the late Archaic period, a seminal time in Greek history.⁶⁷ The political climate was dynamic as democracy replaced tyranny, and Greece was at war with Persia. It is difficult to determine how major events influence stylistic changes, if at all, though this period was rife with political and social change in Athens. The reign of Peisistratos and his sons (545-510 B.C.) saw much building and organization take place on the Acropolis and in the Agora, where homes were gradually replaced by structures with political, religious, and social significance.⁶⁸ Then, in 510, tyrant rule was replaced by Democracy with Kleisthenes and his constitutional reforms of 508/7. His Reforms include the formation of the "10 Tribes" of Athens, new buildings erected in the Agora, a Shrine to the Eponymous Heroes, and the foundation of the

⁶⁷ For points of clarity, "Athenian" refers to vases produced in Athens, "Athens" refers to the city itself, and "Attica" refers to a specific territory of Greece (Hölsche 2002, 57-58). All dates are 'B.C.' unless otherwise stated.
⁶⁸ On Peisistratos and the reign of his sons, see: Dillon-Graland 2001, 91-122; on the Reforms of Kleisthenes, see Dillon-Garland 2001, 123-40; on the Perisan Wars, see: Dillon-Garland 2001, 181-218.

Boule and Senate house [and Royal Stoa]. In additions, the conflict between Greece and Persia from 499-479 B.C. heavily affected Athens physically and politically.⁶⁹ We question whether the beginning of new religious/heroic institutions that occurred during this period may be reflected in artistic representations.

In addition to political and social changes in Athens at this time, there were significant artistic changes. The invention of the bilingual and red-figure techniques of vase-painting in Athens led to new creativity in composition and subject matter.⁷⁰ By focusing on the subject, composition, and the iconography of heroes on vases, and the stylistic changes at this time, it is possible to isolate an important body of evidence. Although heroes decorated Greek vases before this time, we will recognize changes that occur with the invention of red-figure.⁷¹ The question arises as to whether or not this shift is specific to heroic iconography or is a widespread phenomenon apparent in other iconographic genres of vase-painting. Furthermore, images are tricky, since they are separate from the written record. They must be considered as a singular entity first, then as a whole, then in relation to the stories they depict. However, we must also assume that the typical Athenian would view these images and immediately recognize the scene and, sequentially, the story. The visual record is a primary source for myth as it represents featured moments from mythological narratives, which would be known to its audience at that particular time, and "sometimes the visual representation shows a detail or a variant that is not found in any surviving literary source"72

 ⁶⁹ 499 BC: Rebellion led by Aristagoras against Persian rule; 498 BC: Athenian-led attack against Sardis; 490 BC: Persians attack at Marathon (Battle of Marathon); 481 BC: Battle of Salamis; 479 BC: Battle of Plataea.
 ⁷⁰ On the importance of the rule of Salamis in Athense rules and the Plataea.

⁷⁰ On the invention of the red-figure technique in Athens, refer to FN. 9.

⁷¹ For an example of a shift in representations of dancing from black-figure to red-figure technique, see: Smith 2010, esp. Ch. 4.

⁷² Clark 2012, 52.

The overall approach of this study is iconographic, and follows the scholarly trends set by such scholars as Tom Carpenter and François Lissarrague. It could be argued that too much scholarship on vase-painting and images analyzes the subject choice or general picture, and spends too little attention – or entirely neglects – the specific details of the image itself and figures within. This dissertation attempts the opposite in its attention to the specific aspects of each hero's individualized iconographic vocabulary. As mentioned previously, the vases listed in the catalogues in this study date from the late sixth to early fifth centuries B.C. At this pivotal time there was also a shift in the way heroes were represented on Athenian painted vases – not just how, but also who. In Archaic Greek art, techniques of narrative and composition were steadily evolving and external influences, such as poetry (i.e., Stesichoros), reorganized and expanded festivals (i.e., the *Panathenaia* and the *Dionysia*), sculpture (i.e., the building program on the Acropolis featuring Herakles), and even patriotism after the onset and onslaught of the Persian War no doubt influenced the subject choice as well as narrative compositional style on the vase-painting after the invention of the red-figure technique around 530 B.C.

This study attempts neither to prove nor disprove the existing scholarly analyses of the iconography of these heroes, rather it poses new questions regarding the concept of heroic iconography. In presenting those vases illustrated with heroic subjects, there are several specific research questions to consider. First, is there a common iconography of the hero? The examination of the types of struggles each hero encounters and the subjects chosen to depict the heroes will aid in the understanding of Athenian perception of the hero. Second, does the iconography of the hero differ according to the subject? Here we will look at the specific poses and gestures of the figures, their attributes and dress, and the overall composition of the scene, including the presence of companions whether mortal or divine. Finally, this study questions the

degree to which the visual representations of Greek heroes convey a meaning and significance of their own, as being distinct from the literary tradition. It is hoped that we will gain new insight into the way ancient Greeks of this period perceived their heroes – or even identified with them.

Following the Introductory Chapter is a study of heroic iconography on vases divided into four further chapters. The discussion commences with the Panhellenic hero Herakles in Chapter Two, starting with an overview of the hero's cult, myth, and early artistic representations. With over 1330 extant vases in both black- and red-figure portraying this hero during the period of this study, it has been necessary to limit the vases examined by subject matter. Thus, the discussion takes into account only prominent Struggles, which, in turn, narrows the corpus to 537 vases.⁷³ Alongside the scenes of combat are also those of Herakles in a religious setting, such as a late sixth century black-figure amphora attributed to the Leagros Group, now in Berlin, that shows Herakles offering a libation at an altar (CII.6). Such instances of Herakles in a religious setting, however, are very rare (only 46 collected instances). While the scholarship on Herakles is vast, specific themes and iconographic features are explored throughout the chapter.

Chapter Three follows the same format as Chapter Two, but turns the focus towards the ideal Athenian hero, Theseus. The discussions of his iconography are divided by category of foes: Struggles with beasts and Struggles with men. With the introduction of new Theseus subjects into the visual repertoire of heroic iconography comes the Cycle Cup, a shape unique to this hero and this time period, such as a red-figure kylix attributed to the Codrus Painter (signed by Kachrylion as potter) of c.510-500 and now in Florence, which features no less than six episodes from the adventures of Theseus (CIII.49). Chapter Three considers the political

⁷³ This number is generated by the Beazley Archive Pottery Database. Not every single known example was examined, only those which the author was able to view either first-hand or in a publication.

implications of the presence of either Theseus or Herakles on the Athenian vases, and the various roles they might play.

Following the same organization as the previous two chapters, Chapter Four introduces the epic hero Ajax into the study of Athenian heroic iconography. The discussion is divided by subject choice as it follows the chronological narrative of Ajax that lead him to his various Struggles, some of which are physical, while others are emotional. Chapter Four is the first to dedicate significant attention to a single painter, Exekias, because he exhibited a heightened interest in the hero Ajax. This artist was the first to present certain subjects, or to represent familiar topics in novel compositions. His black-figure amphora, currently in the Vatican, presents the first known example of Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame (CIV.29). Addressing the role a decorated vase may play as political propaganda, Chapter Four concludes with a discussion of the appropriation of Ajax into the religious system at Athens, perhaps as a potential strategic ploy by the city Athens to gain power throughout Attica.

Since the current study is concerned not only with one specific hero, but also with the general concept of the Athenian hero as presented on vases during the late Archaic period, Chapter Five examines vases which are decorated with multiple heroic episodes of individual heroes. One such example is an early fifth century red-figure stamnos attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, now in Philadelphia, that places a scene of Herakles and the Lion opposite one of Theseus and the Bull (CV.28). The juxtaposition of heroic compositions favor the three heroes discussed in Chapters Two, Three, and Four and fall within the chronological limits of this study. In addition to the three major cultic heroes of Athenian iconography, the final chapter also explores briefly other heroes present in the iconography at this time who shared a visual

program with Herakles, Theseus, and/or Ajax, such as the twin sons of Zeus, the Dioskouroi, and the hero of Homeric epic, Achilles.

The investigation of the iconography of heroes on Athenian vase-painting during the late Archaic period can reveal a great deal about Athenian attitudes toward heroes and hero cult. Theseus becomes an Athenian national hero. Ajax has hero-cult and importance to Athenian politics and genealogy, as well as providing the obvious reference to Homer. Herakles has the unusual dual nature of being revered as both hero and god. Although the textual evidence for ritual and the mythology of heroes must be taken into account, the decorated vases in black- and red-figure can supplement the textual evidence and enhance our understanding of Athenian heroes and hero worship during the late Archaic period. The subject matter on Athenian vasepainting is "a text in pictures...[it] is never to be thought of as illustrations, but as variants."⁷⁴ As we launch into a detailed iconographic analysis of each of these three important Athenian heroes, it remains to be seen how the Greeks imagined them visually and how each one fits our understanding of the Greek hero more generally. It is hoped, furthermore, that this research will result in a better understanding of Greek heroes in their cultural, social, and historical context, in relation to the visual arts, and in relation to one another.

⁷⁴ Kerényi 1959, 21.

HERAKLES: CULT, MYTH, AND PANHELLENIC STRUGGLES

Introduction

Herakles is the best-represented hero in all of Greek vase-painting.¹ He is a companion to Athena, has a narrative mythology which stretches beyond Athens and Attica, and he played a role as patron hero of Athens. Herakles is arguably *the* greatest Panhellenic hero in ancient Greece. Etymologically even the name "Herakles" may have some connection with the word ήρως, but there is no consensus on this theory. A more commonly accepted etymological derivative for the name "Herakles" translates to "glory of Hera," which is ironic considering Hera's exaggerated disdain for Herakles in the mythology. "No god or hero was more widely worshipped through the Greek and Roman world; no god or hero was more often represented in ancient art."² Our examination of heroes commences with Herakles because he, as a mythological and iconographic figure, is already well-studied and well-documented. Herakles is the paradigm of the ultimate Greek hero. He is an Athenian hero, as well. He had a cult center in Athens, and his mythology connects him with Athenian ritual and local heroes (i.e., Theseus, Eleusinian Mysteries). Depictions of Herakles in a religious setting show him in a position that

¹ On Herakles, see: Boardman 1988. For the Labors of Herakles in Greek art, see: Boardman 1990. For a general account on the hero, see: Schefold 1992, especially Ch. 5; Shapiro 1994, 148-59; Larson 2009, 31-38. For a discussion on Herakles' attributes, see Cohen 1994, 695-715. On the development of Herakles from the Greek through Roman worlds, see: Bowden and Rawlings 2005. This list is by no means comprehensive.

² Boardman 1988, 728.

could be occupied by any Athenian citizen: performing an ouranic or chthonic sacrifice, banqueting at a feast (or taking part in a symposium), or participating in a competition at the Panathenaia.³ Could Herakles then be seen as either an Athenian citizen himself in these scenes, or as a citizen-hero to emulate?

This chapter provides an analysis of the iconography of Herakles [refer to Tables II.1-II.6 for the quantitative analysis of the scenes examined for this study]. It summarizes, surveys, and analyzes the general iconography on late Archaic Athenian vase-painting. It further examines the shifts and transformations in the iconography, attributes, compositions, themes, and frequency of this hero. Special attention is devoted to unique scenes and developments in the visual repertoire. After presenting a brief overview of the cult and myth of Herakles as it pertains to Athens, we will then provide an analysis of the iconography of this hero in Athenian vase-painting. The visual analysis will first examine the chronological shifts in subject choice through the second half of the sixth century through the early fifth century, and then review the representations of Herakles by subject, noting canonic and unusual representations.

In what follows, we will discuss in detail specific figures and scenes that exemplify the general appearance of Herakles and also those which are unusual or exceptions to the type. The religious scenes will be discussed minimally here, with the sole purpose of pointing out that Herakles is the only hero with religious cult who is himself depicted performing religious rites.⁴ In keeping with the dissertation as a whole, this chapter will examine key aspects of Heraklean iconography and compositions that depict a struggle, or those that depict Herakles as the

³ On ouranic and chthonic sacrificial differences, see: Scullion 1994, 75–119; Scullion 2000, 163–71.

⁴ There is one known exception to this rule, a late fifth century Athenian red-figure volute krater fragment attributed to the Taglio Painter [Greco] from Serra di Vaglio that depicts Theseus and Perithoos pouring a libation over an altar with Leda and Helen standing near (all figures identified by inscription) (BAPD 43429: Potenza, Museo 51534; van Straten 1995, 41, fig. 41, V431).

aggressive foe in the midst of a duel (whether his foe is human, beast, or mythical). Throughout the discussions of the iconography of the hero, close attention will be paid to the dress and attributes, gestures and poses, and the context and composition of the scene itself. The primary focus is to examine the immediate iconography of the heroic figure himself, then the context within the scene, and finally to take into account the subject matter – especially in cases where context is seemingly the only way to identify the hero as the main figure in the scene.

Cult of Herakles in Athens

Although the cult of Herakles is not the focus of this chapter, it is important to mention that there were cults to Herakles in Athens during the time period in question.⁵ Knowledge of such cults – their festivals and rites – may help to develop a background for the Greek concept of the hero. The heroic cult of Herakles is unusual because he is considered the only purely Panhellenic Greek hero. According to his mythology he was apotheosized at death and became a god, so he is sometimes worshipped as a hero, at other times as a god.⁶ He has no known tomb located in any city, and he is worshipped at many sites for his various aspects. There are numerous cults dedicated to him. The Greeks worshipped his multiple facets: as a hero, as a god, as a hero-god, for his athletic prowess, for his relationship with Athena or Zeus (or Hera)... the list goes on.⁷ Herakles' mortal heroic characteristic combined with his posthumous apotheosis contributes to the diverse and complicated aspect of his nature: he can be either god or hero in

⁵ On the Athenian cult of Herakles, see: Woodford 1971, 211-25.

⁶ For the double cults of Herakles, see: Verbanck-Piérard 1989, 43-65.

⁷ For Heraklean cults, see: Schwietzer. 1982; Bowden and Rawlings 2005.

Greek cult and mythology.⁸ Often the distinction is unclear. For example, on the island of Thasos, his dual nature was the focus of a major cult.⁹ This diversity was an important element in the cult of a place. "Hero cults had a flexibility that enabled them to be adapted to particular situations or needs; therefore the local perspective is an important consideration when looking at hero cults."¹⁰ The cults of Herakles were not the same across time or region.

The archaeological and written record of hero shrines/cult for Herakles in Athens is tenuous, at best.¹¹ Much of the evidence is material and visual, such as vase-painting, some sculpture, and minor arts. The people of Marathon claimed that their cult of Herakles was the very oldest.¹² There was a separate cult at Thorikos, where Herakles received sacrifice along with Alkmene in the month of Elaphebolion.¹³ There was an annual celebration of Herakles in the gymnasion at Kynosarges in the month of Metageitnion.¹⁴ At this festival, Herakles was honored as the patron deity for athletes, and on this day the club was open to non-citizens. During the fifth and fourth centuries, cults of Herakles – both divine and heroic – were without question plentiful in Athens and throughout Attica.¹⁵ According to the deme festival calendars, the fourth day of every month was dedicated to Herakles.¹⁶ Food plays a large role in many Greek festivals, but food has a more personal meaning for rituals performed for Herakles, since he was a hero who indulged greatly in eating and drinking. Therefore, his cult generally included

⁸ No other heroes were worshipped also as gods, but the mythology of a few other gods references their pre-divine heroic status, such as Asklepios. For further reading, see: Peek 1969; Aleshire 1989; Riethmüller 1999, 123–43.

⁹ On cults of Herakles at Thasos, see: Picard 1923, 241–74; Bergquist 1973; Des Courtils, Gordeisen and Pariente 1996, 799-820; Bergquist 1998, 57-72.

¹⁰ Ekroth 2007, 138.

¹¹ For records of a cult of Herakles in Athens, see: D'Ooge 1909, 14; Jameson 1991, 48-50; Lambert 1999, 93-130; Santi 2012, 87-95;

¹² Pausanias 1.15.3, 32.4; Kearns 1989, 45.

¹³ Kearns 1989, 166.

¹⁴ Parke 1977, 51; Simon 1983; Parker 2005.

¹⁵ Pollitt 1961, 293-98; Woodford 1971, 211-25.

¹⁶ Jameson 1965, 154–72; Dow 1968, 170-86.

feasting as a prominent ritual element.¹⁷ Interestingly, women, who play such a large role in ritual activity, were often excluded from shrines of Herakles.¹⁸

Mythology of Herakles

The mythology of Herakles forms a narrative marked by heroic deeds and adventures in various regions of the world (and Underworld).¹⁹ The hero's adventures are present in the literature as early as the eighth century, since they appear in the works of both Homer and Hesiod. Another author who later glorified the exploits of Herakles is Peisandros of Rhodes (active in the late seventh/early sixth century). Herakles' episode with Kerberos is mentioned in the *Iliad*, and his marriage to Hebe, the daughter of Hera, is mentioned in the *Odyssey*. His episodes with Geryon, the Hydra, the Nemean Lion, the story of his birth, freeing Prometheus, and his marriage to Hebe are mentioned throughout the *Theogony*. Hesiod wrote a *Herakleia* detailing Herakles' Labors and various adventures, fragments of which refer to further narrative episodes from Herakles' life .²⁰ Such deeds became the staple scenes in the repertoire of Archaic Athenian vase-painting. Herakles is most commonly known for his "Twelve Labors" (*"Dodekathlos*;" "δωδέκαθλος") which he performed for King Eurystheus, and many scholarly works on his iconography and mythology are organized by such episodes; however, these feats did not become a canonical set until the second quarter of the fifth century B.C., when first

¹⁷ On food in religion, see: Parke 1977, 51; Dentzer 1982; Verbanck-Piérard 1992, 85-106; Bergquist 1998, 57-72. ¹⁸ Parke 1977, 23 and 83.

¹⁹ Homeric Hymn XV (to Herakles) mentions his service to Eurystheus and the widespread locales of his deeds.

²⁰ *FGrH* 434 T 1; Jacoby 2014, 224.

represented as a collective group of twelve metopes from the interior porches of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (c. 470-456).²¹

The order of the Twelve Labors of Herakles was established by Apollodorus of Athens (a late source who lived in the second century B.C.), but today it is the accepted canon. Herakles' first task was to kill the Nemean Lion. The rest of his Twelve Labors took place all over the Peloponnesus, the rest of the known world, and even the Underworld. They are: are the Lernean Hydra, the Kerynian Hind, the Erymanthian Boar, the Stymphalian Birds, the Augeian Stables, the Horses and Thracian Diomedes, the Cretan Bull, the Girdle of Hippolyta (an Amazon), the Cattle of Gervon, the Apples of the Hesperides, and Kerberos.²² The other episodes of Herakles which are not counted amongst his canonical Labors are often referred to simply as his "Other Deeds" ("Parerga;" "πάρεργα").²³ These include: his birth, Kallinikos, rescuing Deianeria from Nessos, his madness, serving women, rescuing Hera, and his death and subsequent apotheosis. Some of his extraneous incidents include: Chiron, Triton, the Kerkopes, and various banquets. The above lists are not comprehensive. Herakles' Deeds and Labors took place across the Greek world, including Western Greece; he was an important figure for colonies since his image helped them to retain their contact with the Greek mainland, with their Greek identity. The Labors of Herakles that took place in Magna Graecia and Sicily include the Cattle of Geryon and the Apples of the Hesperides. Interestingly, none of these subjects is depicted in the West. In fact, some of those represented in the West occurred in the East/Asia Minor, perhaps implying Eastern or Ionic influences on the subject matter. The mythological subjects of Herakles that are

²¹ For further reading on the sculptural program on the Temple of Zeus at Olympia see: Westervelt 2009, 133-52. On the distinction between Labors, *parerga* ("works"), and *praxeis* ("deeds"), see: Uhlenbrock 1986, 2-6.

²² Hesiod is one of the earliest authors to mention Herakles and the Nemean Lion (*Theogony*, II.311-12), the Lernean Hydra (*Theogony*, II.308-9), and the Cattle of Geryon (*Theogony*, II.293-94).

²³ The labors of Herakles were familiar to the Greeks at least as early as Homer, who mentions Eurystheus ordering the fetching of Kerberos: *II*. 8.362-69. See also Brommer 1986.

depicted in the West are quite different from those in Greece proper; that of Herakles and the Kerkopes, for example, never once occurs in architectural sculpture on the mainland while it occurs in metope form in two separate cities (Selinus and Foce del Sele) as well as on a terracotta pinax at Akragas.²⁴

The myths about Herakles are complex and have many variants in ancient poetry.²⁵ He was particularly associated with Argos and Thebes. Herakles' Panhellenic nature made it possible for rulers of various *poleis* to claim the hero as their mythical ancestor in order to legitimize claims to power. The part of Herakles' narrative that concerns this mythological background is at the point when it takes him to Athens, where he meets Theseus, either on being treated kindly after his madness or when he freed Theseus, who was then King of Athens, from the Underworld (Seat of Lethe). Herakles was initiated into the Lesser Eleusinian Mysteries by Eumolpos (or Mousaios or Triptolemos depending on the source, all Eleusinian heroes) in order to cleanse his blood-guilt.²⁶ Herakles is also the father of Antiochos, an Athenian cultic hero. Interestingly, the above Athenian associations with Herakles are not often shown in the major or minor arts. Herakles was the special patron of the gymnasion, particularly the wrestling event.²⁷ There are three physical sections at gymnasia designated for the events of the Panathenaic Games at Delphi: athletic, musical, and rhapsodic.²⁸ Herakles had long been the mythical paradigm of the

²⁴Fasti Archaeologici 10 (1955) no. 1453 and fig. 19.

²⁵ See further discussion on the mythology of Herakles by: Padilla 1998; Gantz 1993; and Stafford 2012, especially Chapters 1 and 2.

²⁶ Diodorus 4.14.3.

²⁷ On Herakles as the patron of the gymnasion, see: Poliakoff 1987, 13; Shapiro 1989, 159; Miller 2004, 50. On Herakles' association with the Olympic Games, see: Pindar, *Ol.* X; Nagy 1997, Ch. 4, 7; Miller 2004, 90.

²⁸ Miller 2004, 133; Crowther 2007, 46. On the tyranny in Athens under Peisistratos and his sons, see: Queyrel 2003, 41-69.

athlete, especially in his many wrestling matches.²⁹ The most frequently depicted subjects in Athenian vase-painting from the mid-sixth to mid-fifth centuries are: Struggle for the Tripod, Triton, the Erymanthian Boar, the Nemean Lion, the Cretan Bull, Amazonomachy, Kyknos, the Gigantomachy, Geryon, and Kerberos. Of these, the capture of the Nemean Lion is perhaps the most recognizable subject in vase-painting. The Lion's hide thereafter became an identifying attribute of Herakles, who wore it as a helmet and cloak.

Herakles in Greek Art

Herakles the hero is a standard figure in the visual representation of the Archaic period in Greece. He is characteristically depicted with a beard, wearing a lionskin cape, carrying a bow and quiver and/or club and/or sword (usually sheathed and attached to a baldric), standing to the left of his adversary.³⁰ Underneath the Lion's skin he wears a *chitoniskos*. Herakles dominates Athenian iconography of both major and minor arts during the sixth century, though the archaeological evidence for active cults of Herakles in the sixth century or before is minimal; whereas in the fifth century "interest in his heroic deeds is transferred to the more demonstrably Athenian hero Theseus, and many Heraklean subjects disappear from the repertoire altogether."³¹ There are thousands of representations of Herakles in Greek vase-painting, and his myths adorn the metopes and pediments of several Archaic and Classical Greek public and religious

²⁹ Raschke 1988, 43. On the visual representations of Herakles as athletic victor, or as an athlete, see: Boardman 1988, 796.

 $^{^{30}}$ In Homer (*Od.* 11.609-14) Herakles wears a sword baldric decorated with scenes of animals and fights, in addition to his bow and quiver. This description concurs with a majority of Herakles representations that depict him with full armament, sometimes without the club (typically early Archaic representations). he fashioned his club in the valley of Nemea from the trunk of a wild olive; Hermes gave him a sword; and Apollo gave him a bow and arrows. In other traditions, Athena gives him all of his weapons.

³¹ Shapiro 1989, 157. On the shift in vase-painting from an interest in Herakles to one in Theseus, see: Schefold 1992, 163-82; Mills 1997, 28-9.

buildings. The mythology of Herakles forms a narrative similar to a historical account. Scenes from his entire life, from wrestling snakes as a baby to his martial and romantic adventures, to his death and concurrent apotheosis, are all present in the visual record. The feats he accomplishes are represented in art all across the Greek world, and he appears in Etruscan and even later in Roman art, as well. However, any scenes of Herakles the god after his deification are less evident in Greek art; these include his introduction to Mount Olympos, his marriage to Hebe, and scenes where he is being worshipped.³² Stories of Herakles post-deification are not well-attested in Greek literature. Apart from his apotheosis, accounts of his marriage to Hebe are rare, but mentioned as early as Homer.³³

Herakles was a prominent subject for Athenian vase-painters. There are over 4,000 known vases decorated with Heraklean subject matter alone. During the time period in question that number narrows to 1330 (about one-third of the total). This is a considerable sample of Athenian vase-painting. The entire corpus of the iconography of Herakles on late Archaic Athenian vases is too vast to describe here in detail (or even fully analyze), thus a survey of its entirety is well beyond the scope of this study alone. For the sake of simplicity, only the following Herakles subjects are included: religious scenes (sacrifice at an altar, *musikos argos*, and at symposion/reclining); and Struggles (beasts, non-beasts, and the Delphic tripod). Thus, the number of Heraklean vases considered in this study narrows to approximately 600. The subjects discussed in detail below are those produced in Athens with the most representation between c. 530 and 475 B.C.

³² For the apotheosis of Herakles, see: Boardman 1990, 121-33. Herakles' apotheosis is beyond the scope of Herakles as a hero, and that is why this study omits such scenes. However, the religious scenes discussed pose the question as to whether or not Herakles is there depicted as a hero or a god. His status is uncertain. ³³ Homer, *Odyssey* 11.601*ff*.

Herakles in Late Archaic Vase-Painting

Herakles is a very common figure in Archaic Greek art starting in the second half of the sixth century B.C.³⁴ There is a steady production of vases depicting scenes of the hero Herakles throughout the sixth century.³⁵ The second half of the sixth century is "the heyday of Heraklean scenes" in Athenian vase-painting, and the subject does not receive at all the same kind of popularity outside of Attica.³⁶ A high proportion of the mythological scenes in Athenian black-figure vases depict Heraklean adventures.³⁷ Herakles' Labors and Deeds begin to appear in Attic vase-painting around 570, but were present in art before this date on Peloponnesian bronze shield bands.³⁸ "The earliest representations of Herakles have to be recognized from the action of the figure, in a narrative context."³⁹ Herakles is depicted more frequently than any other hero on late black-figure vases.⁴⁰ Lydos, the C Painter, and the Heidelberg Painter were largely responsible for introducing Heraklean subject matter into the vase-painting repertoire of the early sixth century.⁴¹ The late Archaic period begins with a shift in visual subject choice from the early

³⁴ For a more thorough account of the iconographic development of Herakles, see: Shapiro 1990.

³⁵ The role and importance of the hero (specifically Herakles or Theseus) in Athenian politics of the late sixth and early fifth centuries has garnered much discussion among scholars (and is discussed further in Chapter Three). John Boardman takes the lead for the side that sees Herakles as the political hero for the Peisistradid family (see his series of articles (1972, 1975, 1978, 1982, and 1984, as well as 1989, 158-59). Authors who have supported Boardman's argument include: Cook 1987, 167-69; Walker 1994, 35-55. In a similar vein, those who argue the case for Theseus being the political hero of the Alkmeonid family include: Jacoby 1949, 394-95; Schefold 1978; Sourvinou-Inwood 1979, 48-51; Kearns 1989, 115-17. Williams takes a separate stance and proposes that Herakles was set up as a symbol for the Alkmeonid family (1983, 131-40). Other scholars are skeptical of the concept that Athenian vasepainters of the sixth century would portray political propaganda; for their arguments, see: Osborne 1983; Cook 1987; Shapiro 1989, 15-16; Walker 1995, 35-47. Perhaps the political reflection is only apparent – and appropriate – on art of the monumental scale (Neils 1987, 126; Mills 1997, 27-28).

³⁶ Shapiro 1990, 121.

³⁷ For statistics on the scenes of Herakles in early black-figure vase-painting, see: Boardman 1975.

 ³⁸ Shapiro 1990; Boardman 1988. For further listing and discussion of Peloponnesian shield bands, see: Kunze 1950.
 ³⁹ Boardman 1988. 790.

⁴⁰ Hatzivassiliou 2010, 20.

⁴¹ This observation is based on the records of the Beazley Archive. On Lydos, see: *ABV* 107-13; Hoppin 1924, 160-64; Boardman 1974, 52-54. On the C Painter, see: *ABV* 51-58; Boardman 1974, 32-33. On the Heidelberg Painter, see: *ABV* 63-66; Boardman 1974, 33; Brijder 1991.

Archaic period.⁴² From 530 B.C. on, Herakles has a more passive role in his scenes, often standing idle by the subject of his Labor or Deed rather than engaged in the heat of struggle. This shift is perhaps in conjunction with the first appearance of single figure representations of Herakles around 530 B.C.⁴³ It is not until the red-figure technique appears that we begin to see scenes from Herakles' early and private life, scenes which are not present in black-figure. He begins to be shown in various non-martial contexts relating to Athenian daily life, such as: rituals (libations, leading bull to sacrifice, roasting spits over altar), banquets, music-making, and athletics.

During the time period in question, vase-painters experiment not only with composition of familiar subjects, but also with new subject choices for Herakles. We can only speculate as to whether or not their motives are political, narrative, or influenced by contemporary cult or (now lost) literature. What is clear is that we begin to see Herakles in scenes otherwise not present previously in the visual record. Since it would be anachronistic to organize Herakles here via his "Labors," the iconographic discussion instead is organized by "Non-struggles" (religious observances, symposiast, musician) and "Struggles" (beasts, non-beasts, divine). The groupings are thematic, and then, within each grouping, the iconographic details are presented.⁴⁴ The discussion includes an analysis of the number of vases for the time period, the discrepancy between black-figure and red-figure quantity, the frequency of particular subject choices, and the composite analysis of the individual figure of the hero himself within the scene, according to the

⁴² For a detailed analysis of the shift in the repertoire of heroic subject matter during the first half of the sixth century, see: Shapiro 1990.

⁴³ For further discussion on the extant solo scenes of Herakles, see: Boardman 1988.

⁴⁴ My organization of the discussion of the iconography of Herakles in vase-painting of Herakles is structured similarly to that of John Boardman's 1988 discussion of the iconography of Herakles in *LIMC* IV. Olga Palagia (who provides the analysis of the Roman scenes) is slightly more detailed with regards to gesture breakdown, yet devotes a similar attention to detail of the placement of legs and arms, the body, the figure with respect to the whole composition and relation to others, weapons/attributes, dress, physical features.

collected data. As we examine the iconography, most frequent scenes and typical attributes associated with Herakles, we will see that Herakles' image and attributes are defined and constant. The earliest appearances of individual subjects of Herakles in Attic art – and some earlier non-Attic examples – will be discussed first. The majority of Herakles subjects concern heroic narrative; thus, no scenes of Herakles as a god (his apotheosis) are discussed.⁴⁵ The visual analysis first examines scenes that put Herakles in a religious setting, and then explore more fully the subject matters that depict the Struggles of the hero.

Depictions of Religious Acts

Scenes of religious rites in vase-painting are not rare, yet scenes of Herakles performing a religious ritual are rare.⁴⁶ A combination of general religious iconographic activities comprise the side of one particular unattributed red-figure amphora (*Fig. 1*).⁴⁷ On the left stands a beardless youth in profile to the right. He has a ribbon tied in his short brown hair, and a single cloak does little to cover his nude body.⁴⁸ In his left hand he holds an oversized lyre, and in his right he holds a plectrum. He stands opposite a herm. The head of the herm is bearded and wreathed, and the phallus is erect – perhaps this is an outdoor sanctuary of Hermes? Between the youth and the herm is a waist-high altar with volutes and moldings. The vase incorporates music, sacrifice, and the location of a sanctuary all in one scene. The lyre and altar are also visible in the

⁴⁵ Scenes which depict Herakles' divine aspect include depictions of Herakles sharing a chariot with Athena and/or Zeus, his introduction to Mount Olympos, banqueting scenes with many gods, and his marriage to Hebe. It should be noted, however, that Athenian art of the sixth century was somewhat preoccupied with Herakles' deification, as it inspired a whole repertory of new imagery throughout the second half of the sixth century. The apotheosis as a motif is a purely Attic invention. On the apotheosis in vase-painting, see: Shapiro 1989, 161.

⁴⁶ On religious rites in vase-painting, see: Rupp 1991, 56-62; Alroth 1992, 9-46; Scheffer 1992, 117-37; Ekroth 2001, 115-26; Tsoukala 2009, 1-40; Lissarrague 2012, 564-78. For the iconography of religious ritual organized by deity, see: Shapiro 1989.

⁴⁷ *fig.* 1, [BAPD 206483]: Athens, National Museum 17170. red-figure pelike, Pig Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 470 (*Biblio—ARV*² 566.7, *ThesCRA*: II, PL.91.GR356 (A); 3).

⁴⁸ On the matter of heroes and hairstyles, see: Boardman 1973, 196-97; Mackay 2002, 203-10.

religious scenes of Herakles discussed hereafter.⁴⁹ A contemporary red-figure kylix in Athens (CII.1) combines the iconography of the hero with that of religious devotion: its exteriors are decorated with Herakles and Theseus, but its tondo shows a youth pouring a libation at an altar.⁵⁰

Cultic heroes do not generally appear in any sort of ritualistic scenes on Athenian vases. Yet, Herakles is the only hero who appears in various ritualistic settings, and as such it is important to briefly discuss depictions of him in such situations. Of the thousands of depictions of Herakles on Archaic vases, none can be identified with certainty as a scene of Heraklean cult, with the possible exception of two late black-figure vases showing a statue of Herakles (CII.2-CII.3; *Figs.* 2a-b). By portraying the hero as a statue, the painter has visually included him in a religious context.⁵¹ There are only 36 known instances of religious iconography scenes for Herakles dating to within the concerned time frame (almost all of which date prior to 500), which is just under 1% of the overall sample between 525 and 475. The following examples will be discussed: Herakles performing a sacrifice (ouranic or chthonic); Herakles reclining at a banquet or symposium; and Herakles competing as a *musikos argos*. As we examine the following scenes, it will be important to consider whether or not the visual representation of Herakles is that of a god or a hero. It should also be taken into consideration whether or not the dining scenes portray worshippers honoring a deity or are possibly depictions of a religious feast.

⁴⁹ Aktseli 1996.

⁵⁰ The combination of the iconography of heroes and religious rites on vases will be discussed in Chapter Five.

⁵¹ For statues on vases, see: Tiverios 1996, 163-76; de Cesare 1997; Hölscher 2010, 105-20.

Table II.1. Herakles and Religious Scenes (550-500 B.C.)

	Total	ABF	ARF
"sacrifice"	2	1	1
"altar"	4	4	
"symposium"	17	16	1
"reclining"	15	15	
"kithara"	4	4	
"lyre"	4	4	

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES—46 total (3.3% of overall date range) Religious/Cultic Observances: 6 (13% of collected sample (46), 00.43% of overall date range)

Reclining/Symposium: 32 (69.6% of collected sample (46), 2.3% of overall date range)

Musician: 8 (17.4% of collected sample (46), 00.57% of overall date range)

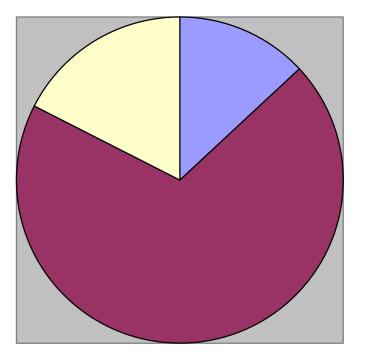




Table II.2. Herakles and Religious Scenes (525-475 B.C.)

	Total	ABF	ARF
"sacrifice"	2	1	1
"altar"	4	4	
"symposium"	17	16	1
"reclining"	15	15	
"kithara"	4	4	
"lyre"	4	4	

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES—46 total (3.3% of overall date range) Religious/Cultic Observances: 6 (13% of collected sample (46), 00.43% of overall date range)

Reclining/Symposium: 32 (69.6% of collected sample (46), 2.3% of overall date range)

Musician: 8 (17.4% of collected sample (46), 00.57% of overall date range)

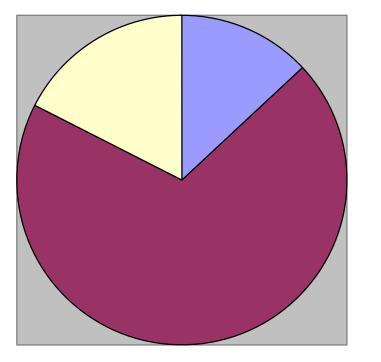




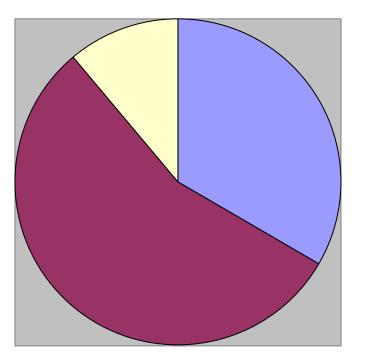
Table II.3. Herakles and Religious Scenes (500-450 B.C.)

	Total	ABF	ARF
"sacrifice"	1		1
"altar"	2		2
"symposium"	2		2
"reclining"	3	1	2
"kithara" "lyre"	1		1
"lyre"			

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES— 9 total (2.68% of overall date range) Religious/Cultic Observances: 3 (33.33% of collected sample (9), 00.9% of overall date range)

Reclining/Symposium: 5 (55.56% of collected sample (9), 1.5% of overall date range)

Musician: 1 (11.11% of collected sample (9), 00.3% of overall date range)





Sacrifices

The majority of Heraklean sacrificial scenes from the Archaic and early Classical period fall into one of three types: 1) Herakles leading a bull to sacrifice (not always distinguished from depictions of him capturing the Cretan Bull); 2) Herakles preparing the meat from a sacrifice for cooking at the altar; and 3) Herakles standing alone, offering a libation, sometimes at an altar.⁵² The general composition of the first type shows Herakles beside an animal intended for sacrifice (generally a bull), prior to the act, from the mid-sixth to early fifth century. There are no known examples in late black-figure Athenian vase-painting of the act of sacrificing an animal.⁵³ The first type will be further explored within the discussion of the Cretan Bull depictions below. The second and third types will be given attention here.

Scenes of Herakles roasting meat at an altar are rare, making up less than 1% of the Heraklean representations in late Archaic Athenian vase-painting. There are seven extant examples of Herakles roasting meat at an altar that all date to approximately 500 B.C. In the known scenes of this type, Herakles is bearded and wears his lionskin cloak. He stands (or sits) to the left of the altar, holding the spit in both hands, left over right. The general composition shows Herakles standing or crouching alone to the left of an altar, holding sticks of burning meat. It is uncertain whether Herakles is in the act of worshipping or being worshipped.⁵⁴ Since he is a hero with cult, "we may generally assume that he is sacrificing, usually to his father Zeus,

⁵² For representations on vase-painting of Herakles leading a bull to sacrifice, see: *LIMC* IV, s.v. "Herakles," PLS. 1332 (re-figure, Herakles holds a torch), 1333 (black-figure, Herakles holds a club above his head), 1334 (Black-figure). The type of Herakles offering a libation at an altar is present almost entirely in the Archaic period. For the few extant examples see: CII.4-CII.6.

⁵³ For further reading on the subject of artistic representations of religious sacrifice in ancient Greece, see: Boardman 1988, 798; Alroth 1992, 9-46; van Straten 1995; Ekroth 2001, 115-26. On Herakles with animal sacrifice in Greek tragedy, see: Calame 2005, 181-95.

⁵⁴ On scenes of worship in vase-painting, see: Rupp 1991, 56–62; Aktseli 1996; Ekroth 1998, 117-30; Ekroth 2001, 115-26.

even though the occasion may be rather to secure a meatmeal."⁵⁵ Sometimes Herakles is only roasting meat on a spit, though still at an altar, and this is perhaps a slightly humorous reference to his notorious gluttony.

The canonic composition of Herakles roasting meat at an altar is demonstrated by a late sixth century black-figure oinochoe by the Painter of Vatican G49 in the British Museum (CII.7; *fig.* 3).⁵⁶ The sole figure is a bearded man shown in profile facing right. He wears a lionskin over a short chiton, over which he has belted his sword. Behind his head rests a lion's head helm, and on his head a tight cap. On the wall behind him (the frame of the scene) rests a long thick club. The dress and attributes identify him as the hero Herakles. In both hands he holds one long spit erect over a stacked altar. Slabs of meat are on the end of the spit, close to the altar. One example of a scene of sacrifice that slightly differs from the other is a contemporary black-figure white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sappho Painter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (CII.11).⁵⁷ The organization of the scene is similar; the difference here is that the hero, bearded and identified by the bow and quiver on his back and lionskin helm and cape, does not stand by the altar but squats low on a raised tree branch. Underneath the branch, on the ground, lies a dog, whose head is turned up, either towards Herakles or to the roasting meat.

⁵⁵ Boardman 1988, 798. Self-referential, see: Schmitt-Pantel 1990, 14-33.On the practice of sacrifice in the cult of Herakles, see: Jameson 1991, 47, 53-56; Verbanck-Pierard 1992, 85-106. On the iconography and significance of meat in the cult of heroes, see: Ekroth 1999, 154.

⁵⁶ On the Painter of Vatican G49, see: *ABV* 534-37. For comparatively similar compositions of Herakles roasting meat on a spit at an altar, see: CII.8-CII.10.

⁵⁷ On the Sappho Painter, see: *ABV* 507-8; Boardman 1974, 148-49, 151, 178, 189-91, 200, 214; *ABL* 94-130, 225-29. The lekythos shape is traditionally used to perform libation-like rituals, often during rites for the deceased, or heroes. Here we have a chthonic ritualistic vessel decorated with a scene of a hero performing an ouranic sacrifice.

Libations

The libation as a central motif is relatively rare in Athenian black-figure vase-painting, and appears in the early fifth century. Libation scenes are typically a Classical motif and appear after 500.⁵⁸ With the invention of Athenian red-figure, we see more libation scenes as well as other bloodless sacrifices.⁵⁹ Both black-figure and red-figure examples are included here, the majority of which depict a libation scene between the hero Herakles and the goddess Athena. The general composition of a generic libation scene is either a man or a woman holding an oinochoe and pouring into a phiale or directly onto an altar, and often in front of a herm. The phiale is a sacred vessel used during libations, typically made of metal. It is shallow and often has a bulbous indentation in the center underside to facilitate holding it, and it has no handles or feet.⁶⁰ Scenes that involve Herakles and a libation typically depict the hero, seated on the left side of the scene, as the recipient of the libation who extends a vessel for receiving libations in his right hand. He faces a second participant – almost always Athena – who stands and pours from an oinochoe into Herakles'outstretched vessel.

Herakles is generally shown seated and receiving the libation, yet in several examples he stands tall while proffering the vessel to accept a liquid offering. The Theseus Painter is "the first artist to popularize the image of Athena pouring wine into Herakles' kantharos or phiale and repeated it on several vases of about 500."⁶¹ Though the Theseus Painter, who favors black-figure, is one of the first to show Herakles "regaled" by Athena with a libation, the shift from

⁵⁸ For further discussion on the visual representation in Greek vase-painting of Herakles pouring a libation (at an altar), see: Boardman 1988, 798; Simon 2004, 237-53.

⁵⁹ Hatzivassiliou 2010, 50.

⁶⁰ Luschey, 1939; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 49.

⁶¹ Shapiro 1989, 160; for further discussion regarding the Theseus Painter in general, see: *ABL* 141-65, 249-54; *ABV* 518-21; Boardman 1974, 147; Borgers 2004.

sacrificial processions to abbreviated schemes takes off in red-figure.⁶² The tondo of an unattributed early fifth century red-figure kylix exemplifies one variation of the typical composition for this scene: the standing Herakles (CII.12; *fig.* 4).⁶³ The bearded man casually stands in profile to the left. He is clothed in a long garment which covers his lionskin pelt. He leans against a long knobby club. In his right hand he holds what appears to be a metal phiale. To his right stands a woman in three-quarters view, facing him. She is fully clothed in folded drapery, and on her shoulders sits a snaky aegis with a Gorgon's head in front, on her head a crested helmet. Her attire identifies her as the goddess Athena. Her left hand, adorned with a bracelet, steadies an upright spear which she rests across her body. Her right hand pours wine from an oinochoe into Herakles' phiale. A second example of Herakles standing while receiving a libation presents a new compositional element to the scene: juxtaposing the two participants of the libation on either side of an amphora (CII.18).⁶⁴ The Berlin Painter here depicts Herakles, dressed in his usual garb, holding a kantharos rather than a phiale.⁶⁵

Some libation type scenes depict Herakles holding not a phiale but a kantharos, a cup used for drinking, and a common attribute of Dionysos, and receiving a libation from another figure, often the goddess Athena.⁶⁶ The tondo of an early fifth-century red-figure kylix attributed to Douris is decorated with the canonic Herakles libation scene (CII.19; *fig.* 5).⁶⁷ Herakles, on the left is seated in profile to the right. On his head rests a lion's head helm, and a lionskin cloak covers his chitoniskos. He sits on a rocky block, against which rests a knobby club. In his

⁶² Van Straten 1995, Ch. 2; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 49.

⁶³ A kylix is a cup used for drinking wine. For further examples of this similar composition, see: CII.13-CII.17.

⁶⁴ It was a common decoration scheme of the Berlin Painter to form a dialogue between the obverse and reverse sides of a vase in such a manner.

⁶⁵ On the Berlin Painter, see: ABV 407-09; ARV² 196-214; 1964; ARFV I 91-95, 111; Boardman 1974, 113.

⁶⁶ For a discussion on the kantharos shape, see: Richter and Milnes 1935; Sparkes and Talcott 1958; Vickers 1978; Cook 1979; Hackens 1980.

⁶⁷ On Douris, see: *ARV*² 425-48; *ARFV* I 137-39; Buitron-Oliver 1995.

extended right hand he holds a kantharos by its high handle. To his right a woman stands in profile to the left. She wears an elaborate long draped chiton under a himation. Over her shoulders is a snaky aegis, which also hangs down her back. Her head is adorned by a crown. An upright spear rests in the crook of her left elbow. In her left hand she holds an owl. On a block to her right rests a crested helmet with cheek flaps. Her dress and attributes identify her as the goddess Athena. In her right hand she holds an oinochoe. A stream of red wine flows from its mouth into Herakles' kantharos. A tree stands between them in the background to indicate the outdoor nature of the scene.

A contemporary black-figure skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter develops the Dionysian setting further with the addition of satyrs (CII.20; *fig.* 6).⁶⁸ Here Herakles is centrally located, seated in profile to the right on an elaborately decorated block, which is similar in its resemblance to a rectangular altar.⁶⁹ On his bearded head rests a lion's head helmet, and a lionskin is draped around his shoulders like a cape. He wears a long garment. He holds a phiale on his lap with his right hand. As on the previous example, his hand is raised in front of him. On the far right stands a barefoot and helmeted Athena who pours wine from a large metal oinochoe into Herakles' phiale. Behind the two stands a tree, to indicate that the scene take place outside. The far left figure is a satyr standing in profile to the left. He has the body of a man and a long shaggy beard and long curly hair, but tall pointed ears (like a horse) and a bushy long tail.⁷⁰ The above examples blend the secular and the religious world, as the composition alludes to both libation and sympotic settings.

⁶⁸ On the Theseus Painter, see: ABL 141-65, 249-54; ABV 518-21; Boardman 1974, 147.

⁶⁹ For identification of specific altar types in vase-painting, see: Aktseli 1996; Ekroth 2001, 115-26.

⁷⁰ For representation of satyrs in Greek vase-painting, see: Lissarrague 2013, esp. Ch. 4.

In these scenes, Herakles is typically the one receiving the libation, in either a phiale or a kantharos, while Athena pours from an onoichoe.⁷¹ The hero is bearded and wearing his lionskin cloak, and he is often seated, either on a block of stone or a feature vaguely resembling a rectangular altar, yet in a few examples he stands in *contrapposto*, leaning casually on his club for support while holding the phiale with his bent right arm.⁷² His right arm is fully extended in front of him at his waist as he proffers his vessel. A common feature in these libation scenes is divine companionship. The relationship between Herakles and Athena is unique because, even though Athena is shown at the side of other heroes, she "accepts and welcomes Herakles as not just a protégé but an equal."⁷³

Reclining

Early depictions of Herakles show him as a participant in a symposion, especially that of Eurytos, the man who taught archery to Herakles, which show Herakles as the symposiast, reclining with food and drink.⁷⁴ Around 540/530 we begin to see Herakles reclining by himself in a sympotic setting, sometimes attended by Athena.⁷⁵ Scenes of Herakles eating or reclining are not abundant, comprising approximately 2% of the Heraklean visual representations in late Archaic Athenian vase-painting. There are 32 known examples of Herakles reclining in the second half of the sixth century, only one of which is red-figure. During the early Classical

⁷¹ The phiale is a ritual vessel used only for the purpose of making a libation; the kantharos is a drinking vessel and often used as an identifying attribute for the god Dionysos.

⁷² For an example of Herakles sitting on a stone block, see: CII.19. For an example of Herakles' seat resembling an altar, see: CII.20. For examples of Herakles standing with a phiale, see: CII.12; CII.18.

⁷³ Shapiro 1989, 160. On the relationship between Herakles and Athena, see: Bowden-Rawlings 2005, 48; Deacy 2008, Ch. 4; 2010, 224-31.

⁷⁴ On Herakles as a symposiast, see: Boardman1988, 817-21; Verbanck-Piérard 1992, 85-106; Wolf 1993; Steiner 2004, 427-63.

⁷⁵ On the change in symposion imagery in late Athenian black-figure vase-painting, see: Schmitt-Pantel 1990, 14-33; Topper 2009, 3-26; Lynch 2012, 525-42.

period, the number of reclining examples declines compared to its (relative) popularity in the late sixth century; after 500 the number of representations declines dramatically to a total of five, four of which are red-figure. There are two types of reclining scenes: the first is Herakles as a banqueter, where he consumes food; and the second is of Herakles as a symposiast, in which he reclines with a drinking vessel in hand. The custom of *parasitein*, religious feasting, is known to have been associated with Herakles' cult in Athens. Scenes of banqueting which include Herakles may have religious connotations.⁷⁶ Sometimes he dines alone and is attended by another. The presence of either a kline or drinking cup (or both) identifies the setting as a symposion, rather than a banquet.

The first type of a standard banqueting composition depicts Herakles and another reclining on the ground outside, which is consistent with depictions of reclining during the second half of the sixth century and appears on black-figure vessels. An outdoor setting would be atypical for a sympotic setting, but not for a (religious) feast. Herakles lies on the right, nude and bearded, while his male companion lies to the left. The companion figure is not always identified, and attributions range from Iolaos to a god, either Dionysos or Hermes.⁷⁷ A tree or rocky ground-line indicates the exterior setting; a bow and quiver identify the man on the right as Herakles. There is one exceptional example of Herakles at an outdoor banquet (CII.23; *figs.* 7a-b). Both sides of an early fifth-century black-figure kylix attributed to the Theseus Painter depict a mirror scene of Herakles reclining outdoors with a male companion, as before. The obverse

⁷⁶ For questions on the cultic significance of Herakles reclining in Greek art, see: Verbanck-Piérard 1992.

⁷⁷ For further examples regarding this type, see: CII.21; CII.22. On the iconography of Iolaos in Greek art and his role as a Boeotian hero and both nephew and charioteer of Herakles, see: *LIMC* V, s.v. "Iolaos", 686-96 (Pipili); West 2013, 565-75. The earlier literary reference of Iolaos refers to the slaying of the Hydra (Hesiod, *Theog.* 317). Hesiod also describes how Iolaos accompanied Herakles when he wrestled Kyknos (467-70). Pindar later details Iolaos' role at Troy (*Nem.* 3.36-37), and call him the bravest charioteer besides Kastor (*Isth.* I.16-17).

scene shows Herakles and Hermes, and the reverse side shows Herakles and Dionysos.⁷⁸ Both compositions depict Herakles on the right, semi-nude and bearded, holding a drinking horn, with his bow and quiver nearby, and lion's skin hanging to his right. On the reverse side he also holds the drinking horn in his right arm, and his club rests in the crook of his left elbow. In both scenes the unusual addition of three animals decorates the space: two bulls stand to the left of the men, and another bull stands on the right. A bull is present in two of Herakles' labors: the Cretan Bull and the cattle of Geryon. They are animals of sacrifice, associated also with Theseus. Such a scene that combines sacrificial animals with Herakles and Dionysos may perhaps carry religious/cultic implications. The presence of divine companions may indicate that Herakles is here also meant to be seen as divine.

Dionysos accompanies Herakles as a sympotic companion on the tondo of a red-figure kylix (CII.24). The two figures share a single kline, which is indicated by a ground line threequarters of the way down the tondo. Below this sits a table on which rest three loaves of bread. The positioning and gestures of the figures is similar to the above examples, yet here Herakles is on the left and the two recliners are placed in an interior setting on furniture associated with a symposium. Dionysos, as the god of wine, is an obvious choice for not only a drinking companion, but also as the subject of a drinking vessel. Dionysos is shown on the right holding a drinking horn; the part of the vase which shows what Herakles holds is now lost. Both men are bearded, clothed from the waist down, with chests bare.

Sometimes Herakles is the sole person reclining, while other figures stand by in attendance. In such scenes, Herakles reclines on a kline in the similar composition as previously

⁷⁸ For further reading on the reclining Dionysos imagery, see: Carpenter 1986; Scheffer 1992, 117–37; Carpenter 1995, 145-63; Carpenter 1997b.

described, while at least one other person stands in attendance. The hero can be shown either eating or drinking.⁷⁹ Perhaps the combined act of Herakles eating while reclining is:

an unusual feature of the two oldest cults of Herakles in Attika, at Marathon and Kynosarges ... group of men known as *parasitoi*, dining companions of the hero... The curious absence of any companions of Herakles on these vases (apart from those who attend him) ... is thus due to the fact that he is shown not as symposiast ... but as a diner. His absent companions are the mortal *parasitoi* who shared a meal in his name.⁸⁰

Herakles here could be considered either the religious worshipper or the one being worshipped.

Scenes of Herakles reclining on a kline are not necessary strictly sympotic depictions but rather references to the hero's gluttonous nature.⁸¹ He is not drinking, but eating. Sometimes, however, he is shown reclining with a kantharos (the drinking cup normally held by Dionysos) in his hand, as a symposiast. He is usually alone, or attended by the goddess Athena, and there is always a food-laden table beside the hero's kline. There is no standard composition for this subject, but in general one can expect to see Herakles, reclining (either alone or with a companion), holding either a knife (for food) or a cup (often a kantharos) in his right hand. Both arms are bent with his hands held in front of him. He is always bearded and nude above the waist (on only one example is he completely nude, discussed above). His bow and quiver rest or hang nearby to identify him, sometimes his lionskin and club, as well. The hero is never alone in the known examples. The most striking observation will be that Athena's presence in these scenes is prominent during the second half of the sixth century, but then experiences a sharp decline in number after 500.

⁷⁹ It is not unusual for Herakles to be attended by Alkmene or deities, or both. For an example of such a scene, see: CII.25. For further examples, see: *LIMC* IV s.v. "Herakles", 817-20 (Boardman); PLS. 1486-1521.

⁸⁰ Shapiro 1989, 161. On the role of *parasitoi* in the cults of Herakles, see: Jameson 1991, 48.

⁸¹ On Herakles' role in banquets, see: Jameson 1991, 47.

Musikos Argos

According to the literary references regarding Herakles' musical education, Linos taught him the lyre, and Eumolpos taught him the kithara.⁸² He is infamously known for having no musical talent, and as such his portraval as a musician in ancient art is not in accordance with the literary tradition. Herakles does not appear as a musician in art until the late Archaic period. During the sixth century, Athenian festivals were reformed, including the Panathenaia and the Dionysia. Such festivals featured competitions, including musical competitions.⁸³ All extant music scenes (*Herakles Mousikos*) can be dated between 530 and 500 and Athena is almost always present alongside the hero. The images show Herakles performing at a mousikos agon in the hopes of winning the monetary prize and golden crown. Musical contests took place in nearly every ancient Greek city. At some major Greek games, contests in music and similar arts formed a part of the program, on par with athletic contests. There are seven late Archaic Athenian vases which depict Herakles competing in the mousikos agon with divine judges, convincingly related to the mousikoi agones of the Greater Panatheniac Festival in Athens. A few Panathenaic prize amphorae depict the mousikoi agones, and the few that do with certainty will be considered here, as well 84

Scenes of Herakles as a musical contestant are rare, comprising less than 1% of the Heraklean visual representations in late Archaic Athenian vase-painting, and are almost nonexistent after 500 B.C. At least seven Athenian vases dating to the late sixth century depict Herakles holding a kithara, standing on a pedestal, flanked by Athena and either Hermes or

⁸² Theokritos 24, 109-10. On the musical education of Herakles, see: Bundrick, 2005, 73-74.

⁸³ Simon 1983; Mikalson 2004, 214; Neils-Tracy 2004.

⁸⁴ For a more detailed description of the musical contests of Athens (and elsewhere in Greece), see: Davidson 1958, 23-42; Mikalson 2004, 214; Miller 2004, 133-34; Neils-Tracy 2004, 14. On Panathenaic prize amphorae, see: Smith 2012, 550-53.

Dionysos. They are all decorated in the black-figure technique. The earliest example displays the typical composition for this type: Herakles mounting a plain bema with a kithara, Athena is present as judge (CII.26).⁸⁵ The standard composition for this subject includes Herakles, fully dressed with lionskin, baldric, and quiver (and sometimes the club, as well), approaching or already on a bema while playing a kithara or lyre. Athena and another divine judge frame the scene.

An unattributed late sixth-century black-figure amphora in Vienna exemplifies the formulaic composition for this type (CII.27; fig. 8).⁸⁶ Three figures fill the panel onn one side. On the far left a bearded man stands in profile to the right. He wears a small pointed hat, a short chiton and short cloak, and calf-height winged sandals. In the crook of his right arm he holds a *kadukeos*. His attributes identify him as the god Hermes. Centrally positioned and stepping onto a white bema is a bearded male figure placed in profile to the right. He wears a lion's skin pelt and head as a helm over a short chiton. A sword is belted around his waist and on his back he carries a bow and full quiver. His left arm holds a kithara, and his right hand holds a plectrum with which he plucks the instrument. His attributes and costume identify him as the hero Herakles. On the right stands a woman in profile to the left. She wears a long garment under a snaky aegis and her head is adorned with a crested helmet. In her left hand she holds a spear upright, and in her right hand she holds a long knobby club, angled down. Her armor identifies her as the goddess Athena, holding the club of Herakles. Herakles is the musical contestant, and the gods the judges. The painter pairs the mythological hero with divine judges to portray an actual act of a musical contestant judged at religious festivals.

⁸⁵ On the iconography of musicians and musical contests in late Archaic vase-painting, see: Castaldo 2000, 35-49.

⁸⁶ For contemporary examples of this similar composition, see: CII.28; CII.29.

Musical contests "may well have been held outdoors, in the Agora, with the performers on an improvised raised platform, or bema ... and the audience seated on temporary wooden bleachers", and Athens' first indoor concert hall (Odeion), next to the Theater of Dionysos, was not built until Perikles.⁸⁷ Hence the above examples of Herakles on a raised platform performing music most likely are meant to take place outdoors in the Agora. The kithara was the most esteemed instrument, and the first place prize in kithara singing was a gold crown worth one thousand drachmas (perhaps worth as much as \$150,000 in modern terms).⁸⁸ The contestants won prizes for their success just as athletes won prizes for theirs. The ancient athletic contests were religious in function, held in honor of a god (Olympics for Zeus, Pythian for Apollo, Panathenaian for Athena, etc.). These musical scenes could be interpeted as religious, though not at the same level as Herakles sacrificing at an altar.

The musical contestant type has few variants. The first shows Herakles already upon the bema, instead of in the act of stepping atop it; the second switches the placement of Athena and Hermes as judges, so that Athena is on the left of the scene rather than the right; the third includes Dionysos as the second divine judge, rather than Hermes; the fourth shows Herakles playing the kithara without any judges present in the scene; and in one very rare case the hero combines his musical skill with the ritual act of pouring a libation.⁸⁹ Herakles is rarely shown alone as a musician, and he is normally clothed, bearded, with the lionskin, and often with his bow and quiver on his back. Athena is always present, except when Herakles is alone. Hermes is present as the other judge, or, on the rare occasion, Dionysos is opposite Athena as the second

⁸⁷ Shapiro 1996, 218.

⁸⁸ Miller 2004, 134.

⁸⁹ For an example of the first variant, see: CII.29. For an example of the second variant, see: CII.28. For an example of the third variant, see: CII.30. For an example of the fourth variant, see: CII.31. For an example of the fifth variant, see: CII.32.

judge. Herakles always stands in the center in profile facing right, holding a kithara or lyre in front of him at head height with his left hand, and he strums or plucks the instrument with his slightly bent right arm.

Depiction of Struggles

Early Struggles

Depictions of Struggle comprise 40% of the visual repertoire in late Archaic vasepainting for Herakles. Of these Struggles, non-human opponents make up about 60% of the extant examples. Before we examine such scenes, let us first recall the early appearances of Herakles in Greek art to demonstrate that the following scenes were widespread in Greek art during the Orientalizing (seventh through early sixth centuries B.C.) and early Archaic periods. This background will set the stage for the discussion of Heraklean representation in Greek vasepainting during the late Archaic period. It should be noted that Herakles' early weapon of choice is his bow, and this is mentioned by early authors (beginning mid-eighth century) such as Homer, Hesiod, Stesichorus, and Alkman. The bow belongs to earlier representations of Herakles, and the club is on later ones, though the bow and quiver are often retained as part of his arsenal throughout the Classical period. Herakles uses the bow and arrow as his weapon when he assists Athena and the gods during scenes of the Gigantomachy.⁹⁰ His other weapon of choice is the club and sometimes it is even his own strength that he uses as a weapon.⁹¹ The

⁹⁰Homer, *Il.* 5.392-7; *Od.* 8.244, 9.606ff, 11.607ff (in Hades); see Cohen 1994, 695-715. According to Megakleides, Stesichoros (*Geryoneis*) was the first author to describe Herakles "like a robber" with the club, lion skin and bow, while the older poet Xanthos had him in Homeric dress, yet others say that Peisandros of Rhodes (late seventh century) gave Herakles the attributes of the lion skin and club (Boardman 1988, 729).

⁹¹ Strength as an attribute is a concept that Herakles shares with the epic hero Ajax (see Chapter Four).

lionskin and club first appear in art as primary attributes of Herakles during the second quarter of the sixth century. "The earliest individual representations of Herakles depend on the appearance of attributes and are not therefore possible before these attributes (club, bow, lionskin) are regularly shown."⁹²

Herakles and the Hydra is one of the first identifiable mythological subjects in Greek art; this is due to the image of the Hydra as much as the visualization of Herakles.⁹³ The early material ranges from an eighth century gem from Kato Phana on Chios to a seventh century Boeotian bow fibula, this "shows that the visual iconography of the myth is already partly established by the opening decades of the seventh century."⁹⁴ Literary evidence for the myth dates as far back as Hesiod. The standard iconography for the Hydra myth is found throughout the seventh century Greek world, and "by the close of the century the Peloponnesan treatment of the scene has been established: Herakles, armed with a sword, confronts the Hydra from the left, while Iolaos attacks the monster with a *harpe* from the right."⁹⁵ The subject is attested in the Peloponnese, but rare in Athens. Although the myth is a commonly depicted subject in other areas of the Greek world, it does not enter the visual sphere in Athens until the end of the second quarter of the sixth century on a poros pediment on the Acropolis, and then mirrored in Athenian vase-painting. Brommer lists only 34 examples in Athenian black-figure, and Venit claims two more should be added for a total of 36.⁹⁶

⁹² Boardman 1988, 790.

⁹³ Carpenter 1991, 121-22.

⁹⁴ Venit 1989, 100.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Brommer 1973, 79-80; Venit 1989, 101. My own collected data includes only thirty examples (both black- and red-figure), which is the vast majority of the number claimed by Brommer and Venit.

Outside of Attica, Herakles first appears in the earliest Amazonomachies, but even when he is not present the composition is similar on the earliest representations.⁹⁷ An illustration of Herakles and Amazons exists as early as 700 on a clay shield from Tiryns, but in Corinth Herakles' fight with the Amazons was depicted from about 570 onwards. The Gervon myth first features on a Protocorinthian pyxis and a shield band from Delphi.⁹⁸ Nessos is introduced to the repertoire in Corinth by the late seventh century B.C.⁹⁹ The story decorates a late seventh century Protoattic amphora which is the name vase for the New York Nettos Painter, and "one of the most complex and easily recognized mythological narratives on an Attic vase."¹⁰⁰ Here Nessos is in the act of dying, having been stabbed by Herakles' sword – no arrow is present. Nessos scenes occur well before 570 B.C. in Attic art.¹⁰¹ By the second quarter of the sixth century it was frequent in Athenian black-figure, but still contained "iconographical variants" as the painters explored with the composition, yet it became the most numerous Herakles/centaur encounter in Athenian vase-painting. This is not to say that the scene itself was widely portrayed, however. The subject is common during the mid-sixth century, but after c. 530 it rapidly declines in favor; the other centaurs who have a prominent role in the life of Herakles are Chiron and Pholos. The scenes rarely depict the actual moment of Nessos' death, rather the moment when conflict begins

⁹⁷ Shapiro 1990, 130.

⁹⁸ Kunze 1950, 106, pl. 50. London, A487, ProtoCorinthian, pyxis, c. 670. From Phaleron. *LIMC*, s.v. "Geryoneus" (P. Brize) nr. 11.

⁹⁹ For more on Corinthian representations, see: von Steuben 1968, 113.

¹⁰⁰ The story of Nessos and Deianeira is retold in Sophokles' *Trachiniai* 555-81 (all Archaic versions of this story are lost). On the Nettos Painter, see: Shapiro 1990, 133. fig. 9 [BAPD 300025]: Athens, National Museum 1002, black-figure neck amphora, Nettos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 610 (*Biblio – ABV* 4.1, 679; *Para.* 2.6; *LIMC* VI, PL. 553, s.v. "Nessos" 113; *Decoration –*A: Herakles grabs the head of Nessos with one hand, ready to stab him with a sword; B: Medusa and Gorgons, running; Rim: animal frieze). See: Boardman 1974, fig. 5. ¹⁰¹ Shapiro 1990, 126.

(Nessos fondles Deianeira while carrying her across the river). It is more a subject for Archaic art than Classical; the number of representative samples declines significantly after 500.¹⁰²

Narrative subjects of Herakles that appear in black-figure vase-painting during years 570-550 include the Struggle with: Triton, Nemean Lion, Lernaean Hydra, Erymanthian Boar, Kerynian Hind, Amazons, Apples of the Hesperides, Geryon, Kerberos, Kyknos, Acheloos, the Delphic Tripod, Kerkopes, Gigantomachy, and his Introduction to Mount Olympos.¹⁰³ The Nemean Lion is a common subject in all Greek art as early as 600 B.C.; it appears on non-Attic examples c. 600, on two shield bands and several Corinthian vases.¹⁰⁴ The first examples of Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion in Attic art appear c. 560 on several Siana cups by the C Painter and the Heidelberg Painter.¹⁰⁵ On such instances, all in the black-figure technique, Herakles wears a short chiton, bearded with his head covered by the lionskin. He stands to the left in profile, grasping the Nemean Lion with his arms, which stands or wrestles close to the ground to the right.

The earliest depictions of Herakles versus a sea monster in Attic art occur early in the sixth century (seven examples are known between 590 and 570 B.C.).¹⁰⁶ Triton, Nereus, and Acheloos were all depicted with the head of a man and body of a snake/sea monster. Scenes of Triton are rare outside of Attica, except an early Boeotian imitation black-figure amphoriskos, an early gem currently in London, and a single shield band.¹⁰⁷ The first certain depiction of Acheloos appears on Athenian black-figure 570-560 on a neck-amphora, a Siana cup, and a non-

¹⁰² Shapiro 1990, 133.

¹⁰³ Shapiro 1990, 122-33.

¹⁰⁴ For the shield bands, see: Kunze 1950, 96. For the Corinthian vases, see: von Steuben 1968, 18-19; Brommer 1973, 141.

¹⁰⁵ Shapiro 1990, 123; Carpenter 1991. On the C Painter cup, see: *ABV* 56,94, *Para.* 24,89. On the Heidelberg Painter cup, see: *ABV* 64,14; 66,55.

¹⁰⁶ For a detailed discussion on the iconography of the sea-monster in Heraklean vase-painting, see: Ahlberg-Cornell 1984. For early depictions of the sea monster in vase-painting, see: Glynn 1981, 121-32.

¹⁰⁷ On amphoriskos, see: ABV 14.1. For the shield band, see: Kunze 1950, 109, pl. 54.

Athenian but contemporary Corinthian vase, but the subject is otherwise uncommon.¹⁰⁸ When Herakles is facing a snake-like foe, it is likely Nereus or Triton.

There are a number of fighting scenes that do not appear on Athenian vase-painting until c.570-560. Herakles fighting the Lernean Hydra was a favorite subject in sixth century Corinth. but the first attestation of Herakles fighting the Lernean Hydra onn Athenian vases does not occur until 570-560 on a black-figure kantharos fragment, and a little later c. 550 on some Tyrrhenian vases.¹⁰⁹ These are contemporary with the pediment fragment of the Hydra on the Acropolis.¹¹⁰ There are several early examples of Kyknos on Athenian vase-painting beginning c. 570. The earliest is an ovoid neck-amphora by the Painter of London B76, and a contemporary Corinthian vase.¹¹¹ The Erymanthian Boar first appears on two early tondi by the Heidelberg Painter c. 560 and is very rare outside of Athenian art.¹¹² Amazonomachies are extremely wellrepresented in the early Athenian black-figure repertoire, decorating over a hundred vases; there are 142 examples between 550 and 450, 67 of which fall into the time period concerning this study.¹¹³ The earliest examples are a black-figure lekythos and two Siana Cups, both c. 550-540.¹¹⁴ According to Shapiro, the likely earliest example of Herakles taming the guardian dog of

¹⁰⁸ On the iconography of Acheloos in Greek art, see: *LIMC* I, s.v. "Acheloos", 12-36 (Isler). Acheloos appears in the literary sources as early as Homer (II. 21.194-97) and Hesiod (Theog. 340). For the neck amphora, see: fig. 10 [BAPD 350203]: New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 59.64, black-figure neck-amphora, Ptoon Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 570-560 (Biblio - Para. 31). For the Siana cup, see: [BAPD 300620]: Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts 99.519, black-figure Siana cup, Painter of Boston CA [attributed by Beazley], c. 570-560 (*Biblio – ABV* 69,1).

¹⁰⁹ For further discussion on early sixth century depictions of Herakles and the Lernean Hydra, see: Shapiro 1990, 123. For further discussion on the early appearance of the Lernean Hydra in Attic art see Maffre 1985, 83-95; Venit 1989, 99-113. For the Corinthian cup, see: Brussels, Musée Royaux A3174.

¹¹⁰ Athens, Acropolis Museum 1. Hydra Pediment, c. 570-560.

¹¹¹ [BAPD 350211]: Taranto, Museo Nazionale 52.148, black-figure ovoid neck-amphora, Painter of London B76 [attributed by Bothmer], c. 600-550 (Biblio - Para. 33,13bis; LIMC VII, PL.686, s.v. "Kyknos" I 1 (A)). On the Painter of London B76, see: ABV 85-88; Boardman 1974, 36. Also see: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3410. ¹¹² For publication reference, see: Para. 27,55bis; and ABV 682, Para. 27.

¹¹³ For a complete discussion on Amazons in Greek art, see: von Bothmer 1957.

¹¹⁴ On the lekythos, see: ABV 58,128. For the Siana cups, see: [BAPD 500532]: Naples, Museo Nazionale 81150, black-figure Siana Cup, near C Painter [attributed by Beazley]. (Biblio - ABV 60,5); [BAPD 300609]: Berlin

the Underworld, Kerberos, is on a Siana Cup by the C painter.¹¹⁵ Scenes of Herakles taming Kerberos are chosney by black-figure vase-painters of the sixth century fairly frequently, comprising approximately 13% of the total collection of Heraklean beastly struggles on vasepainting. Kerberos is rarely found in Athenian vase-painting after 540, almost non-existent on red-figure vases, and disappears almost entirely from the repertoire during the fifth century. Geryon does not appear in Athenian vase-painting until c. 560 on an early hydria by Lydos, and this subject remains numerous until c. 510, after which is almost disappears entirely.¹¹⁶

Scenes of Kyknos, a son of Ares, are extremely prevalent on black-figure vases, but not as common with red-figure painters. During the second half of the sixth century, scenes of Kyknos were almost as frequent as those of the Nemean Lion as the second most represented subject (after Triton), totaling 71 known examples (seventy of which are in the black-figure technique). During the late sixth century, the Kyknos scenes comprises approximately 40% of the total collection of Heraklean anthropomorphic struggles on vases. During the early Classical period, this subject rapidly declines to comprise only about 10% of the anthropomorphic struggles during the early-mid Classical period (a total of 6 examples). The early popularity of Kyknos scenes possibly can be attributed to poems of early sixth century: a lyric of Stesichoros and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*.¹¹⁷

Antikensammlung 3402, black-figure Siana cup, Heidelberg Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 550-540 (*Biblio – ABV* 67).

¹¹⁵ Shapiro 1990, 124; currently in the Archaeological Museum in Zurich.

 ¹¹⁶ Shapiro 1990, 124. [BAPD 310160]: Villa Giulia 50683, black-figure hydria, Lydos [attributed by Rumpf], c. 560 (*Biblio – ABV* 108.14, 685; *LIMC V*, PL.84, s.v. "Herakles" 2463 (BD)). On Lydos, see: *ABV* 107-13; Boardman 1974, 52-54.

¹¹⁷ Shapiro 1984, 523-29; Becker 1995, 23-31.

Struggles After 550 B.C.

After 550, the subject matter for Herakles scenes shifts from a preference for monsters and animals to human protagonists.¹¹⁸ A few of the above mentioned subjects continue to be shown through late Archaic and early Classical periods: the Struggle for the Tripod, Triton, the Erymanthian Boar, Amazonomachy, subduing the Cretan Bull, and killing the Nemean Lion. These examples will be foremost among the ones discussed below [Refer to Tables 2.4-2.6].

Certain subjects are more recurrent in the repertoire of Heraklean representations on Athenian vases from 550 through the early fifth century: the Triton; Erymanthian Boar; Nemean Lion; Taming of Kerberos; Kyknos; and Amazonomachy.¹¹⁹ Around 530 we see a shift in subject preference by Athenian vase painters, as well as the introduction of new subjects involving the hero. After 530, Athenian vase-painters favor the following subjects: Cretan Bull (a new subject, predominantly on black-figure); the Struggle for the Tripod with Apollo (after 530 this becomes more visible than scenes of Triton, which dominated the sixth century repertoire); and on a much lesser extent, scenes of Herakles at sacrifice have a brief stint of popularity during the final quarter of the sixth century. The Bull, which was non-existent prior to 530, now appears often in the visual representations. The Struggle with Apollo over the Delphic Tripod increases in number dramatically on vases, as well, and becomes the most frequently chosen subject between 525 and 475 for Herakles (majority on black-figure). The Lion now appears predominantly on red-figure vases, whereas the majority of other Herakles subjects from c. 525 to c. 475 appear on black-figure.

¹¹⁸ On the shift of adversary from monster to human, see: Shapiro 1990, 135; Walker 1994, 72-73.

¹¹⁹ This date is suggested by Shapiro (1989) as the marker of a shift in subject matter for heroes.

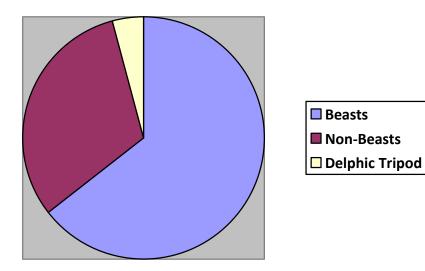
	Total	ABF	ARF
	1392	1361	30
"Triton"	96	95	1
"Boar"	49	49	
"Lion"	67	62	5
"Bull"	18	17	1
"Kerberos"	45	44	1
"Geryon"	38	35	3
"Centauromachy"	23	23	
"Hydra"	14	13	1
"Kyknos"	71	70	1
"Amazonomachy"	57	53	4
"Gigantomachy"	22	22	
"Antaios"	16	15	1
"Busiris"	1	1	
"Kerkopes"	7	7	
"Atlas"			
"Tripod"	22	18	4

Table II.4. Herakles and Struggles (550-500 B.C.)

STRUGGLES—543 total (39% of overall date range) Beasts: 350 (64.5% of sample (543); 25% of overall date range)

Non-Beasts: 171 (31.5% of sample (543); 12% of overall date range)

Delphic Tripod: 22 (4% of sample (543); 1.5% of overall date range)



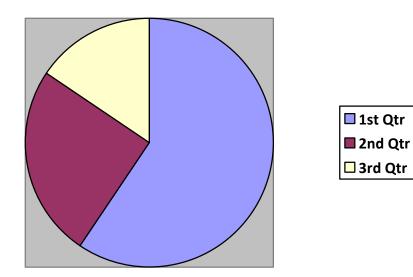
	Total	ABF	ARF
	1330	1169	161
"Triton"	75	71	4
"Boar"	56	52	4
"Lion"	48	16	32
"Bull"	42	38	4
"Kerberos"	44	36	8
"Geryon"	19	16	3
"Centauromachy"	19	10	9
"Hydra"	16	6	10
"Kyknos"	51	41	10
"Amazonomachy"	49?	51	16
"Gigantomachy"	15	11	4
"Antaios"	11	10	1
"Busiris"	5	1	4
"Kerkopes"	2	2	
"Atlas"	2	1	1
"Tripod"	83	69	14

Table II.5. Herakles and Struggles (525-475 B.C.)

STRUGGLES—537 total (40.38% of overall date range) Beasts: 319 (59.4% of collected sample (537); 24% of overall date range)

Non-Beasts: 135 (25.1% of collected sample (537); 10% of overall date range)

Delphic Tripod: 83 (14.5% of collected sample (537); 6% of overall date range)



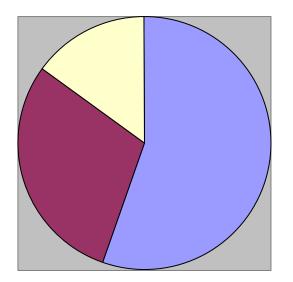
	Total	ABF	ARF
	335	111	224
"Triton"	9	3	6
"Boar"	12	9	3
"Lion"	37	24	13
"Bull"	28	24	4
"Kerberos"	1	1	
"Geryon"	3		3
"Centauromachy"	5	1	4
"Hydra"	8	2	6
"Kyknos"	6	3	3
"Amazonomachy"	18	10	8
"Gigantomachy"	8	2	6
"Antaios"	6		6
"Busiris"	15		15
"Kerkopes"	2	1	1
"Atlas"			
"Tripod"	28	9	19
Thpod	28	9	19

Table II.6. Herakles and Struggles (500-450 B.C.)

STRUGGLES—186 total (55.5% of overall date range) Beasts: 103 (55.4% of sample (186); 30.7% of overall date range)

Non-Beasts: 55 (29.6% of sample (186); 16.4% of overall date range)

Delphic Tripod: 28 (15% of sample (186); 8.4% of overall date range)



Beasts
Non-Beasts
Delphic Tripod

Beginning in the fifth century, the number of Heraklean representations on Greek vases begins to decline relative to its impressive popularity in the sixth century. After 500, there is a second shift, as some Herakles scenes now primarily appear in the red-figure technique. These scenes and subjects are: Busiris (which is introduced during this period, and is only present on red-figure after 500); the Struggle for the Tripod (after 500, there are twice as many red-figure representations than black-figure), the Nemean Lion and Amazonomachy remain standard subjects and still apparent on black-figure, but while other subjects remain in the realm of the black-figure painters, the red-figure painters explore with the composition of Herakles wrestling the Lion and dueling an Amazon. The Lion (along with the Bull and the Struggle for the Tripod) becomes the favored Herakles subject choice during the fifth century. Subjects that are no longer as popular after 500 are: Geryon; Triton; Boar; Kerberos; Kyknos; these are all religious scenes. Some of these subjects not only see a sharp decline in representation, but disappear almost entirely from the visual known repertoire. The subjects of Herakles that declined significantly in representation after 530, such as Geryon and Kyknos, are omitted from the detailed discussion below. The focus of our attention will thus be: Struggle for the Tripod; Amazonomachy; Geryon; Busiris; the Erymanthian Boar; Triton/Nereus; Antaios; Cretan Bull; and the Nemean Lion.

Struggle for the Tripod

The Struggle for Tripod is well-attested in late Archaic Athenian vase-painting, with extant examples totaling 83 (14.5% of all Struggle scenes during that period), 83% of which are black-figure. Before 540 the subject is overlooked in favor of struggles with beastly foes, but beginning the last quarter of the sixth century the number of examples increases dramatically, and soon its fame supersedes that of the Nemean Lion. The late Archaic and early Classical period saw an enormous demand for this subject as the number of scenes tripled after the midsixth century; after 500, this subject continues to comprise 15% of the Struggle scenes of Herakles. Contemporary to the late Archaic surge of Tripod scenes is the East pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, which depicts Zeus in the center, separating Herakles and Apollo as they play tug-of-war with the Tripod.¹²⁰ The earliest example on decorated pottery is a blackfigure pyxis from around 560.¹²¹

The late Archaic period includes three distinct compositional variations of this scene: the first is similar to that of the Siphnian Treasury pediment (*fig.* 11), with Apollo on the left, the tripod in the center, and Herakles on the right; the second variation shows both Apollo and Herakles, yet here their positions are reversed; and the final compositional variation includes only Herakles in the scene, facing either left or right. The first compositional variation appears mainly in the black-figure technique and varies from the Siphnian Treasury version in the removal of Zeus as a mediating figure. The only detail that now separates Apollo, on the left, and Herakles, on the right, is the Delphic Tripod that each of them cling to. Herakles runs to the right, pulling the Tripod behind him with his right arm, and holding his left arm raised above him, with the elbow bent holding his club, preparing to strike back at Apollo.¹²² Apollo holds on to the Tripod and chases after Herakles. Sometimes other divine figures in the scene and look at the struggle; sometimes Apollo and Herakles are the only two figures in the scene, apart from a deer who sometimes appears in the center of the scene.¹²³ The combination varies, but when present, Athena is always to the right of Herakles. Herakles is always shown bearded and

¹²⁰ On the tripod scene, see: von Bothmer 1977, 51-63. For a discussion on the political implication of the iconography on the Siphnian Treasury, see: Ridgway 1965, 1-5; Neer 2001, 273-344.

¹²¹ Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts A 61.1256, black-figure pyxis, c.560 (Biblio – *ABV* 616,11, *Para.* 306.) On contemporary non-Attic depictions, see: Brommer 1973, 45.

¹²² On the gesture of striking, see: Carpenter 1997a, 171-79.

¹²³ For examples of divine figures framing the scene, see: CII.33; CII.34. For examples of the two being the only figures in the entire scene, see: CII.35; CII.36.

carrying his club. He wears his lionskin over either nothing or over a short chiton (unless he is fully nude, which is rare).¹²⁴

The second variation is a creation of the red-figure painters who use the new technique to create new and different compositions for familiar subjects. The vase-painters reversed the main figures of the scene from the previous black-figure compositions, placing Herakles on the left. Herakles is now frequently featured nude, sometimes with a lionskin tied about his neck like a cape.¹²⁵ The composition experiments with the inclusion of Athena as the central mediator, as well, such as on an unattributed red-figure amphora in the Vatican (CII.44; *fig.* 15). The central female figure divides the scene into two even halves. She wears a long draped and flowing garment under a snaky aegis. On her head rests a plumed helmet. Her left hand, lowered, holds a spear, and her raised right hand is cut off by a missing fragment. We can easily identify her as the goddess Athena. Immediately in front of her is an elaborate (bronze) tripod, held suspended by the two male figures who frame her. To the right of her is a nude beardless male with long curly dark hair. He wears a wreath (perhaps of olive) on his brow. The hero is shown in profile view, striding with his right foot forward. With his left hand he grasps the lowest circular handle of the tripod, and with his right hand he reaches out and grabs the other male figure. The other male figure (Apollo), on the left side of Athena, is a beardless man with short dark hair, completely nude but for the sheathed sword belted about his torso. He is also wreathed. His body is portrayed frontally, as he strides to his right, away from the other two figures, yet his head is in profile as he twists back to look at them. With his bent left arm he grasps a leg of the tripod, and with his bent upraised right arm he wields an object, cut off by a missing fragment. The scene can be identified as the Struggle for the Tripod between the hero Herakles (left) and the god

¹²⁴ For an example of a nude Herakles in the first type, see: CII.37; *fig.* 12.

¹²⁵ For an examples of this type, see: CII.38; *fig.* 13; CII.39; *fig.* 14; CII.40-CII.43.

Apollo (right). The missing object held by Herakles is most likely his club. The central figure is typically Zeus (such as on the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi) but here instead Athena, the patron deity of Athens and a constant companion of Herakles, separates the two men.

The final compositional variation splits the scene onto juxtaposing sides of the same vase: Herakles, with his club and the tripod on the obverse, while Apollo chases after him on the reverse. The iconographic positioning of Herakles is the same as before, however, whether he faces right or left. He is either clothed or nude, but always clutches both tripod and a club, often with his lionskin covering.¹²⁶ In one rare example on an early fifth century red-figure column-krater attributed to Myson, Herakles is completely nude, beardless, and turns his back to the viewer.¹²⁷ His right arm is raised, bent at the elbow, wielding a club as he turns behind him to face Apollo, on the reverse side, chasing him, since in his left arm he clutches the Delphic Tripod (CII.47).

The Struggle scene between Herakles and Apollo is compositionally unusual for the hero because Herakles is positioned on the right, which implies that he is losing.¹²⁸ Herakles is bearded, and carries a club in the majority of examples, and in ²/₃ of them he is also nude. The hero is striding either right or left, as he turns his head to look over his shoulder and raises his front arm into a striking position with his club against Apollo; this pose is similar to that of a pugilist about to strike on contemporary vase-painting.¹²⁹ Herakles' back arm holds onto the tripod. Rarely is the hero's back shown to us. In very few cases, both arms are bent in front of him and grasp onto both his club and the Tripod.

¹²⁶ For two examples of the typical position of Herakles as he struggles for the tripod, see: CII.45; CII.46.

¹²⁷ On Myson, see: ARV² 206-11; Boardman 1974, 112.

¹²⁸ Formulaically the winner of a duel is placed on the left in vase-painting, see: Schefold 1992, 164.

¹²⁹ Poliakoff 1987, Ch. 5; Gardiner 2002, Ch. 4; Neils-Tracy 2003, 19-21; Miller 2004, 51-56; Tyrrell 2004, 118-31.

Amazonomachy

Depictions of Herakles taking part in an Amazonomachy are an early favorite in Greek iconography, and remain a consistent presence throughout the Archaic and Classical periods.¹³⁰ A count of 67 examples date to the late Archaic period (530-475 B.C.), which makes it the favored anthropomorphic adversary for Herakles among Athenian vase-painters, tying the number of representations of the Erymanthian Boar. Amazonomachies are often group scenes for Herakles, and he has a companion fighting by his side. Herakles' ally in the Amazonomachy is Telamon, not Iolaos, his cohort in many other episodes. The standard composition for this subject comprises three or five figures separated into two groups. The first group of two figures is Telamon and an Amazon, generally on the left of the scene. The central figure is Herakles looming over a fallen Amazon (Herakles stands on the left of his fallen foe), and to their right another Amazon either raises her spear defensively or turns to retreat. When Herakles is portrayed fighting Amazons, his typical adversary is Andromache, not Hippolyte, though the later mythology mentions that Herakles killed Hippolyte in order to take the girdle of Ares for Eurystheus' daughter as one of his labors – but no Amazonomachy of Herakles is identifiably that of Hippolyte's girdle until South Italian vases, which appear much later in the chronology.¹³¹ Hippolyte is only named on a vase of the late sixth century (CII.48; fig. 16). The girdle itself is never present.

In the Amazonomachy scenes, Herakles appears as bearded and fully clothed with his lionskin cloak over a short chiton. Sometimes a quiver is on his back, and his sheath is empty, attached to the baldric across his chest. Herakles is depicted wielding the sword in two ways. The first type is similar to that described above, with his arm bent at the elbow and sword raised

¹³⁰ On the image of the Amazon in Greek art, see: Carpenter 1994, 124; Stewart 1995, 571-97.

¹³¹ On the general iconography of Amazons, see: *LIMC* I, s.v. "Amazons".

above his head behind him, ready to strike as if a pugilist ready to punch; the second is a slight variation of this attacking motion, here Herakles holds his sword in a right arm held not above his head but bent at the elbow and held behind him.¹³² The Amazonomachy scenes present the only time Herakles is depicted in an attacking position with bent striking arm held down by his waist rather than overhead. Herakles is still positioned to the left of the fallen Amazon, and a second Amazon stands to the right, behind her friend, ready to avenge. If a second duel takes place, behind Herakles, then the hero is located centrally in the scene, otherwise he is located on the left of the scene. Herakles wields his club against the Amazons on one unusual example on a late sixth-century red-figure cup attributed to Onesimos (CII.48; fig. 16).¹³³ The placement of figures is typical of a Heraklean Amazonomchy, yet here Herakles wields his knobby club and bends over the fallen Amazon, who has fallen on her back, mid-strike. The Amazon is identified by an inscription: "Hippolyte." This is the only time Hippolyte is definitely portrayed as the Amazonian adversary of Herakles.¹³⁴ Herakles is bearded, but completely nude – rare for the hero in an Amazonomachy - save for his lionskin cape and helm. His sheathed sword is attached to his baldric, and he raises his club above his head.

Geryon

Scenes of Geryon, the old man whose cattle Herakles had to steal, are a favorite subject with the black-figure painters during the first half of the sixth century, but not so common with

¹³² For examples of Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm raised above his head, see: CII.49; *fig.* 17; CII.50-51, CII.52; *fig.* 18. For examples of Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm lowered behind him, see: CII.53-54, CII.55; *fig.* 19, CII.56, CII.57; *fig.* 20.

¹³³ On Onesimos, see: *ARV*² 313-14, 318-30; *ARFV* I 133-34.

¹³⁴ The girdle of Hippolyte is not identifiable (at least, not until much later in the artistic record), see *LIMC* V, s.v. "Hippolyte V.I", 445. The one time that Hippolyte herself is identified by an inscription appears on an amphora in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles 203, c. 530; *CVA* 1, 20-21, PLS. (308, 310) 24.5-7, 26.1-6.

red-figure painters. During the late sixth century, the Geryon scenes quickly declined in frequency, dropping quickly from comprising approximately 10% of the total collection of Heraklean beastly struggles on vase-painting to no more than 5% beginning the final quarter of the sixth century. After 500, scenes of Geryon are almost nonexistent in the extant Attic examples. Geryon himself is portrayed as a three-bodied man, often near his cattle. However, during the third quarter of the sixth century the canonical depiction changes. Group E Painters (black-figure amphorae, c. 540-530) take a more simplistic approach to the scene.¹³⁵ These painters omit the dog, Athena, the cattle, and leave only Herakles and Geryon.¹³⁶ In even later black-figure representations, the painter busily fills the scene with both the dog and Athena, and paints the cattle on the reverse side.

The story of Herakles and Geryon is extremely rare in Athenian red-figure, yet one example, a late sixth-century red-figure kylix by Euphronios (CII.58; *fig.* 21), is quite spectacular in its detail. Herakles is poised to strike Geryon, with his right arm raised behind him and bent at the elbow, and his left arm extended in front of him, as if pointing as Geryon, is the pose the vase-painters adopt for Herakles in situations where he is attacking a foe with an instrument. It is the same pose that late sixth-century vase-painters use to show a pugilist about to strike, balled left fist raised in the air behind his head with a bent elbow, left arm extended fully in the direction of his opponent. Herakles is sometimes depicted as nude, and he fights only with his club. The portrayal of the hero favors tradition and Stesichoros' description of Herakles as he reverts back to a fully-clothed Herakles who wields bow and arrow (as well as his club).¹³⁷

¹³⁵ On the Group E Painters, see *ABV* 133-138; Boardman 1974, 56-57.

¹³⁶ An example can be found on a black-figure amphora (c. 540-530) attributed to the Group E Painters, University of Canterbury 42/57, Shapiro 2002, 70, fig. 49.

¹³⁷ Stesichorus, Geryoneis, Fr. S15. On Euphronios, see: ARV² 13-17, 313-314; ARFV I 30-33.

Busiris

The Herakles and Busiris scenes combine mythical struggles and religion as they depict a range of sacrificial references which the Greeks most likely recognized from actual sacrificial rituals. The Busiris scenes occur almost exclusively in Atheniann red-figure vases, spiking in frequency during the early to mid-fifth century (comprising just fewer than 30% of anthropomorphic struggles) after being relatively non-existent in the Heraklean repertoire.¹³⁸ There are two known early black-figure examples, including an early cup by the Heidelberg Painter c. 570-560.¹³⁹ The scene continues to be infrequent before 500, with only one example present in the collected data. After 500 the Busiris scenes gain favor with red-figure vasepainters, and the total examples that fall within the time period of this study number four, yet a total of fifteen are accounted for between 500 and 450. Herakles wears his lionskin cape either over a nude or clothed body, and he is bearded. He is placed to the left of an altar, and he fights multiple attackers. Whether or not he wields a weapon or a person (about to throw him onto the altar), he is shown striding with his left foot in front on him, body facing the viewer. His right arm is bent and raised above and behind him, and his left arm either extends in front of him pointing at his attacker, or reaches above his head to get a better grasp on his intended victim.¹⁴⁰

Erymanthian Boar

Scenes of Herakles and the Boar are frequently portrayed in the Athenian black-figure repertoire, but they are not as common with the early Classical red-figure painters. During the

¹³⁸ On the iconography of Busiris, see: *LIMC* III, s.v. "Bousiris", 147-52 (Laurens); Miller 2000, 413-42. Busiris does not appear in the literature until the fifth century (147).

¹³⁹ Shapiro 1990, 125. Palermo, [BAPD 300555]: Museo Archeologico Regional 1986, black-figure Siana Cup fragment, Heidelberg Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 550 (*Biblio – ABV* 64,11).

¹⁴⁰ For examples of this type, see: CII.59, *fig.* 22; CII.610, *fig.* 23.

late sixth century, the Boar scenes comprised approximately 15-17% of the total collection of Heraklean beastly struggles on vase-painting, comprising a total of approximately 45 during the final quarter of the sixth century. Only twelve examples are known after 500, 75% of which are black-figure.¹⁴¹ During the early Classical period, beginning c. 480, this subject matter decreases, favored more by red-figure painters than black-figure. The standard composition for this subject depicts Herakles, either nude or fully dressed with lionskin and weapon, standing in profile with one foot resting on top of a large pithos as he holds the Boar upside-down over his head.¹⁴² Beneath the Boar, cowering in the pithos, is King Eurystheus.¹⁴³ There are certain similarities of Herakles' pose in these examples to his pose in contemporary depictions of other subjects. For example, the manner in which the hero holds Busiris' servants over the altar is reminiscent of the way that he holds the Boar here. Also, the illustrated action of Herakles stepping onto the pithos is similar to the way the hero steps onto the bema as the *musikos argos*.

Two compositional variants appear during the final decades of the sixth century on the black-figure technique. The first one occurs on a late sixth century black-figure oinochoe in London attributed to the Lysippides Painter (CII.66; fig. 25).¹⁴⁴ Herakles does not hold the Boar upside-down overhead to intimidate Eurystheus hiding in the pithos, but rather is in the act of catching the Boar. The hero chases after the Boar, grasping it by its hind legs. Eurystheus is not present, but Athena is included in the scene. Herakles, fully covered by his lionskin costume over a short chiton, is to the left of the Boar. A quiver rests on his back and a sheathed sword hangs on his baldric. With his lowered right arm he grasps the hind leg of the Boar, and with his left

¹⁴¹ There are practically no red-figure examples of the Erymanthian Boar prior to 500 B.C.

¹⁴² The composition of one figure about to force another into submission by holding it by the waist upside-down is a common depiction on vases of wrestling matches. The waist hold ("meson echein" or "meson labein") leads to the head-over-heels throw. In Greek wrestling, three throws constituted victory (see Miller 2004, 46-50). ¹⁴³ For examples of this composition, see: CII.61-CII.64, fig. 24; CII.65.

¹⁴⁴ For an example of a similar type, see: CII.67.

arm secures the Boar by pressing into its back. This pose is comparable to contemporary depictions of pankratiasts: the athlete on the left uses his right arm to grab his opponent's leg, and with his left arm pushes his opponent away or down.¹⁴⁵

The second unusual variant appears on a black-figure amphora in Rome attributed to the Acheloos Painter (CII.70; *fig.* 26).¹⁴⁶ Here Herakles, nude except for his lionskin cape, chases after a running boar. Herakles is on the left in profile, and runs with long strides. His body hides a sword sheath, attached to a baldric, and a full quiver peeks up from over his shoulder. In his raised right arm, held with a bent elbow behind him, he wields a club. With his left arm extended fully in front of him, he holds a bow pointed toward the running boar. Olive branches fill the empty space behind them. The bent raised elbow upheld behind him is typical of Herakles; many anonymous fighting scenes depict a warrior striking with arm bent down by his waist, or upheld with a locked elbow. The pose of Herakles here seems better suited to a subject matter that involves striking his opponent.

Triton/Nereus

Nereus and Triton are both sea-monsters with snake-like bodies (similar to Acheloos); they are often identified the same way in art, but they are not the same adversary.¹⁴⁷ The iconography of the two figures merges: Nereus is a huge monster in the earliest scenes, but soon

¹⁴⁵ The pankration was the most violent event at the athletic games. A combination of boxing (*'pyx'*, or *'pygmachia'*) and wrestling (*'pale'*), this event only prohibited gouging and biting, similar to today's Mixed Martial Arts (MMA). For further discussion on the details of the pankration, see: Philostratos 2.6, A45; Poliakoff 1987, Ch. 3; Miller 2004, 57-59; Tyrrell 2004, 133-40. Visually, the pankration is distinguished from wrestling by showing contorted holds with the participants both on the ground, rather than standing; it is distinguished from boxing in that neither athlete wears leather wraps (*'antes'*) on their hands. Two visual comparanda include: CII.68; CII.69.

¹⁴⁷ On the iconography of hybrid creatures with a snake body, see: Ahlberg-Cornell 1984. On the general iconography of Nereus, see: *LIMC* VI, s.v. "Nereus", 824-37 (Pipili); Brommer 1983c, 103-10. On the general iconography of Triton, see: *LIMC* VIII, s.v. "Triton", 68-73 (Icard-Gianolio).

Triton replaces Nereus after he starts to be depicted anthropomorphically.¹⁴⁸ There is a distinct shift in the visualization of Herakles' battle with Triton. According to the collected data, this theme was relatively frequent in Athenian vase-painting during the second half of the sixth century, comprising a total of 96 examples, 65 of which date to after 525 B.C. (approximately 25% of the total collection of Heraklean beastly struggles on vase-painting), almost all in the black-figure technique. The Triton, as an adversary of Herakles, is a favorite choice on early Archaic vase-painting, but portrayals of this wrestling match declines significantly after 500, totally only nine extant examples. Scenes of Triton are frequently shown on black-figure vases, but not so common with red-figure painters.

The canonic composition of Herakles wrestling this sea-monster is exemplified on a late sixth century black-figure eye-cup attributed to the Lysippides Painter (CII.71; *fig.* 27).¹⁴⁹ The fishtail body of Triton takes up most of the scene, Herakles, bearded and wearing a short chiton, stands behind Triton (lionskin helm identifies him), with his elbows bent and hands clasped in front of Triton's neck as he secures his hold. Herakles' left leg is extended, and his weight is all on his bent right leg. The neck grip, displayed here in scenes of Herakles wrestling Triton, is occasionally found on contemporary depictions of wrestlers, when one is in the act of attempting to throw the other over his hip. In such cases, the wrestler with the advantage stands in front of his opponent and grabs him around the neck, held above his waist. His opponent is behind him, and the advantageous wrestler sticks out his rear as he prepares to toss the other man to the ground (CII.76). The majority of representations of male athletes in the middle of a wrestling match do not choose this moment of action however, but instead choose the beginning moment of a wrestling match. In this instance, the two nude athletes face each other, hunched at the

¹⁴⁸ Glynn 1981, 121-32; Shapiro 1990, 133.

¹⁴⁹ For comparative compositions, see: CII.72-CII.75.

shoulders grabbing each other by the wrists, heads low and close together (the *systasis* position at the start of the pale).¹⁵⁰

Antaios

When Herakles wrestles the giant Antaios, he relies on his brute strength and skill as a wrestler to defeat his foe. In fact, his strength is the primary attribute in the iconography of this scene. Scenes of Herakles wrestling Antaios enter black-figure painting during the late sixth century, comprising on average 10% of the Heraklean anthropomorphic struggles in the visual representations in late Archaic Athenian vase-painting, but overall they still comprise a miniscule percentage of overall [struggle] scenes, the majority of which are black-figure. After 500, this subject matter disappears from black-figure and appears only on a handful of red-figure examples. The best known example by Euphronios of the wrestling match between Herakles and Antaios decorates a late sixth century red-figure calyx krater currently in Paris (CII.77; *fig.* 28).

There is no canonical composition for the subject of the wrestling match; rather, various depictions of Herakles wrestling Antaios reflect contemporary representations of the pankration. On a late sixth century red-figure kylix attributed to the Triptolemos Painter and now in the Vatican, the scene is dominated by a struggle between two nude bearded men (CII.78; *fig.* 29).¹⁵¹ The man on the left has short curly dark hair and a trim beard. He wears an olive tree wreath in his hair. Behind him stands an upside-down knobby club, an attribute of the hero Herakles. He is shown in profile to the right, his knees on the ground as he crouches low over his opponent. His right hand is pulled back as he balls up his fist, and his left hand grabs his adversary under the

¹⁵⁰ On specific names and descriptions of various positions in Greek wrestling, see: Poliakoff 1987, Ch. 5; Kefalidou 1999, 295-99; Miller 2004, 46; Tyrrell 2004, 107-18.

¹⁵¹ For a reference on the Triptolemos Painter, see: ARV² 360-67; Robertson 1992, 112-15.

neck. Herakles' opponent is larger than life-size, and has a shaggy beard and long curly dark hair. Above him on the wall are draped a discarded cloak and a petasos. The giant sprawls frontally on the ground; his head is face down as he helplessly reaches for his attacker, Herakles. The context of the scene identifies this man as the giant Antaios, the son of Ares.¹⁵²

Other vases reflect scenes of wrestling with carious compositional choices. The obverse of an unattributed early fifth century red-figure kylix also in the Vatican is covered by a struggle between two nude bearded men (CII.1). The man on the left has short curly dark hair and a trim beard. He wears a thin headband in his hair. Behind him stands a large upside-down knobby club, and above him hangs quiver and bow, both attributes of the hero Herakles. The hero is shown in profile to the right, his knees on the ground as he wrestles his opponent to the ground. Herakles' head is bent low into his opponent's chest, and his arms are wrapped around his opponent's shoulders. His opponent, who has a shaggy beard, is shown frontally. He is awkwardly positioned with his right leg bent underneath him, his left leg splayed to the side. The bottom of his right foot is presented to us, and it is a very large foot, meant for a very large being. His right hand reaches back to steady his fall, and his left arm is bent as it flails in the air. On the wall to the right, a cloak is draped above him. The context of the scene identifies this man as the giant Antaios. Herakles, nude and bearded, rarely uses a weapon (spear, sword, bow and arrow, club), though he is often displayed with one at his side. He wrestles Antaios by grappling him around the neck, forcing his opponent low to the ground. The heroic struggle here, lifelike with nude representation and wrestling technique, would appeal to the combative struggle of contemporary Athenian wrestlers.¹⁵³

¹⁵² On the general iconography of Antaios, see: *LIMC* I, s.v. "Antaios", 800-11 (Balmaseda).

¹⁵³ On the iconography of wrestling in Archaic vase-painting, see: Kefalidou 1999, 295-99.

Cretan Bull

Depictions of Herakles and the Cretan Bull on Athenian vase-painting first appear during the late sixth century.¹⁵⁴ There is no known visual representation in vase-painting of the Cretan Bull until c. 540 B.C. Perhaps the earliest example is on an unpublished volute-krater in Taranto, as early as 540 (CII.79).¹⁵⁵ For a heroic figure so prevalent in vase iconography, this seems quite a late date for a new subject to join the series of heroic deeds. However, this particular episode rapidly becomes a common Heraklean subject beginning c. 530. There are approximately 200 known examples of this episode on both red-figure and black-figure vase-painting during the final quarter of the sixth century.¹⁵⁶ During the late Archaic period the subject's percentage among Heraklean struggle scenes rises from just less than about 5% to almost 30%. The Bull (along with the Lion and the Struggle for the Tripod) becomes the favored Heraklean subject choice during the fifth century. Interestingly, the scenes are predominantly black-figure. The Cretan Bull is found primarily on black-figure examples; of the collected 46 examples between 540 and 475, only five are found on red-figure vases.

The vase depictions of Herakles capturing the Bull portray the hero standing on the left, subduing the Bull, which is on the right, typically positioned with its forelegs lowered. Compositionally, many Bull scenes mimic red-figure Lion scenes. A few unusual representations depict Herakles standing behind the Bull, leading it, rather than subduing it. Such scenes may be

¹⁵⁴ Depictions of Herakles and the Bull will be examined more thoroughly in relation to depictions of Theseus and the Bull in Chapter Three, as the identification of the hero is sometimes ambiguous. All examples are dependent on existing vases that have been included in the extant visual record.

¹⁵⁵ Shapiro, however, claims it does not appear until c. 530 (1989, 15-16).

¹⁵⁶ The number is high because it reflects examples of the Bull itself; the identification of the hero paired with it, as we shall see in Chapter Three, is not always certain: it can be either Herakles or Theseus. The 46 collected samples are those which can be identified with a certainty as Herakles with the Cretan Bull.

referencing ritual general procession scenes of leading a bull to sacrifice.¹⁵⁷ Herakles is placed to the left of the bull, generally with his right arm extended behind him, holding either his club or the rope that is attached to the bull's front legs.¹⁵⁸ Herakles is either nude or clothed, generally bearded, and places his left foot on the Bull's submissive head.

Nemean Lion

Scenes of Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion are the third most popular Heraklean subject during the second half of the sixth century (after Triton and Kyknos), with a total of 67 collected examples, the vast majority of which are black-figure. After c. 530, this subject is taken up by red-figure painters, and during the late Archaic period 66% of the 48 known representations of Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion are decorated using the red-figure technique. In fact, it is the only major Heraklean subject that is predominantly found on redfigure vases. After 500, only red-figure scenes of Busiris and the Tripod exceed those of the Lion. Beginning around 500 B.C., and continuing through the first quarter of the fifth century, the subject is depicted with higher frequency than before, especially on red-figure vases. After 500 B.C., depictions of Herakles and the Lion are the preferred Heraklean subject by vasepainters, comprising 11% of all extant Heraklean scenes during the first half of the fifth century – in an interesting twist, 66% of these scenes are in the black-figure technique, and not shown in red-figure.

¹⁵⁷ For an example of such a type, see: CII.80. On the iconography of sacrificial processions, see: Nordquist 1992, 144-52; van Straten 1995, Ch. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Vases with representation of the Bull and a hero will be discussed more in Chapter Three, as the identification of the hero as Herakles or Theseus is not always certain, given the similarity of composition and iconography of the hero within the scene.

Miller refers to Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion as the "mythological prototype of the pankration."¹⁵⁹ His is an adequate description as the scenes of struggle between two weaponless adversaries are portrayed during various points of the struggle, just as representations of pankratiasts in action have no canonical image. Scenes on Greek vases of Herakles grappling with the Nemean Lion can be separate into two very general types: in the first the two figure wrestle in a standing position; and in the second the two figures wrestle low to the ground. The scenes are primarily black-figure and mostly depict Herakles and the Lion both standing as they struggle. Herakles is often wearing a short chiton. Scenes of Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion best display the sort of compositional shifts on vases during the Archaic period, as it changed during the third quarter of the sixth century.¹⁶⁰ During the early blackfigure technique, vase-painters favored a more upright wrestling match, as Herakles stands up and holds the Lion, often upside-down, by the torso. But beginning c. 540 in later black-figure, and throughout red-figure, the two are both low to the ground as they wrestle, with Herakles' arms locked about the Lion's mane. During the late Archaic period the subject's percentage among all recorded Heraklean struggle scenes rises from under 20% to approximately 33%.

The red-figure vase-painters favor and experiment with portraying Herakles and the Lion wrestling in a manner similar to depictions of contemporary athletic events in the palaestra. Vase-painters do not appear to prefer one particular pose during the hero's Struggle with the Lion: various examples with comparanda to scenes of boxing, wrestling, and pankration are used to show his domination of this creature. The "waist hold" method, where one wrestler is bent over the back of the lower opponent and grabs him by the waist (while the lower wrestler grabs

¹⁵⁹ Miller 2004, 58. Also: Crowther 2007, 71.

¹⁶⁰ On the subject of Herakles and the Nemean Lion in Greek art, see: Schefold and Jung 1988, 135-42; Vollkommer 1988; Felten 1990, 16-34.

his opponent by the knees), is one variation used for scenes of wrestling the Lion.¹⁶¹ Scenes where the hero seizes the Lion by wrestling it to the ground using the wrestling gesture of grabbing the Lion around its neck can be compared to modern methods of steer wrestling, also known as "bulldogging," in which the cowboy wrangles the steer to the ground using its horns. In order to get into position, the cowboy must jump from his horse onto the steer near its neck, and, from the side of its neck, wrap his arms around both horns in order to control the steer's head and turn it toward the ground.¹⁶² Interestingly, this method is not depicted in scenes of Herakles subduing the Cretan Bull, which prefer to show him after the struggle, with the Bull already tied up.

There are compositional similarities between scenes of Herakles wrestling the Lion and those of him wrestling Antaios, as well as a few specific identifiable techniques seen on contemporary depictions of pankratiasts. The hip throwing technique is seen on an unattributed late sixth century black-figure amphora (CII.81). Herakles, nude and bearded, stands to the left of the Lion, holding him around the neck. The Lion is also upright, held flush against Herakles' hip. Herakles thrusts his hips to the right as he prepares to throw the Lion to the ground. On the ground to his left lies his discarded club. Athena stands at the left of the scene, watching. Herakles is [almost always] nude, bearded, and always on the left. Often Athena and/or Iolaos look on, as well. Herakles does not always just hold the Lion down with a wrestling hold, but sometimes holds his right arm above his head, ready to throw a punch (CII.82, CII.83).

An assessment of the appearance, poses, and context of the majority of Heraklean fighting scenes on Athenian vases of the period in question has yielded the following typical

¹⁶¹ Miller 2004, 46.

¹⁶² On the rules of modern steer wrestling, also known as "bulldogging," see: Morrison 2009. On the iconography of steer wrestling in ancient Near Eastern art, see: Crowley 2013, 16.

appearance for Herakles: when wrestling, he is shown nude, with or without a beard (his face is often hidden by his opponent's body, thus it is unclear), to the left of his foe. His right bent arm grabs his foe by the neck while the bent left arm secures it from behind. Both Herakles and his opponent lie close to the ground. If he has other weapons present, such as his club or quiver, they are discarded nearby. He is presented alone with his wrestling opponent as well as accompanied by divine or mortal companions. The wrestling pair is positioned centrally in the scene. His common wrestling opponents are: the Lion, Triton, the Bull, and Antaios, and one could argue the Erymanthian Boar, as well. When he is fighting an opponent with weapons, he is depicted either fully clothed or semi-nude but wearing the lionskin. Though the bow and quiver remain a steady part of his arsenal (depicted either on his back or hanging nearby), he attacks with either spear, sword, or, more often than not, the club. Before 480 B.C. it is common to depict Herakles with a (curly) beard. He stands to the left of his opponent, facing him in full stride (or partial run). His right arm, bent at the elbow, is raised above and behind him, powerfully wielding his weapon, poised and ready to strike. He extends his left arm in front of him, either grasping his opponent, or pointing towards the intended target of his weapon.

General Conclusions

Herakles is the dominant figure in the heroic iconography of Athenian vase-painting. Like the gods, Herakles does not need an inscription to identify him, since his attributes and dress make his identification obvious. Some of Herakles' exploits that are depicted in art are not found in the extant literature, such as Nereus and the Triton. Such scenes were all depicted by Exekias, and he identified each figure with an inscription, so that we know with certainty who the individual figures are even if we are unsure of the story.¹⁶³ Literature might have affected the status of certain subjects in art, and also the visual details. Stesichoros, an early/mid-sixth century lyric poet, was possibly the first to describe Herakles dressed with lionskin, club, and bow, as he captured the cattle of Geryon.¹⁶⁴ In early vase-painting the bow and arrow is Herakles' weapon of choice, similar to Stesichoros' account, and he approached Geryon armored in his lionskin hide. Sometimes the lionskin is shown hanging on a wall or discarded behind him. There are very few representations of Herakles that show him without a beard before the middle of the fifth century. On some occasions, most often after 500, he is beardless. If the vase painters intended to create a distinction between Herakles the god and Herakles the hero, they do not do it by his size; his stature is equivalent to both Iolaos and Athena. If his dress and attributes were not enough, the context of the scene identifies the figure, as well. When he is fully nude, it is most likely because he is in the act of wrestling a man or beast, and thus is being made to look like a regular male athlete.

There is little variation in the general appearance of Herakles on the vases collected in this study. Given his dress and attributes (without even considering context or narrative subject) he is readily identifiable. Perhaps his overall popularity as a Panhellenic figure leads to the solidity of his image in visual representations. His image changes little from the Archaic to Classical periods, only slightly adapted to fit the stylistic preferences of the time. Subject choices (in vase-painting) gradually reach a point of greatest development, rather than spontaneously erupting onto the visual record, and, just as gradually, the number of instances declines over a period of one to two decades (sometimes more). Herakles is almost always associated with the

¹⁶³ On Exekias, see: ABV 143-47; Boardman 1974, 56-58; Mackay 2010.

¹⁶⁴ Shapiro 1994, 71; there exist substantial fragments of Stesichoros' *Geryoneis* (*SIG* frg. 57-87; *PMG* frg. 181-6; Page 1973, 138-54).

Nemean Lion in one way or another; he is almost always portrayed wearing the hide of the Nemean Lion. No other Greek heroic figure is associated with a lion, either visually or in mythology.¹⁶⁵ Herakles is often accompanied by friend or gods. Athena's presence as the hero's protectress is prevalent during this time period, and she quickly becomes a quick companion to Herakles. She is patroness of major Athenian heroes and, of course, the patron deity of Athens.

The non-violent scenes as a subject choice become less frequent after the early fifth century, however. The Deeds and Labors are subjects which the vase-painters choose, though the artists begin to portray a more passive moment of the narrative rather than the struggle itself. Some discussions of heroic iconography mention a shift from aggressive to more passive depictions beginning c. 530. The calm recipient figure type does not appear until the late Archaic period.¹⁶⁶ Yet even after 500, Herakles is often actively engaging his foe, though painters show the hero passively positioned in a representation of a generally active struggle. In fact, around 500 Herakles as a subject choice on Athenian vases decreases in popularity to about a quarter of his previous magnitude. As for the collected data, the only concrete conclusion noted is an increase in the Delphic Tripod scenes, which are decisively not passive. The non-violent scenes of Herakles, many of which are overtly religious, make up a minimal percentage of the total representation. However, it is interesting to note that during the first quarter of the fifth century the number of non-violent depictions of Herakles decreases dramatically compared to its number during the final quarter of the sixth century. Perhaps the observation of an idle hero is in relation to the increase of non-Struggle scenes relative to their previous limited appearances, where Herakles is portrayed standing while he holds a phiale or plays the kithara, in scenes very unlike those of the victorious hero. It is possible that the scenes which portray Herakles receiving a

¹⁶⁵ Chapter Five will discuss this further.

¹⁶⁶ Boardman 1988, 790.

libation are didactic and may be used as evidence regarding what type of sacrifice took place in the cults associated with both figures.¹⁶⁷ Scenes where Herakles stands alone at an altar with a phiale may indicate his divinity in the manner adopted otherwise by Olympians, almost as if he is able to be conceived aniconically.¹⁶⁸ Herakles has a special relationship with Athena and "hence, as Boardman argues, his unique position in Athens."¹⁶⁹ Athena is present in quieter Heraklean scenes, such as him shaking hands with her (*dexiosis*) or pouring a libation with her, or reclining with her as his attendant, or playing the kithara for her as discussed previously.

The scenes of Herakles in a religious setting reflect an unexpected context for a hero; no other hero is shown in ritual activities in the art of the period. Religious scenes make up a small percentage of the overall representation of Herakles in vase-painting. Heroic struggles of Herakles comprise 186 of the collected sample (55.5% of the overall date range). As the total sample number declines during the fifth century, the percentage of total number of struggle scenes increases. Subjects include Herakles performing sacrifices at an altar, libation scenes between Herakles and Athena, open-air banquets sometimes accompanied by a divine companion, and as a musical contestant (Panathenaia – *mousikos argos*?). Perhaps some of these scenes "contain even more specific references to established cults."¹⁷⁰ There is a general type for each religious subject of Herakles, but overall they diverge from Heraklean mythological repertoire and iconography. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the painter intended to depict a mythical scene or a religious scene. The brief analysis of them above might shed light on the perception of Herakles as a cult hero in Athens. The vase painters place Herakles in a setting

¹⁶⁷ Boardman suggests that this arrangement suggests the divinity of Herakles (*LIMC* IV, s.v. "Herakles," 801), but does not comment on the pairing of Herakles with Athena, the patron god of heroes, rather than with any other deity. ¹⁶⁸ Boardman claims that many deities can be conceived aniconically in such a manner (1988, 791; 801).

¹⁶⁹ Boardman 1984, 244-7.

¹⁷⁰ Shapiro 1989, 159.

that could be filled by any Athenian citizen (performing sacrifice, taking part at a [cult] banquet or symposium, or competing as a musical contestant at a festival) – which ties into the athletic role of Herakles, as well. The question remains as to whether or not these are representations of Herakles as a god, or Herakles as a hero.¹⁷¹ The depictions of Herakles reclining alongside other deities are almost without a doubt meant to portray a divine, rather than heroic, Herakles. These scenes do not show Herakles as "athletic", either, so possibly could omit the reclining scenes from the above discussion, or mention only in relation to '*parasitein*' as a religious practice similar to pouring a libation or offering a sacrifice relates to religious practices.

The majority of the iconography of Herakles in vase-painting shows the hero in combat against an adversary. The preferred Heraklean foe is a beast, rather than an anthropomorphic opponent. The breakdown of Heraklean opponents calculates that he fights nearly twice as many beasts as men. As is typical of formulaic composition of victor and fallen foe, Herakles is placed to the left of the struggling pair, even when he is positioned centrally within the scene itself (the exception to this rule is during his struggle with Apollo for the Tripod, but in this scene Herakles is not the victor).¹⁷² His gestures and positioning combine elements of athleticism with those of combat. Reflections of wrestling and pankration are seen in depictions of those such as Triton, Antaios, the Erymanthian boar, and the Nemean Lion. Striking poses, such as in combat, are incorporated into subjects such as the Delphic Tripod, Amazonomachies, Geryon, and the Cretan Bull. The striking posture further reflects the athletic sphere, since it is reminiscent of the pose of an attacking boxer on contemporary depictions. Herakles is almost always shown in an aggressive pose (with or without an adversary present), with the right arm down beside him bent back holding weapon, left arm extended grasping (or pointing to) foe. Legs splayed (jerk

¹⁷¹ Refer to Chapter One for the definition of a Greek cultic hero.

¹⁷² Refer to footnote 122 above regarding the formulaic positioning of the victor on the left.

position). "Many of the single Herakles's listed [in *LIMC* IV] adopt the poses of Herakles figures in other, narrative contexts. This is especially true of Herakles shooting ([figs.] 32, 33) and the reclining figures ([figs.] 52-56)."¹⁷³ There are approximately four times as many scenes of Herakles striking his opponent (or about to strike) than Herakles wrestling his opponent. The few times Herakles' attacking pose differs from this stance, he is holding a club wielded in his right arm overhead (same pose), his foe can be a centaur, an Amazon, or Geryon. One earlier blackfigure example reveals him wielding a sword in this stance, but this is rare (not the weapon, for he uses this weapon against other foes, such as the Amazons, yet then he holds it below his shoulder in his bent right arm, preparing to attack) (CII.84; *fig.* 30).

Herakles is the paradigmatic heroic athlete in late Archaic Athenian vase-painting. Nearly all of his poses, whether 'wrestling' or 'striking' have comparanda with contemporary depictions of athletic events: wrestling, boxing, and pankration. The hero's typical striking pose is more like that of a boxer than a warrior. Similar to the appearance of an athlete, vase-painters have sudden penchant c.500 for depicting Herakles nude, or partially nude under his lionskin cape. His iconic scene which is most often depicted in Greek art is his wrestling match with the Nemean Lion. When he is not wrestling it, he is generally shown wearing its hide. It is not out of place for Herakles to be nude while wrestling, since the practice of exercising nude was the norm for contemporary Greek males. For this subject matter, it is the context that identifies our hero, not dress or attributes (for there are often none). The iconographic conflation of religious and divine representation with gestures that mimic the heavy contests at athletic games (boxing, wrestling, pankration) acts as a visual cue which makes the hero more accessible to the viewer. The

¹⁷³ Boardman 1988, 790.

addition to Herakles as a participant in religious activities – the only hero to do so – expands the

connection he has with both the ritual and quotidian realities of the Athenian citizen.

THESEUS: CULT, MYTH, AND PANATHENAIC STRUGGLES

-III-

Introduction

Theseus is one of the best-represented heroes in all of Greek vase-painting.¹ Yet, the number of Thesean representations on Greek vases, while comparable to heroes from epic literature, is vastly overshadowed by those of Herakles. The number of scenes portraying Theseus surges around 500 B.C, a significant increase compared to the total of vases depicting him prior to 500. Theseus, like Herakles, has a narrative mythology that stretches beyond Athens and Attica. The hero is a companion to the gods and a patron hero of Athens. Accordingly, he has been touted as the Athenian hero "par excellence," a beacon of the democratic ideal.² He has cult centers in Athens, and his mythology can be considered Atheno-centric.³

This chapter presents a brief overview of the cult and myth of Theseus as they pertain to Athens, then delivers an analysis of the iconography of this hero on Athenian vase-painting through survey and analysis of his general iconography in late Archaic examples. The visual analysis will look first at the chronological shifts in subject choice through the second half of the

¹ On the general iconography of Theseus, see: Neils 1994; on the general iconography of Theseus in vase-painting, see: Neils 1987; Servadei 2005, especially 191-216; on Theseus during the sixth century, see: Shapiro 1991, 124-27; Schefold 1992, 163-83; on Theseus during the early Democracy, see: Mills 1997, 27-29; on Theseus the lover, see: Neils 1981, 177-79. This list is by no means comprehensive.

² Mills 1997, 160-85; Walker 1994, 50, 143.

³ On Theseus as an Athenian hero, see: Kearns 1989, 121-24, 168-69; Schefold 1992, 163-82; Walker 1994, 9-33; Simon 1996, 9-26; Clark 2012, 72-76.

sixth century through the early fifth century, then will further explore the representations of Theseus by subject, noting canonical and unusual representations. Finally, it will analyze the specific iconography of Theseus through the changes in the attributes, compositions, themes, and frequency of the hero in late Archaic vase-painting. In what follows, we will introduce the iconography by type and further explore the scenes as in the discussion of Herakles in the previous chapter.⁴ Here it will be important to present in detail specific cases that both exemplify the general appearance of Theseus and also are unusual or exceptions to the type. The groupings are thematic, and then, within each grouping, the iconographic details of the vases are highlighted. This discussion also includes an analysis of the number of vases for the relevant time period, the discrepancy between black-figure and red-figure quantities, the frequency of particular subject choices, and the composite analysis of the individual hero figure in the scene. Special attention is devoted to unique scenes and developments in the visual evidence. The descriptions and discussions of key features of Theseus and his subjects are relegated to exemplary and also unique instances that are worthy of note.

Cult of Theseus in Athens

The cultic figure of Theseus appears in several Attic traditions that can be traced back to the Bronze Age.⁵ The evidence for the cult of Theseus in Athens before the Persian Wars is

⁴ Unlike with the Herakles subjects, which represented a collective sample, the subjects chosen here for Theseus are (almost) all-inclusive; that is, no subject pertaining to Theseus was left out of this collection. His visual representation is as fully represented here as is possible (unlike for Herakles, whose overall visual representation is too vast to analyze for the purpose of this study).

⁵ Simon 1996, 9-21; Lissarrague 2012, 564-78. On the Bronze Age origins for the cults of Theseus, see: Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 325-31.

tenuous at best.⁶ A story describing how a clever Peisistratos disarmed the Athenians in the "Theseion" in 546 offers the one piece of textual evidence for the existence of a cult of Theseus during the sixth century.⁷ Yet in a later version by Polyainos (much later in the second century A.D.), the event takes place in the Anakeion.⁸ One thing is certain: the figure of Theseus was incorporated into cults and rites in Athens, if not necessarily his own. Two festivals in Athens associate Theseus with the god Dionysos, a major deity of the city: the Oschophoria and the Anthesteria. Cults of Theseus associate the hero with certain deities: Dionysos, Poseidon, and Athena.⁹ During the Oschophoria, held on the seventh day of Pyanepsion, the participants narrated legends of Theseus during the meal.¹⁰ The procession of this festival ended at a sanctuary of Athena.¹¹ As with Herakles, religious feasting is a ritual aspect for cults of Theseus. Many of the rites of the festival can be "explained in connection with the tale of his sailing to Crete to face the Minotaur and his triumphant return."¹² According to legend, Theseus introduced the Oschophoria to Athens in an effort to appease Dionysos' anger about Ariadne's seduction. The Anthesteria, an agricultural festival, was reminiscent of Bronze Age vegetation cults.¹³ During this festival, the Basilinna is figuratively married to Dionysos, again as an effort to reconcile Dionysos regarding Ariadne.¹⁴ Both festivals involve rites that can be explained by

⁶ On the cult of Theseus in Athens, see: Shapiro 1989, 143-49. Regarding evidence for the cult of Theseus after 475/4 B.C., see: Lambert 2002, 353-99. On Theseus' cult places in Attica, see: Kearns 1989, 168-69.

⁷ Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 15.4; Shapiro 1989, 145.

⁸ Polyainos 1.21.2.

⁹ On the cults of Theseus in Athens, see: Simon 1983, 55-72; Walker 1987, 20-34; Kearns 1989, 121-24, 163-64; Calame 1990, 143-55; Simon 1996, 9-26; Clark 2012, 72-76; Lissarrague 2012, 564-78. On the relation of Dionysos to the cult of Theseus, see: Calame 1990, 324-36. On the relation of Poseidon to the cult of Theseus, see: Calame 1990, 348-51. On the relation of Athena to the cult of Theseus, see: Calame 1990, 337-47.

¹⁰ Clark 2012, 72.

¹¹ Simon 1996, 21.

¹² Parke 1977, 78; Clark 2012, 74.

¹³ Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 325-31; Simon 1996, 21-22: Lissarrague 2012, 564-78.

¹⁴ Simon 1996, 21.

references to the mythological narrative of Theseus.¹⁵ Aetiological tales were not atypical, since mythology and religion form a strong connection.

Theseus has a religious, not just mythological, association with Herakles through cultic rites in Athens. According to mythology, Theseus handed over all but four of his *temenoi* (religious precincts) to Herakles.¹⁶ Philochoros of Athens, a Greek historian from the third century B.C., knew of only four cults of Theseus, and "as far as the hero cult is concerned, Theseus is purely Athenian."¹⁷ Before 475/4, when Kimon brought Theseus' bones back to Athens from Skyros and placed them in the Theseion, the cults of Theseus were controlled by the few aristocratic families who either claimed descent from the hero or those who accompanied him to Crete.¹⁸ One cult site of Theseus was located by the Long Walls in the western suburbs of Athens.¹⁹ Another cult was located at a *heroon* dedicated to both Theseus and Perithoos at Kolonos Hippios.²⁰ But while cults of Theseus may number few, the visual record promotes him as the new democratic hero of Athens.²¹ The number of his prominent appearances in sculpture and vase-painting may reflect a newfound interest in Theseus and possibly in his cult(s), which honor the hero as "true founder of" Athens.²² Allegedly, Theseus himself founded some cults for which there is evidence during the time of Solon, Peisistratos, and Kleisthenes; yet other cults find roots in the Bronze Age, the time of Theseus.

The deme calendars of Athens reflect the mythological paternity of Theseus by Poseidon by dedicating the eighth day of every month to both Theseus and Poseidon.²³ Theseus' arrival

¹⁵ Parke 1977, 74-80.

¹⁶ Kearns 1989, 168.

¹⁷ FGrH, 328, (Philochorus) fr. 18; Walker 1987, 20.

¹⁸ Plutarch, *Kim.* 8.5-6; *Thes.* 36; Pausanias 1.17.6; Parke 1977, 82; Clark 2012, 72.

¹⁹ *IG* II² 1035.48.

²⁰ Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, 1590-94; Pausanias 1.30.4.

²¹ Walker 1994, 143.

²² Kerenyi 1959, 216.

²³ Plutarch, *Thes.* 36.4; Calame 1990, 359-63.

from Troizen to Athens was celebrated on the eighth day of Hekatombaion, and the eighth day of Pyanopsion was dedicated to the Theseia.²⁴ As a major festival celebrated in honor of Theseus, the Theseia consisted of preliminary sacrifices, a procession, and the consumption of soup using a special kind of bread roll as a spoon.²⁵ The location of the Theseion itself, the heroon of Theseus, is still a point of contention among archaeologists. The so-called Hephaisteion was originally thought to be the Theseion, but later this identification changed and archaeologists would admit that the location of the Theseion is not positive.²⁶ There are two leading theories regarding the location of the Theseion. One places the site near the ascent to the North slope of the Acropolis or not in the Agora itself, but close to it.²⁷ The latter proposal is based on inscriptions and textual evidence, and is the location of the Theseia celebrated on 8 Pyanopsion.²⁸

Though physical cult sites of Theseus are uncertain, festivals celebrated in honor of Theseus are not. The Theseia was one of many recorded in Athens. Two festivals associated with Theseus are the Oschophoria and Anthesteria as mentioned above. Theseus founded a cult of Aphrodite both on Delos and in Athens, and in mythology Aphrodite Pandemos assisted his successful unification of Attica.²⁹ Further, the Synoikia was a feast day on 16 Hekatombion that celebrated the Synoecism traditionally created by Theseus.³⁰ This festival was certainly active

²⁵ On the religious festivals in Athens and Attica, including the role of Theseus, see: Simon 1983, esp. 55-72; Walker 1987, 20-34; Kearns 1989, esp. 121-24; Calame 1990, 291-375; Simon 1996, 9-26. On the consumption of soup, see: Kearns 1989, 168; *IG* II² 956.4; Clark 2012, 74. A Theseia was also celebrated in Peiraeus (*IG* II² 2598). ²⁶ Walker 1987, 21; Castriota 1992, 33. The Theseion was in place in Athens in the sixth century, according to an account by Aristotle (*Constitution of the Athenians* 15.4). However, Polyaenus, writing in the second century A.D. describes the same enclosure with the term "Anakeion" (I.21.2); and Pausanias, also writing in the second century A.D. claims that the shrine for Theseus was constructed after Kimon brought the bones of Theseus from Skyros to Athens (I.17.6).

²⁴ Simon 1996, 21; Clark 2012, 74.

²⁷ On the sixth century earth mound altar to Theseus in the Agora, see: Camp 1992, 53-57, 100-05. On a fourth century B.C. depiction of this same structure to Theseus, see: Mylonopoulos 2010, 143-70.

²⁸ *IG* II² 2865; Kerenyi 1959: 246; Shapiro 1989: 143.

²⁹ Simon 1996, 20. See also: Parke 1977; Parker 1996.

³⁰ Thucydides, *Hist.* 2.15.2; Plutarch, *Thes.* 24.4; Mikalson 1975, 24; Clark 2012, 74; Dignas and Smith 2012, 22.

during the time of Thucydides, who believed that the synoecism of Attica began with Theseus.³¹ A few fifth century fragments found in the Agora on the code of sacrificial regulations mention a celebration which takes place on this date every other year. Perhaps they reference the Synoikia. If so, then these inscriptions "confirm the belief that it was a primitive institution and to this extent justifies Thucydides in his belief that it dated from Theseus."³² Finally, the Panathenaia, a major festival of Athens which took place on 28 Hekatombaion, was celebrated in honor of Athena and, though it officially began in 566, possibly originated during the Bronze Age, since Homer describes a procession of Trojan women placing a *peplos* on the knees of a statue of Athena in the *Iliad*.³³ The Athenians themselves ascribed the foundation of this festival to Erechtheus/Erichthonios. But according to Plutarch, Theseus founded the Panathenaia.³⁴ If so, he would have been considered to be one of the most prominent figures in Athenian religion.

Mythology of Theseus

The mythology of Theseus assumes a narrative marked by heroic deeds and adventures, similar to those of Herakles, as he travels from Troizen to Athens.³⁵ Theseus, like Herakles, proves his status as an accomplished wrestler, son of a god, and companion to Athena. Such deeds became the staple scenes in the repertoire of Archaic Athenian vase-painting. Plutarch, writing in the second century A.D., compiled the adventures of Theseus as a historical biography

³¹ Thucydides, *Hist.* 2.15.12; Simon 1983, 50. The synoecism of Attica (συνοικισμός, literally "dwelling together") was the amalgamation of villages in the region of Attica into one unified center with Athens as it political center. ³² Parke 1977, 31.

³³ Homer, *Il.* 6.288-304; Bordman 1974, 167-76; Miller 2004, 133; Neils-Tracy 2004, 5.

³⁴ Plutarch, *Thes.* 24.3; Pausanias 7.2.1; Walker 1994, 143-46.

³⁵ On the general mythology of Theseus, see: Clark 2012, 72-76.

from his conception to his death, thus providing a narrative of his mythological adventures.³⁶ The mythology of Theseus, like Herakles, dates the figure to be older than the heroes who star in the Homeric epics. He was part of the crew on the Argo, a generation before the Trojan War; and his sons, Akamas and Demophon, took part in the *Ilioupersis* as they rescued their grandmother, Aithra, the mother of Theseus.³⁷ The adventures of Theseus begin from the moment he lifts the rock and uncovers the sandals and sword his father, Aigeos, left him, as depicted on a late sixthcentury red-figure cup by the Pithos Painter, now in Athens (CIII.1).³⁸ The historical account of Theseus details his travels from Troizen to Athens, then his heroic Deeds ("*praxeis*") as a prince and finally king of Athens.³⁹ Further mishaps await the hero in Poseidon's undersea palace, in Crete, and also in the Underworld.

On the road from Troizen to Athens, Theseus performs seven "Deeds", akin to Herakles' twelve "Labors".⁴⁰ These deeds are specific to the region of Attica; they are: Periphetes/ Korynetes, Sinis, Krommyon Sow, Skiron, kerkyon, Prokrustes, and the Marathonian Bull.⁴¹ Theseus is also a lover of women, and abducts at least three who are documented in art (Helen, Antiope, Ariadne). Furthermore, the hero also took part in an Amazonomachy. Theseus' later deed, the slaying of the Minotaur, was performed in Crete and is relevant to the Athenian people. On route to Crete he meets with Amphitrite in Poseidon's underwater palace. Upon return, he becomes King of Athens.⁴² Afterwards, Herakles visits him in Athens and becomes Initiated in the Lesser Mysteries. Theseus founds the synoecism, assists the Lapiths in fighting the centaurs,

³⁶ Other instances of Theseus myths in literature include: Pausanias 1.27.9-10; Diodorus Siculus 4.59. On considering Plutarch's account of the life of Theseus to be comparable to a historical narrative, see: Cooper 2007, 212-33; Lefkowitz 2013, 516-31.

³⁷ Walker 1994, 19-20; Simon 1996, 9.

³⁸ On the Pithos Painter, see: *ARV*² 139-141; Boardman 1974, 62. On the iconography of this cup, see: Sourvinou-Inwood 1971, 94-109.

³⁹ On representations of narrative in art, see: Small 1999, 562-76; Giuliani 2013, 176-85.

⁴⁰ Plutarch also remarks the similarity in the heroes' adventures (*Thes.* 6).

⁴¹ *LIMC* VII, s.v. "Theseus," 925-34 (Woodford); Neils 1987; Schefold 1992, 163-83.

⁴² For Theseus as the King in Athens, see: Davie 1982, 25-34.

and ventures to the Underworld (where Herakles rescues him). Eventually he goes to the island of Skyros where he is murdered by Lykomedes, who throws him off a cliff.⁴³

Theseus' role as a king of Athens and founder of synoecism is reflected in the heroic cults, but not his role as the star of a narrative complete with beastly foes, stolen women, and a divine father under the sea. Theseus was a king of Athens, even though he was not originally from Athens. He was born in Troizen, in the Peloponnese, yet he was the son of the Athenian king Aigeos, and in his youth he returned to Athens to claim his inheritance. In Attic tradition it is Theseus who becomes the (visual) representative of all that is typically Athenian, not Erechtheus or Kekrops, both of whom were earlier kings of Athens.

Theseus in Greek Art

In Ancient Greek art, Theseus is typically depicted as a beardless youth who wears the clothes of a traveler (petasos and short chiton) and the sandals and sword left for him by his father, Aigeos. The figure of Theseus appears in various types of media, including architectural sculpture and shield bands, as well as on vases. He is presented as a hero on the move, a traveling hero. His weapon of choice remains his (ivory-hilted) sword. Contemporary literature captures the image of Theseus adorned with such an accoutrement. A dithyramb by Bacchylides dating to the second quarter of the fifth century recounts Theseus' youthful deeds during his sojourn from Troizen to Athens around the Saronic Gulf (Sinis, Krommyonian Sow, Skiron,

⁴³ On the literary and visual sources for the deeds of Theseus, see: Brommer 1982; Neils 1994; for the myth of Theseus as represented on Athenian vases, see: Servadei 2005, 21-190. On the death of Theseus, see: Plutarch, *Thes.* 35.3.

Kerkyon, and Prokrustes).⁴⁴ Bacchylides recalls Theseus' dual paternity: his mortal father, Aigeos, a king of Athens who visited Aithra in Troizen; and his divine parentage, Poseidon which was perhaps a later creation developed to not only protect Aithra's honor but also to justify Theseus' semi-divine status – on par with that of Herakles – and his importance to Athens. Interestingly, Bacchylides pays special attention to Theseus' attire:

Down from his gleaming shoulder hangs a sword with an ivory hilt, polished javelins in his hands, and a Spartan dogskin cap covers his ruddy curls. A purple shirt is wrapped round his body and over that a woolen mantle from Thessaly; ... he is a boy scarce grown...⁴⁵

As we examine the iconography, prevalent scenes and typical attributes associated with Theseus, we will notice that while the images and attributes of Herakles are defined and constant, those of Theseus are more of a work in progress. That is to say, the vase-painters have yet to establish a set iconography for this particular hero.

Theseus is portrayed as both a young hero who fought the Minotaur and other monsters and foes, and also as the wise king of Athens who sheltered Herakles. Theseus' key subjects appear in the visual record around the mid-sixth century, but he gains special status as an important Athenian hero at the end of the sixth century. By this time, Theseus the king is a character in Euripides' tragedies: *Herakles, Hippolytos*, and *Suppliants*.⁴⁶ According to Kearns, the "the real importance of Theseus as Attic hero can scarcely be placed before the last quarter of the sixth century," when his appearance in Athenian major and minor arts increases dramatically.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Bacchylides 18.16-30. Bacchylides is a fifth century B.C. author who glorified the exploits of Theseus. Both Ode 17 (Dithyramb 3) and Ode 18 (Dithyramb 4) recount the travels and feats of Theseus. On the poet's mention of Theseus, see: Brommer 1982, 6, 28; Walker 1994, 84-111; Mannack 2001, 82. Plutarch's *Theseus* properly describes each of the hero's opponents.

⁴⁵ Bacchylides 18.46-60.

⁴⁶ On this specific role of Theseus in Euripidean tragedy, see: Papadopoulou 2005, 154.

⁴⁷ Kearns 1989, 117.

In order to understand Theseus' rising position as the Athenian national hero, we must look to contemporary sculpture, beginning with the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (c. 490 B.C.).⁴⁸ The small temple-like structure was prominent on the Sacred Way at Delphi, a Panhellenic sanctuary, and would have been seen by many as a symbol of Athens. The chosen themes reflect the attitude of the Athenians. The treasury's south side is made up of nine metopes which depict exploits of Theseus, placing his deeds directly opposite those of Herakles, literally imagining him opposite the paradigmatic hero, sculpted on the north side metopes. The arrangement of both figures minimize the distinction between the Panhellenic nature of Herakles and the Athenian localization of Theseus, placing each hero on a level with the other both literally and figuratively.⁴⁹ Such reflections appear also in vase-painting. By 490 B.C., Theseus was at the peak of his popularity in Athenian art.⁵⁰ Vase-painters typically depicted Theseus as beardless, often nude, and wielding a sword (or an axe), but he is best identified in by the context of the scene. It seems as if the Athenians themselves were somewhat unsettled about how to portray their new favorite hero.⁵¹

Theseus appears on only three known Athenian vases during the first half of the sixth century.⁵² The most well-known is the François Vase, an early sixth century black-figure krater

⁵¹ On the development of the image of Theseus in Archaic and Classical Athens, see: Mills 1997, 27-29.

⁴⁸ Tomlinson 1989, 85; Lawrence 1996, 99-106; Neer 2004, 63-93.

⁴⁹ Schefold 1992, 183; Scott 2010, 80. The juxtaposition of these heroes will be thoroughly explored in Chapter Five.

⁵⁰ Kearns 1989, 46; Schefold 1992, 163, 175-82; possible reasons for Theseus' rise in popularity includes the composition of the (now lost) *Theseid*, which possibly included Theseus' travels from Troizen to Athens, and was composed at this time.

⁵² For the early vases, see: [BAPD 300000]: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, black-figure volute krater, Kleitias and Ergotimos [attributed by signature], c. 570 (*Biblio – ABV* 76.1, 682; *Para.* 29; *LIMC* VII, PL.664, s.v. "Theseus" 276 (PART). On Kleitias, see: *ABV* 76-78; Boardman 1974, 33-34. On Ergotimos, see: *ABV* 76-80; Boardman 1974, 11, 60, 189. [BAPD 306980]: Copenhagen, National Museum 13536, black-figure hydria, Painter of London B76 [attributed by Beazley], c. 600-550 (*Biblio – ABV* 714; *Para.* 32). [BAPD 350322]: Paris, Musée du Louvre CP10703, black-figure amphora fragments, Tyrrhenian Group, Kyllenios Painter [attributed by Bothmer], c. 600-550 (*Biblio – Para.* 41).

signed by Ergotimos and Kleitias, currently in Florence.⁵³ Along with Theseus, the krater is decorated with other Greek heroes such as Achilles, Ajax, and Peleus. Theseus (named by an inscription) appears twice on the vase. The first time the hero is presented as a beardless youth with long hair and holding a lyre as he stands next to Ariadne, who holds a ball of wool (*fig.* 31). Theseus resembles the god Apollo as he leads a procession of young male and female dancers, perhaps as an illustration of the Crane Dance which celebrated his slaying of the Minotaur on Crete.⁵⁴ The François Vase functions as a visual encyclopedia of mythological tales since an identifying inscription accompanies each figure and object.⁵⁵ The first scene of Theseus on the François Vase takes place after Theseus has slain the Minotaur, and the hero is surrounded by Athenian youths and maidens as he meets Ariadne on Crete. However, this scene is unique in vase-painting. Instead, the vase-painters more regularly portrayed Theseus slaying the Minotaur.

The Minotaur myth is the oldest of Theseus' myths and is his iconic scene in vasepainting, yet in the narrative of his adventures it is chronologically late, before he is king.⁵⁶ The slaying of the Minotaur is present outside of Athens on an early sixth century Corinthian and Boeotian vase, on an earlier Corinthian gold plaque, and Peloponnesian shield bands.⁵⁷ The Minotaur, Theseus' original monster-slaying deed, not only granted Theseus a certain local important to Athens, but also placed him alongside the likes of Herakles, Perseus and Bellerophon in Greek heroic tradition.⁵⁸ The slaying of the Minotaur was first represented by non-Attic vase-painters as illustrated on a black-figure stamnos from Megara Hyblaea depicting

⁵⁷ For the Corinthian examples, see: Payne 1931, 133; Amyx 1988. For the shield bands, see: Kunze 1950, 129, PL. 21; Carpenter 1986.

⁵³ See footnote 52.

⁵⁴ On an analysis of this dance, see: Lawler 1946, 124-25; Giuliani 2013, 124-30.

⁵⁵ Many scholars have observed a unifying theme among the visual program on this krater. For a summary of the discussion, see: Torelli 2007.

⁵⁶ Shapiro 1990, 128-29; Walker 1994, 16.

⁵⁸ Shapiro 1994, 117.

a long-haired beardless Theseus in a short chiton grabbing a bound Minotaur by the horn.⁵⁹ The most notable difference from Kleitias' depiction of Theseus on the François Vase is the presence of the goddess Athena. She holds the hero's lyre, an early attribute of Theseus that quickly disappears from his iconographic scheme. Ariadne, a second woman, and the Athenian youths stand by and watch. The question therefore arises: did later vase-painters eliminate the lyre as an attribute of Theseus because it, along with his youthful appearance, made him look too much like Apollo? The Minotaur is only present on Athenian vase-painting after c. 560 B.C. The first known representations are on an early hydriai and a Tyrrhenian amphora.⁶⁰ The composition on vases remains relatively unchanged in both black-figure and red-figure examples.

Theseus is represented a second time on the François Vase as a participant in the Battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs. In the Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, Theseus is sometimes present (as on the François Vase), but he is neither central to the story nor is his company necessary; he is present to support his friend, Perithoos. As Shapiro notes: "most centaurs in Greek art are associated with one of the great heroes, Herakles or Achilles, but there is also the Battle of the Thessalian Lapiths with the Centaurs, which first occurs on the François Vase ... and remains popular throughout black and red-figure."⁶¹ Theseus is present in the earliest Centauromachies, as the faithful friend of the Lapith Perithoos; but it was not standard to include Theseus in later Centauromachy scenes.⁶² Theseus is not always present in Centauromachies, and as a result the battle is not regarded as a main subject in the Thesean repertoire. Only one scene of the Centauromachy exists on the extant black-figure vases showing

⁵⁹ Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 1432, black-figure stamnos, Megara Hyblaea (*Biblio – ABV* 102,98). For a similar example, see: Paris, Musée du Louvre CA3837, polychrome stamnos c. 660-650 (*Biblio – LIMC* VI 575 s.v. "Minotauros", nos. 6, 6a).

⁶⁰ *Fig.* 32 [BAPD 310031]: Paris, Musée du Louvre E850, black-figure neck amphora, Castellani Painter [attributed by Bothmer] (*Biblio – ABV* 97.31; *Para.* 37; *Add.*² 26; *Decoration –* A: Theseus and the Minotaur between women and man and youths).

⁶¹ Shapiro 1990, 130.

⁶² Shapiro 1990, 129; Schefold 1992, 167-69; Walker 1994, 19; Servadei 2005, 141-49.

Thesean imagery. The remaining five examples belong entirely to the red-figure technique and make up only about 3% of the hero's imagery of the early fifth century.

During the sixth century, Theseus is shown fighting beasts. He is not shown fighting men until the end of the sixth century, c.520-510 B.C. During the second half of the sixth century, beasts make up 93% of his opponents. A rare late sixth century example of a non-beastly struggle appears on a red-figure kylix attributed to the Briseis Painter (CIII.2; *figs*. 33a-c).⁶³ The obverse side depicts Theseus in Poseidon's undersea palace, while the reverse shows Theseus' arrival in Athens, and the interior tondo shows his introduction to Amphitrite. The subject itself merits unusual distinction because Theseus is portrayed as a passive figure and not engaged in a struggle. The scene is one of the earliest representations of Theseus that does not portray him defeating the Minotaur. Furthermore, the vase juxtaposes both the divine and mortal paternities of Theseus, as well as asserts his Athenian association.⁶⁴ The black-figure painter Exekias also presents Theseus as the hero-king. Exekias paints not a beautiful youth slaying the Minotaur or centaurs, but rather a mature king of Athens.⁶⁵

Theseus' role as king reflects his importance in religious festivals but since his regal status makes up only the minority of his representation in art, it will be examined only briefly. The slaying of the Minotaur is the predominant subject of choice in the sixth century, comprising 86% of all vase scenes that depict Theseus during the second half of the sixth century (129 extant examples), all decorated in the black-figure technique. The episode with the Marathonian Bull is introduced c.530, but it does not increase in representation until closer to 500. When the popularity of this subject does increase with vase-painters (perhaps in part due to increasing appearances of the Herakles and the Bull scenes), it quickly competes with the Minotaur scene as

⁶³ On the Briseis Painter, see: ARV² 406-10; Boardman 1974, 137.

⁶⁴ The juxtaposition of heroes on vases will be discussed fully in Chapter Five.

⁶⁵ For an example of Exekias depicting Theseus in his role as the king of Athens, see: CIII.3.

the preferred Thesean beastly struggle. Scenes of Theseus seizing women, mainly the Amazon Antiope, comprise much of the remaining 14% of the visual repertoire during the second half of the sixth century.⁶⁶

During the late Archaic period, vase-painters experimented not only with the compositions of familiar subjects, but also with new subject choices for Theseus, which manifest as separate battles grouped together in sequence on a single vessel, and are thus referred to as the Theseus "Cycle Cups."⁶⁷ With a diameter of greater than 35cm, the cups are larger than a normal kylix (20-30cm) and too large and shallow to be functional as regular drinking cups. The term "Cycle" is applied to them because they depict a cyclic narrative of the Deeds of Theseus. The four to five separate scenes of Theseus battling opponents often decorate the exteriors and tondos of what is termed a "Parade" Cup. Their larger-than-life size paired with the intricate detail of their decoration "suggest a dedicatory purpose rather than a domestic use."⁶⁸ Robertson even goes so far as to claim that their intended function was "for the use not for men but of heroes and gods."69 Parade Cups, which are few in number, were produced between 525 and 480 B.C., and were decorated with scenes either from the *Ilioupersis*, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, or the Deeds of Theseus.⁷⁰ Athenian vase-painters depicted Theseus' encounters as early as 510, immediately presenting the deeds as a cycle – in stark contrast are the depictions of Herakles' labors, which were presented individually. We can only speculate as to whether or not their

⁶⁶ Servadei 2005, 134-40.

⁶⁷ On the visual depictions of the deeds of Theseus in vase-painting, see: Neils 1987; Schefold 1992, 163-83. Avramidou's criteria for a Cycle Cup are "at least three episodes from a single cycle" present (2011, 36). Some of the Theseus Cycle Cups appear on a specific shape called a "Parade" Cup, first termed such by Haspels (1930, 422). On the shape and function, see: Robertson 1992, 29, 39, 44, 58, 94; Schreiber 1999, 216-17; Tsingarida 2009, 185-201. Tsingarida's criteria are a diameter of at least 35cm (minus the handles), produced between 525 and 480 B.C. ⁶⁸ Tsingarida 2009, 195.

⁶⁹ Robertson 1992, 85-86.

⁷⁰ On the form, function, workshops, and decorative program of Parade Cups, see: Tsingarida 2009, 185-201. The extant Parade Cups are decorated with scenes of a heroic and epic nature. The large surface size allowed for the vase-painters to include more detail in the scene, but perhaps the size itself reflects the heroic nature of the vessel. According to literary sources, large drinking vessels were often attributes of heroes such as Herakles and Nestor (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* XI 469d; Homer, *Il.* 11.637).

motives behind these new subjects and manners of display for the image of Theseus are political, narrative, or influenced by contemporary cult or (now lost) literature. What is clear is that we begin to see the hero in scenes otherwise not attested previously in the visual record.

Theseus in Late Archaic Vase-Painting

There are 848 known examples of scenes of Theseus in Athenian vase-painting, and of those about 160 (18.6%) fall within the time frame of this study. Theseus sees a dramatic surge in artistic representation at the end of the sixth century beginning with "some wholly novel mythography."⁷¹ Throughout the first half of the fifth century, the number of vases decorated with scenes of Theseus remains steady (around 150 total known examples). The breakdown of subject matter is similar (almost identical percentage-wise) to scenes that appear after 530 (primarily the Minotaur with 46 examples, 44 of which are in the red-figure technique; the Bull a close second with 26 examples, 23 of which are in the red-figure technique; then Prokrustes, Skiron, and Sinis and Kerkyon with fifteen, twelve, nine, six examples, respectively, all in the red-figure technique). From 525-475 scenes of Theseus are present on 158 extant vase examples (a mere shadow to Herakles' dominance in the visual record, but relative to other heroes, Theseus stands out). Struggles with beasts now take up 72.15% of that number: 71 are of the Minotaur (44.9%), and 38 (24%) of the Bull. Struggles with mortal men now make up part of the repertoire (24.7%), largely those with Prokrustes and Skiron.⁷² The examples are still primarily in the black-figure technique, but the red-figure examples take over after 500 B.C. After 500, the

⁷¹ Boardman 1982, 1.

⁷² On the mythology of Prokrustes, see: Mannack 2001, 82; Papadopoulous 2007, 193. On the mythology of Skiron, see: Matheson 1995, 221; Servadei 2005, 29-32.

beastly struggles still dominate, making up 62.3% of the 144 examples. The non-beast struggles after 500 B.C. are only visible on red-figure vases.

The rest of this chapter identifies and explores these visual manifestations and transformations of Theseus' struggles against both beasts and men. The iconographic discussion is organized thematically by the following four categories: struggles with beasts; struggles with men; struggles with women; and combined struggles.

Struggles with Beasts

The beastly foes of Theseus make up 72.15% of the corpus of examples of Theseus in vase-painting between 525 and 475. Prior to 525, the predominant theme vase-painters chose for representations of Theseus was his fight with the Minotaur (the first half of the sixth century contains 129 examples alone, all black-figure). After 530 (the first depiction of Herakles and the Bull), the Bull begins to share the popularity with the Minotaur for depictions of Theseus.

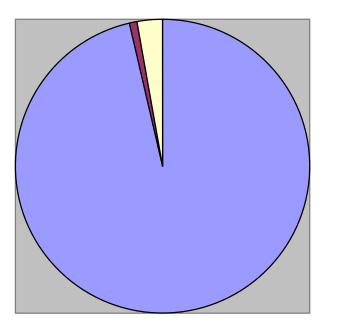
	Total #	ABF #	ARF #
	150	146	4
"Minotaur"	129	129	
"Sow"			
"Bull"	5	4	1
"Centauromachy"	1	1	
"Prokrustes"	1	1	
"Skiron"			
"Kerkyon"			
"Sinis"			
"pursuing a			
woman"			
"Antiope"	4	1	3

Table III.1. Theseus and Struggles (550-500 B.C.)

Beasts: 135 (93.1% of collected sample (145); 90% of overall date range)

Non-Beasts: 1 (0.69% of sample (145); 0.67% of overall date range)

The Lover: 4 (2.76% of sample (145); 2.67% of overall date range)





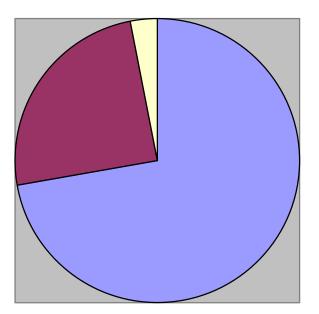
	Total #	ABF #	ARF #
	158	104	54
"Minotaur"	71	57	14
"Sow"	4	1	3
"Bull"	38	28	10
"Centauromachy"	1		1
"Prokrustes"	17	9	8
"Skiron"	13	6	7
"Kerkyon"	5	1	4
"Sinis"	4		4
"pursuing a	1		1
woman"			
"Antiope"	4	2	2

Table III.2. Theseus and Struggles (525-475 B.C.)

Beasts: 114 (72.15% of collected sample; 72.15% of overall date range)

Non-Beasts: 39 (24.7% of collected sample; 24.7% of overall date range)

The Lover: 5 (3.16% of collected sample; 3.16% of overall date range)





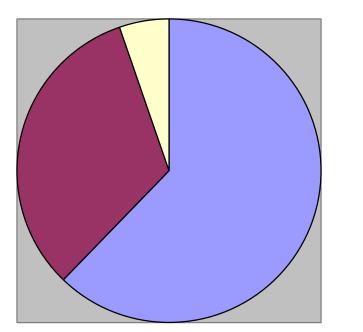
	Total #	ABF #	ARF #
	144	5	139
"Minotaur"	46	2	44
"Sow"	4		4
"Bull"	26	3	23
"Centauromachy"	5		5
"Prokrustes"	15		15
"Skiron"	12		12
"Kerkyon"	6		6
"Sinis"	9		9
"pursuing a	5		5
woman"			
"Antiope"	2		2

Table III.3. Theseus and Struggles (500-450 B.C.)

Beasts: 81 (62.3% of collected sample (130); 56.25% of overall date range)

Non-Beasts: 42 (32.3% of collected sample (130); 29.17% of overall date range)

The Lover: 7 (538% of collected sample (130); 4.86% of overall date range)





Minotaur

The Minotaur was the hybrid half-man, half-bull beast, who lived in a labyrinth on Crete. The myth of Theseus and the Minotaur is specifically Athenian and does not gain popularity in the vase-painting until after 550 B.C., when it becomes the most frequently represented Deed of this hero in Greek art, making up 86% of all Theseus scenes during the second half of the sixth century, as well as one of the most frequently represented subjects of Attic vase-painting in general.⁷³ The examples of this scene on vase-painting are still primarily black-figure, but between 525 and 475 there are 71 examples (44.9%) of Theseus and the Minotaur [Refer to Table III.2].⁷⁴ One such explanation for this decline could be the increase of representations of the Bull, Prokrustes, and Sinis, most likely the result of the introduction of the Cycle Cups c. 510, which are further discussed below. The Minotaur does not appear on red-figure vases until 500, at which point the beast is frequently represented.

Theseus predominantly uses the sword against the Minotaur, and in earlier scenes he is accompanied by supporting figures. After c. 500, red-figure vase-painters simplify the composition to include only the two central figures. There are three slight variations on the composition depicting Theseus slaying the Minotaur. The first variation is seen on the rim of an unattributed black-figure lebes in Paris: Theseus, a youthful male without a beard and donning a short chiton, stands to the left of the fallen and defeated Minotaur (CIII.4). In Theseus' bent right arm, which he holds down behind his torso, he wields a sword. His left arm reaches out in front of him to restrain the Minotaur. Theseus is shown in profile striding towards the Minotaur with his weight on his forward left foot. The moment depicted is the suspenseful pause just before

⁷³ Shapiro 1990, 128. On the figure of Theseus and the Minotaur in Greek art, see: Brommer 1982, 35-64; Servadei 2005, 92-125.

⁷⁴ On the late sixth century B.C. black-figure examples of this scene, see: Hatzivassiliou 2010, 24. Also see: Young 1979, 128-69. For an example of Theseus and the Minotaur on late black-figure vase-painting, see: *LIMC* VI, s.v. "Minotauros," 580, Cat. 319-22.

Theseus strikes the killing blow. The Minotaur faces Theseus, weaponless but for a rock in either hand. He is on a lower level than Theseus as he kneels, defeated on the ground. He makes a last attempt for survival by raising his right arm above his head. In other versions of this scene, the Minotaur kneels with head down in defeat, weaponless. There are twenty collected examples of this type during the time period concerned: eight in the black-figure technique and twelve in the red-figure technique (CIII.4; CIII.5, *fig.* 34; CIII.6-21). Theseus is always shown to the left of the Minotaur, with his right arm bent behind his torso ready to thrust the sword into the beast's body if not already mid-thrust with the sword penetrating it.

The second variation to the above standard composition is seen on a black-figure amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686 and now in Oxford (CIII.22; *fig.* 35).⁷⁵ Theseus, beardless with long hair, wears a short chiton. He stands in profile to the right, again striding with his left foot forward. Between his legs is a discarded crested helmet. Theseus wields a sword in his right arm, which he holds at his waist, with his elbow slightly bent. He is presented not extending his left arm fully towards the Minotaur's head, as in the prior examples, but completely wrapping his left arm around the Minotaur's neck, grasping his hairy mane. The Minotaur, who kneels on his right leg, visibly struggles against his impending defeat. The Minotaur's head is lowered to the same level as Theseus' chest, and he uselessly pushes against Theseus with his outstretched right arm. The moment shown is that immediately before Theseus' sword point penetrates the Minotaur's dappled skin. The scene is framed by two draped men and two veiled women. The positioning of the key figures resembles Greek wrestling – in that Theseus has caught the Minotaur in a choke hold, and the Minotaur, though not yet defeated, is shown at a distinct disadvantage with a knee on the ground.⁷⁶ The act of grabbing an opponent

⁷⁵ There are six collected examples of this type, see: CIII.22-CIII.27.

⁷⁶ Poliakoff 1987, 25.

around the neck is also seen when one wrestler is preparing for a hip throw, and has wrapped his arm around the neck of his opponent to solidify his hold and secure the advantage.⁷⁷

The final variation of Theseus slaving the Minotaur is similar to the previous one with a minor alteration of detail: Theseus does not wrap his left arm around the Minotaur's head or neck, but it is still bent sharply at the elbow as Theseus comes in for the kill and grabs the fallen Minotaur's horn. The standard composition for this subject is typical of a hero on the left looming over his fallen foe, who kneels on the right, either about to be killed or having just been killed. Instances of Theseus grabbing the kneeling Minotaur by the horn are present on some of the earlier representations of this scene, such as a shield band dating to the second quarter of the sixth century, and a black-figure band cup dating to the third quarter of the sixth century, now in London.⁷⁸ A related example of such is displayed on a black-figure amphora in New York signed by Teleides as potter (CIII.28; fig. 36).79 Theseus, beardless, stands to the left of the Minotaur, in profile to the right. He wears a short chiton under an animal skin, and his long hair falls loose down his neck. He has sandals on his feet, between which lies a discarded crested helmet. As he steps towards the Minotaur, his left foot is in front of his right. His bent right arm wields a sword near his waist, pointed at the Minotaur's throat. Theseus' left arm is bent sharply at the elbow, his hand twisted back towards him as it grasps the Minotaur's horn firmly, keeping the beast in place. The Minotaur, with dappled skin and a tail, kneels on his right knee, facing down as Theseus holds the beast's head still. He raises his left fist above his head as if in attempt to strike

⁷⁷ On comparative scenes of pankration scenes, see: Herakles and Triton (CII.72); and, Herakles and Antaios (CII.79).

⁷⁸ On the shield band, see: Olympia B 1654. On the Little Masters Cup, see: [BAPD 302855]: London, British Museum 1836,0224.112, black-figure lip cup, BMN Painter [attributed by Beazley], 550-540 (*Biblio – ABV* 227.18; *Add.*² 59; *LIMC* VI, PL.318, Minotauros 19 (A)).

⁷⁹ For later version of this same type, see: CIII.29.

one last defensive blow against Theseus. Two women in peploi and two nude youths with spears frame the scene.

The various depictions of Theseus and the Minotaur do not strictly fall into a canonical formula of a single composition; nor does Theseus always appear on the left, as would be expected of the victor. A handful of red-figure vases portray Theseus and the Minotaur in an arrangement similar to the first variation described above, but the figures are switched and the Minotaur now fights back on the left, while Theseus attacks with a sword from the right (CIII.30; CIII.11, *fig.* 37a). Schefold proposes that this arrangement lends an element of suspense to the scene, because the figure on the left is generally the victor of the duel.⁸⁰

Marathonian Bull

Depictions of Theseus and the Bull in Athenian vase-painting become frequent during the late sixth century. Scenes of Theseus and the Marathonian Bull are not introduced until the final quarter of the sixth century, at which point they make up almost a quarter of the entire Thesean representation, and a third of the scenes depicting Theseus' beastly adversaries.⁸¹ Between 525 and 475 there are 38 extant examples (24%) of Theseus and the Bull; the examples are still primarily black-figure. The Bull continues to be a favored subject by the red-figure vase-painters throughout the early and mid-fifth century, though never gaining the same popularity as the Minotaur. One explanation for this is the inclusion of the Bull on the Cycle Cups (beginning c.510) as one of the hero's Deeds, though mythologically his capture and subsequent sacrifice of the Bull took place after his arrival at Athens. Of the 52 extant vases that depict the hero and Bull, 37 are black-figure, and fifteen are red-figure. There are only seven known vases that date

⁸⁰ Schefold 1992, 164.

⁸¹ Brommer 1982, 27-34; Shapiro 1988, 378; Walker 1994, 41; Servadei 2005, 67-83.

before 500, a total of four date to around 500, a total of 27 date between 525 and 475, and thirteen date post-500, and one vase's specific date is unknown. Of those vases, seventeen include a sure identification for Herakles as the protagonist while ten are uncertain; seventeen include a sure identification for Theseus as the hero and five uncertain; while four remain ambiguous. For those that are uncertain, the scholars who attributed the painter's hand also propose an identification for the hero shown, but accompany it with a question mark in order to emphasize the tentative nature of the iconography.

The standard composition for Theseus and the Bull resembles that of Herakles and the Bull, as the hero stands to the left capturing the Bull who, cowered, stands on the right. There are two prominent versions of this episode in Greek art: 1) in which Theseus kills the Bull on the spot; and 2) in which Theseus captures the Bull with a rope. The first type is depicted on an early fifth century black-figure lekythos in Athens (CIII.31; *fig.* 38). Four figures decorate the scene: two men, one Bull, and one woman. The far left figure is a bearded male who stands in profile facing the right. He wears a *petasos*, a traveler's hat, and a himation over a short chiton. He has sandals on his feet and two spears in his left hand. To his right is a beardless male with long hair, decorated by a circlet on his brow. He is clothed in a short loincloth, and on his hip sits an empty sword scabbard. In his right hand he wields a sword as if ready to thrust it into his opponent, a Bull, which the hero has forced to the ground and holds steady by the horns with his left hand. The Bull's forelegs are bent on the ground. In the background is a tree, and in its branches hang a bundled cloak, a shield and two spears. To the far right stands a woman in profile, who watches

many funerary scenes.⁸² She has long hair adorned by a diadem, and she wears long garments. No figures is accompanied by an identifying inscription, but the scene here can be recognized as Theseus killing the Bull. The composition of this scene and that of a typical depiction of Herakles capturing the Bull, as discussed previously in Chapter Two, are quite similar.⁸³ We see a nude or partially nude hero on the left. He carries a sword as a weapon and places his foot on the head of a giant submissive Bull. In the background stands a tree with displaced objects in its branches. Several reasons suggest that this hero is Theseus rather than Herakles, among them the absence of bow and arrow, the absence of a beard, and the presence of the two accompanying figures. But the most convincing reason is the chosen moment of the scene. When the hero is obviously about to slay – or in the act of slaying – the Bull, we can safely identify him as Theseus, since, according to the mythology, Herakles never actually killed the Bull.

There is one prominent, if unusual, variant to the striking composition that involves Theseus (assuming that the identity of the hero here is Theseus, rather than Herakles) wielding a club rather than a sword.⁸⁴ The only obvious difference is the object that the hero holds: sword, rope, or club. On an early fifth century red-figure stamnos attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, in Philadelphia (CIII.33; *fig.* 39), Theseus is depicted as a young beardless and nude hero to the left of a submissive Bull. The presence of the club, however, forces the viewer to question the hero's identity briefly, since it is normally an attribute of the hero Herakles (who also captured this same Bull). The composition of such scenes is almost identical to previous examples of Theseus striking. On the left stands a nude beardless male with long brown hair bound up,

⁸² Mourning women can be identified as those with their arms, either one or both, raised to the head (Iakovidis 1966, 45; Shapiro 1991). A literary description of women tearing at their hair in grief can be found in Homer's *Iliad*, 24.712. Men also use this gesture for mourning, though it is rarely illustrated on vases (Oakley 2004, 159).

⁸³ For an example of this type, see: CIII.32.

⁸⁴ For two contemporary examples of this type, see: CIII.33; CIII.34. On The Kleophrades Painter, see: *ABV* 404-405; *ARV*² 181-193, Beazley 1974; *ARFV* I 91-94.

standing in profile to the right. His right arm is slightly bent behind him, and in it he holds a long slender club. In his left arm, stretched out before him, he holds the end of a red rope, and his left leg is bent as his foot rests on top of the Bull's lowered head. His opponent is a large Bull, whom he has subdued and tied up. The Bull's head is lowered to the ground and its forelegs are bent at the knee. A red rope, held by the youth, is tied between the Bull's horns and forelegs. The youth's discarded cloak hangs above. The positioning of the male figure, who stands victorious over the Bull, is almost identical to the previously examined scenes. The identity of the hero here, taken on its own, is ambiguous, and this is possibly a deliberate choice on the part of the painter. The combination of the club and baldric with the beardless, youthful face is the detail that causes the most confusion in this scene. The act of trussing the Bull could apply to either Herakles or Theseus; however, the facial hair of the hero helps solidify the identification, since Herakles is typically depicted with a beard and Theseus without. The club is more often an attribute associated with Herakles, yet here the hero wielding a club against the Bull could be identified as Theseus.

The depiction of Theseus roping the Bull becomes standard in both red-figure vasepainting.⁸⁵ Shapiro notes the commonality of this variation, as well as its visual assimilation to religious iconography: "most of the vases do indeed depict Theseus either lassoing the Bull or tying up its legs with a rope (often in added red) the capture is preliminary to a sacrifice."⁸⁶ An example decorates an early fifth century red-figure kylix attributed to the Antiphon Painter, currently in Florence (CIII.36; *fig.* 40).⁸⁷ There are three figures in total: two men and a Bull. The far left figure is a beardless male with short dark hair wearing a red headband. The vase is

⁸⁵ Boardman 1974, Fig. 201; 1978, Fig. 213.6. The same composition appears on a metope on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (c. 490 B.C.).

⁸⁶ Shapiro 1988, 378.

⁸⁷ On the Antiphon Painter, see: ARV² 335-41; Boardman 1974, 135.

not well-preserved, but it appears that the youth is nude. In his right arm he holds the end of a taut rope. With his left hand he holds steady the shoulder of a Bull he is tying up. His left foot presses on the Bull's head. The Bull is the central figure. It lies close to the ground, head upon bent forelegs, rear raised in the air beneath a curling tail. Behind the Bull is a tree, in which rests a sheathed sword, presumably belonging to the youth himself. To the right of the Bull stands a beardless man in a himation wearing a petasos on his head. He extends his right arm towards the Bull. He holds a spear in his left hand, with its point resting on the ground at an angle. There are no inscriptions, but the figures in the scene can be identified as Theseus capturing the Bull. We can safely assume that this is Theseus rather than Herakles due to the lack of Herakles' identifying attributes, such as club or bow. Further, the hero is beardless, and the companion is not Athena but instead the same *petasos*-wearing person from the black-figured lekythos discussed above. If the context alone did not immediately indicate the appearance of Theseus, the contrast with the reverse scene aids in our identification. The scene on the reverse of this same kylix depicts Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion, his first labor. Posing a scene of Theseus and the Bull in contrast against Herakles and the Lion was common during this time period, as these were renowned heroes and commonly known episodes in Greek mythology, prevalent in the visual record.88

An unusual composition of the hero securing the Bull with rope is displayed on a late sixth century unattributed red-figure kylix now in the Vatican (CIII.36; *fig.* 40). It depicts scenes of combat – mostly dueling men. One fighting pair, however, is distinct: man versus beast. A nude beardless male with bound up long hair and a sword belted across his torso struggles with a very large Bull. His back is turned to us, but he faces right in profile. His face is partially blocked by his right shoulder. In both hands he holds the end of a red rope. His left hand is extended over

⁸⁸ The juxtaposition of these two heroes will be discussed in Chapter Five.

the back of the Bull, and his right hand lowered by the rear legs of the Bull. The Bull's head is lowered, and his eyes are bulging with rage. The rope is tied around the Bull at various points: his horn, neck, and both rear legs. To the left of this struggling pair stands a woman with long hair and long garments, holding a spear and shield with a bird emblem. Around her shoulders is an aegis. She is the goddess Athena, a patron of heroes. The male figure can be identified as either Herakles or Theseus. The youthful depiction and sword as weapon both suggest the male figure is Theseus, yet the presence of Athena and the act of binding the Bull rather than slaying it also suggest the presence of Herakles. The fighting scenes that decorate the rest of the vase do not help to provide any context regarding the identification of the hero; but, in certainty, this is not a Cycle Cup of Theseus' deeds.

We cannot help but notice the compositional similarity between each of the scenes examined so far. The hero stands on the left, dominant over the subdued Bull. Theseus is typically shown nude or partially nude while subduing the Bull, sometimes tying its legs together. We should pay careful attention to the act of tying the legs. We have seen two manners in which the hero encounters the Bull: 1) killing the Bull; and 2) trussing the Bull. It is Theseus who kills the Bull, since Herakles captures rather than kills it.⁸⁹ Yet the majority of the Theseus and Bull depictions are in accordance with the version of the myth in which he captured the Bull and brought it to the Acropolis to be sacrificed, rather than killing it on the spot.⁹⁰ The act of binding the Bull with rope seems to become the standard for Theseus. Theseus is on the left and has one knee placed on the Bull's lowered head as he ties a rope around the Bull's hind legs.

⁸⁹ On Herakles leading the Bull to sacrifice, see: van Straten 1995, 15-29. On general accounts of leading a bovine animal to sacrifice, see: Des Courtils, Gordeisen and Pariente 1996, 799-820.

⁹⁰ Pausanias 1.27.9-10; Plutarch, *Thes.* 14; Diodorus Siculus 4.59; Shaprio 1988, 373.

Unfortunately, the metope from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi depicting Theseus with the Bull is too fragmentary to use for comparison.⁹¹

Krommyon Sow

In addition to the Bull and the Minotaur, beastly opponents occur in the visual repertoire of Theseus' adventures, such as the Krommyon Sow. On the road to Athens, Theseus battles a series of antagonists, and all are male with the exception of one, a vicious Sow. On the majority of vases, the Sow's udders are a prominent feature and she is regularly attended by an old woman, Phaia.⁹² Theseus encounters her about mid-way on his journey to Athens – the Sow is the only non-human opponent Theseus faces on his journey.⁹³ Scenes of Theseus and the Sow are extremely rare on Athenian vases. They do not appear until c. 500, and even then there are only four known examples, two of which decorate Cycle Cups. The two other known examples both decorate red-figure cups dating to c. 500. One example is fragmentary (CIII.37), but the second example, a red-figure cup signed by Skythes, is complete and worthy of description (CIII.38; fig. 41ci).⁹⁴ The reverse side shows Theseus defeating a human opponent, Skiron; the composition on both sides of the vase is identical as well as the positioning, gestures and appearance of Theseus.⁹⁵ Theseus is on the left of the scene, shown striding in profile to the right. He is a beardless youth with long dark hair, and he wears a short chiton. He extends his left arm to hold down his opponent – pressing on the shoulder of Skiron on one side and holding the rope attached to the Sow's neck on the reverse. He wields a sword in his right arm, which is

⁹¹ Delphi, Archaeological Museum 391; Schefold 1992, fig. 221.

⁹² The udders leave no doubt that the beast is a sow, rather than a boar, thus eliminating confusion between this feat and Herakles' capture of the Erymanthian Boar.

⁹³ Servadei 2005, 38-39.

⁹⁴ On Skythes, see: ABV 352; ARV² 82-85, Boardman 1974, 56, 59-60.

⁹⁵ While Theseus is depicted more than once on a single cup, this does not qualify as a "Cycle Cup" of his Deeds. The juxtaposition of heroic duels on Athenian vases will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

lowered and slightly bent behind him, ready to thrust. The compositional elements and positioning of Theseus mirror those of Theseus and the Bull.

On the Cycle Cups, which will be discussed in greater detail below, Theseus is positioned to the right of the Sow in a pose similar to that of the Tyrant-Slayer Aristogeiton (CIII.39).⁹⁶ He is rendered complete with a chlamys draped over his outstretched left arm and sword held in his right arm, behind him by his side, ready to thrust.⁹⁷ The visual association of Theseus with Aristogeiton could have been seen as a reinforcement of Theseus' role as the hero of the Athenian Democracy, a subject to which we shall return.

Struggles with Men

Human foes of Theseus are practically nonexistent in Athenian vase-painting until the introduction of the Cycle Cups c. 510. Cycle Cups are introduced in the late sixth century, when vase-painters added subjects to Theseus' visual repertoire – namely those having to do with his Deeds on his journey from Troizen to Athens. The Theseus Cycle Cups transformed the image of Theseus in Greek vase-painting. The episodes are from Theseus' journey from Troizen to Athens: Prokrustes (the stretches), Skiron (the bandit who threw travelers off a cliff), Sinis (the pine-bender), and Phaia (the Sow).⁹⁸ Prior to 525 there is only one known example of Theseus fighting a male opponent (CIII.40). After 525 the representative quantity of scenes of Theseus

⁹⁶ The original statue of the Tyrant-Slayers (Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the lovers who attempted to slay both Peisistratids in 518 B.C.) by the sculptor Antenor was erected in the Agora prior to the establishment of the Athenian Democracy (between 518 and 508 B.C.), but it was destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C. A second version, sculpted by Kritios and Nesiotes, was erected in 477/6 B.C., but only Roman marble copies of the original are preserved (Pausanias I.8.5). We must assume it was the same as the lost statue erected by Antenor.

⁹⁷ For further reading on the Tyrannicides, see: Taylor 1991, esp. 78-146. On Theseus' association with the Tyrant Slayers in art of the fifth century, see: Mills 1997, 28. Some have argued that artistic representations of Herakles were the inspiration behind the striking pose of Harmodios (see: Mills 1997, 29). On the connection to Theseus, see: Carpenter 1997a.

⁹⁸ The Athenian connection to Troizen does not appear visually on vases until after 510 B.C. with the Cycle Cups, after Athenians had taken refuge in Troizen following the Persian invasion. For further discussion regarding the political implications of the sudden appearance of these subjects, see: Walker 1994, 55; Clark 2012, 75.

battling men increases to 39 examples, approximately 24.7% of the visual repertoire of Theseus on late Archaic Athenian vases. The depictions of Theseus' duels with men are often grouped together in a combined narrative fashion, comprising the adventures Theseus underwent as he traveled from Troizen to Athens. Theseus killed the bandits he encountered with their own malicious specialties. However, his encounters with Prokrustes and Skiron are picked up by the vase-painters as subjects worthy of individual attention prior to being grouped with his other adventures. Prokrustes is present on six of the nine Cycle Cups displaying the Deeds of Theseus. After Prokrustes, Skiron is the second most favored human foe of Theseus following the introduction of the Cycle Cups; he is portrayed almost the exact number of times as Prokrustes with thirteen examples dating to the late Archaic period. New opponents are found in the iconography of Theseus with the introduction of the Cycle Cups, and painters experiment with his attributes and associations. Scenes of Theseus wrestling Kerkyon do not occur on Attic vases until the Cycle Cups (c. 510).⁹⁹ They are not abundant; there are only seven known instances of Theseus defeating Kerkyon in late Archaic and early Classical Athenian vase-painting, all of which occur on Cycle Cups.

Prokrustes

Prokrustes is the only human adversary of Theseus present on Athenian red-figure vases prior to 500. Theseus' duel with Prokrustes is the most frequently featured human opponent of Theseus, comprising on average 10% of all Thesean visual representations in Athenian vasepainting after the introduction of the Cycle Cups. These seventeen examples are almost evenly distributed between black-and red-figure examples. After 500 the subject appears only on red-

⁹⁹ One of the earliest known Cycle Cups, and also one of the earliest depictions of Prokrustes, see: CIII.41.

figure vases. There are seven collected examples of Prokrustes on cups other than Cycle Cups.¹⁰⁰ These cups display Theseus and another opponent on the reverse side, often the hero and the Minotaur.¹⁰¹ In each scene, Theseus is a beardless youth wearing a short chiton or loincloth, sometimes a *petasos*, and holding the axe of Prokrustes. The composition varies for each example. One version, as seen on an early fifth century red-figure bell-krater attributed to the Altamura Painter, is similar to Theseus' defeat of both the Minotaur and the Bull. In this scene, Theseus is positioned on the left with his left arm outstretched towards his enemy, right arm bent behind him holding a weapon – the axe, in this case (CIII.42). A second version of this episode decorates a late sixth century black-figure pelike attributed to the Antimenes Painter (CIII.43).¹⁰² The scene depicts Theseus on the right of the scene, and a falling Prokrustes on the left. The youthful hero, beardless with his long hair bound, wearing only a loincloth tied at the waist, moves to the right as he twists back to face the falling nude and bearded Prokrustes. Theseus holds his right arm fully extended towards the villain, while with his left arm bent he holds onto the handle of an axe.

Skiron

Skiron is present on seven of the nine Cycle Cups displaying the Deeds of Theseus. The duel with Skiron is almost non-existent in black-figure after 500 B.C. There are only four collected examples of Skiron on other cups, one in black-figure.¹⁰³ In each one, Skiron is identified by the action in the scene and setting rather than by specific attributes; during the late sixth century, there is little variation in the composition for this subject. The tondo of a red-figure

¹⁰⁰ For examples of non-cycle cups that show Prokrustes, see: CIII.8; CIII.11, fig. 37b; CIII.14.

¹⁰¹ The juxtaposition of heroes – even if the same hero – will be explored in depth in Chapter Five.

¹⁰² On the Antimenes Painter, see: ABV 266-76; Boardman 1974, 109.

¹⁰³ For Skiron on non-cycle cups, see: CIII.43-CIII.47.

cup attributed to Douris now in Berlin shows the standard composition: Theseus, standing on the left, is in the act of throwing Skiron off a large rock (a cliff), and the man-eating turtle is present, as well (CIII.43; *fig.* 42). Douris may have been the first to introduce the turtle into this scene.¹⁰⁴ The figures are identified by inscriptions. Theseus is presented as a beardless youth who is either nude or wears a short chiton and a *petasos* on the back of his neck, traveler's garb. He grabs Skiron by the legs as he lifts him from the cliff with both hands.¹⁰⁵ The manner of defeating one's opponent using the manipulation of body weight rather than with a weapon alludes to the skill of the grappling athlete in the gymnasion. Skiron is presented as a nude bearded man. On multiple occasions his face is presented frontally to the viewer, rather than in profile.¹⁰⁶ The iconographic choice of depicting Theseus grabbing Skiron by the legs and throwing him off the cliff to which he clings does not change until c. 470. Thereafter, vase-painters begin to show Theseus instead about to strike Skiron with the foot-washing basin, yet Skiron still clings to his rock as though it would protect him, effectively removing any visual association between Theseus and wrestling.

Kerkyon

Kerkyon was a brute who forced travelers on the road to wrestle him and, as he wrestled them, killed them.¹⁰⁷ The wrestling bout between Theseus and Kerkyon is only shown in conjunction with the other Deeds of Theseus.¹⁰⁸ There is no standard composition for this subject, but in general one can expect to see two nude youths engaged in a wrestling pose, either

¹⁰⁴ Neils 1987, 93; Servadei 2005, 42.

¹⁰⁵ The term for such a throw in wrestling today is a "spear double".

¹⁰⁶ A contemporary exception to this trend is the red-figure Parade Cup by Euphronios now in Paris (CIII.48), which is decorated with the Deeds of Theseus. In this example, Theseus is also nude.

¹⁰⁷ Plato, *Laws* 796.

¹⁰⁸ The vases that show the combined Deed of Theseus are discussed infra.

"systasis", the starting position of two athletes facing and grabbing each other by the wrists, or "meson echein/labein", where one athlete has wrapped a hold around the others' waist, yet the advantage is still unclear.¹⁰⁹ The latter hold is the preferred position for this subject during the time period framed by this study (CIII.39; *fig.* 43).¹¹⁰ Frequently portrayals of heroic or epic themes vary from common representations on Parade Cups. For example: "Kerkyon, seen from behind, is left from the ground while on other contemporary representations he is still firm on his feet. On the outside, the treatment of Theseus and the Bull is unique: the hero lies on his back under the bull."¹¹¹ Theseus is said to have been the one to teach the art of wrestling to Athens, learning either from his trainer, Phorbas, or from Athena herself.¹¹² Pausanias attributes the introduction of wrestling to Theseus; in his struggle against Kerkyon it was Theseus' skill in the sport that defeated the bandit's size and strength.¹¹³ Because there are no identifying attributes, and because neither athlete is shown thrown to the ground, it is not always clear which wrestler is Theseus. When one of the grappling figures has a beard, we can assume that figure is Kerkyon, and the other beardless youth is Theseus. The only way to identify this scene is, therefore, to take into account the iconographic scheme of the vase it decorates: the Deeds of Theseus.

Sinis

Sinis was known for convincing travelers to help him bend a pine-tree to the ground, then letting go and catapulting them to their deaths. Theseus killed him in the same manner.¹¹⁴ The pine tree becomes the identifying feature for this subject in vase-painting. Scenes of Theseus

¹⁰⁹ Miller 2004, 46-50.

¹¹⁰ Poliakoff 1987, 46.

¹¹¹ Tsingarida 2009, 195.

¹¹² Philostratos, *Pictures in a Gallery* 2.32; Pindar, *Nem.* 5.89.

¹¹³ Pausanias 1.29.2; Plato, Laws 796; Tyrrell 2004, 108.

¹¹⁴ Powell 2009, 401-02.

defeating Sinis do not appear on Athenian vases until the end of the sixth century.¹¹⁵ Known occurences of this theme are few; there are only six known instances of Theseus and Sinis in late Archaic and early Classical vase-painting. All but three depictions of Theseus and Sinis are seen on Cycle Cups.¹¹⁶ Sinis appears mostly after 500, but one of the earliest known examples of Sinis appears on a late sixth century red-figure kylix attributed to the Kachrylion Painter, now in Florence (CIII.49; fig. 44).¹¹⁷ A nude and beardless Theseus is shown in profile moving to the right as he turns behind and grasps the branches of a large tree, which is to the left. Clinging to the trunk of this tree is a seated Sinis, nude and bearded. The branch of the tree is visibly bent under Theseus' pressure. The pairing of Theseus and Sinis is shown on the far left of this side of the cup, near the handle. Two other subjects decorate this side of the vase: Theseus and Kerkyon (in the center), and Theseus and Prokrustes (on the right). The entire exterior of this Cycle Cup is covered with scenes from Theseus' travel from Troizen to Athens, and Theseus' own figure is repeated in each pairing.

One such exception appears on the tondo of an early fifth century red-figure cup attributed to the Elpinikos Painter, now in Munich (CIII.50; *fig.* 45).¹¹⁸ Theseus, nude, beardless and wearing a baldric attached to a sheathed sword, stands on the right with his body frontal to the viewer, but face in profile to the left. He places his weight on his left leg as he reaches up with his left arm to grasp the branch of a tree. Theseus extends his right arm fully to his side to grab the arm of Sinis, just above his elbow. Sinis, nude and bearded, is placed on the left. He stands in profile trying to escape to the left, away from Theseus. He holds a rock above his head

¹¹⁵ The subject of Sinis becomes more frequent on Greek art after c. 475 B.C. For further reading on the iconographic attribute of Sinis, see: Böhr 2009, 18-26.

¹¹⁶ There are three known examples that show Sinis not in connection with at least two other Deeds of Theseus. The first cup includes only Sinis (CIII.50). The other two examples are vases that juxtapose the killing of Sinis with a separate Deed of Theseus on the reverse side of the vase, such as the Minotaur (CIII.13 and CIII.8). ¹¹⁷ For a discussion regarding the *eros* in the tondo of this Cycle Cup, see: Iozzo 2012, 52-62.

¹¹⁸ On the Elpinikos Painter, see ARV 86.3. ARV² 117, 119-121; Boardman 1974, 62.

with his bent right arm, prepared to use it in defense against Theseus. His feet are set against the line of the tondo, as if scrambling up the edge to run away. The trunk of a tree separates the two figures. The composition of this scene and lines of the figures pulling away from each other is seen again in the representation of Theseus and Sinis on a contemporary red-figure Cycle Cup attributed to Douris (CIII.39). The subject shares one side of a cup with that of Theseus slaying the Krommyon Sow. Douris forms a similar composition between the figures of each side, and he portrays Theseus wearing a short translucent chiton and a *petasos* hanging from the back of his neck. Sinis is not running away, but has fallen to the ground, where he clutches a rock with his right hand while Theseus tightly grasps his left wrist. The tree that Sinis used to kill his victims is included in the scenes to help identify the bandit.

Combined Struggles on Cycle Cups

The discussion will now turn to cups that combine these specific adventures of Theseus in a unified visual program.¹¹⁹ The episodes are compiled together in a continuous frieze on a single vase possibly because they took place in a short chronological span. Displaying each episode in succession creates a unique narrative technique of combined struggles, possibly influenced by a now lost epic narrative of Theseus' life and adventures, the *Theseid*.¹²⁰ Moreover, the Deeds of Theseus mimic the Labors of Herakles in that they are performed on a journey, in succession, and involve the defeat of various beastly and human foes.

There are nine extant examples of Cycle Cups during this time period (CIII.11, *figs*. 37ab; CIII.39, *figs*. 43, 46a-b; CIII.41, *figs*. 47a-b; CIII.48-49, *figs*. 44, 48a-b; CIII.51-54). One of

¹¹⁹ On the visual appearance of the Deeds of Theseus together on Athenian cups, see: Walker 1994, 50-55; Neer 2002, 154-64; von den Hoff 2002; von den Hoff 2003. On the similar combination of multiple scenes from a single event on a single cup, see: Giuliani 2013, 176-85.

¹²⁰ Schefold 1992, 175-82; Mills 1997, 19-20.

earliest is attributed to the Painter of Louvre G36, now in London, which dates to the final quarter of the sixth century (CIII.41,;*figs*. 47a-b). The obverse depicts Theseus and Prokrustes, Theseus and Kerkyon, and Theseus and the Minotaur; while the reverse side shows Theseus and the Bull, and Theseus and the Sow. In terms of a chronological "cycle," the Bull and Minotaur are episodes that take place after the journey from Troizen to Athens, and as such are out of place here. They are, however, perhaps the two most favored subject choices for Theseus' iconography. The hero is a nude and beardless youth in each scene, but neither his placement in relation to his opponent nor his gestures are similar. Each scene overlaps with the next; there is no distinct break between fighting pairs. Only the context or the employed weapon helps us to identify the individual villains who battle with Theseus. This is the only Cycle Cup that includes Theseus and the Minotaur on the exterior.¹²¹

The most complete Cycle Cup of this period, complete in that it reveals the greatest number of Theseus' Deeds, is a red-figure kylix attributed to the Codrus Painter (signed by Kachrylion as potter), from c.510-500, now in Florence (CIII.49; *figs.* 44, 48a-b).¹²² This cup is larger in diameter than the average kylix, measuring c.41cm. It is a Parade Cup, one of three to depict the Deeds of Theseus.¹²³ Theseus slaying the Minotaur decorates the tondo, but the exterior is filled with the following episodes from the adventures of Theseus: Sinis at his tree, Prokrustes on his kline, Skiron grabbing a rock, Theseus wrestling Kerkyon, and Theseus capturing the Bull. The Bull scene here is atypical from the scenes of Theseus capturing or slaying the Bull that fill the side of a vase; Theseus here stands behind the Bull, striding

¹²¹ The contemporary Cycle Cups, which date c. 510-470 B.C., sometimes include a scene of Theseus slaying the Minotaur on the tondo of the cup, displayed apart from the other Deeds. For example, see: CIII.39. 49, 52, 55. The Minotaur is not present on CIII.56.

¹²² Almost contemporary to this is the Hephaisteion at Athens, which is decorated with sculpted metopes depicting the same scenes. On the Codrus Painter, see: ARV^2 153-55; Avramidou 2011, especially 36-39. Avramidou compares the autonomous matches compiled together to metopes and friezes, since they have compositional fluidity. ¹²³ The other Parade Cups decorated with the Deeds of Theseus include: CIII.48 and CIII.52.

alongside it while grabbing it by the horn. Another complete Cycle Cup, now in London, is unusual because it does not include the defeat of Prokrustes (CIII.39; *figs.* 43, 46a-b). An early fifth century red-figure cup signed by Douris depicts the cycle of Theseus' deeds, which seem to be heavily influenced by the labors of Herakles.¹²⁴ Each of Theseus' deeds are shown together on the same vase.¹²⁵ Theseus wears a short transparent chiton, except while wrestling Kerkyon. He is positioned to the left of both Skiron and the Minotaur, but to the right of the Sow and Sinis. A cloak drapes over Theseus' extended left arm as he attacks the Sow.¹²⁶ All of his opponents are older males, nude and bearded. Athena is present to the left of this struggle with Skiron. The extant Parade Cups are decorated with scenes of a heroic and epic nature. The large surface size allowed for the vase-painters to include more detail in the scene, but perhaps the size itself reflects the heroic nature of the vessel. According to literary sources, large drinking vessels were often attributes of heroes such as Herakles and Nestor.¹²⁷

Each of the Cycle Cups containing combined struggles of Theseus is decorated in the redfigure technique – except for one lekanis lid fragment now in Paris that might have depicted the Deeds of Theseus in cyclic fashion (CIII.51). The Deeds presented include three or four of Theseus defeating a human opponent, and one or two of Theseus defeating beasts. Of the subject shown, the Bull is the only subject present that did not mythologically take place during Theseus' travel from Troizen to Athens. The Minotaur, when present, typically decorates the interior tondo of the cup. The separation of this scene from the others follows the mythological chronology, as the event took place after Theseus had arrived in Athens, and the Deeds depicted took place during his travel to Athens from Troizen. The image of Theseus is not identical

¹²⁴ For Douris, see: Buitron-Oliver 1976; Avramidou 2011, 36-38.

¹²⁵ Almost contemporary to this is the Hephaisteion at Athens, which is decorated with sculpted metopes depicting the same scenes.

¹²⁶ The same positioning of Theseus with the cloak draped over his arm is depicted, again, on CIII.51.

¹²⁷ Homer, *Il.* XI.637; Athenaeus, *Deip.* XI.469d; Robertson 1992, 85-86; Tsingarida 2009, 195.

among the Cycle Cups; oftentimes, his appearance on a single vase is inconsistent, according to dress or hair color. One cohesive theme, however, is a victorious athletic youthful hero. Theseus is beardless and nude except for the Douris Cup (CIII.39), on which he wears a transparent chiton for some of the episodes. Theseus wields an axe, a sword, or is shown with his hands bare. In some scenes he wears a *petasos* on the back of his neck. He has dark hair in all instances, except one, where Theseus appears next to the Bull in the earliest example by the Painter of Louvre G36, now in London (CIII.41). There is neither a standard pose for Theseus nor a standard gesture that he uses while attacking his opponent. He is positioned on either the left or the right of the villain; there is no canonical composition to identify. The subjects themselves are identified by the context of the cup as a whole (Deeds of Theseus) by either the setting, mode of combat, or attributes.

The Cycle Cups were produced during a limited time span of only a few decades (c.510-470). They appear suddenly, introducing new subjects such as Kerkyon, and a new manner of depicting a set of adventures, thus setting Theseus apart from other major heroes such as Herakles, or heroes from epic poetry such as Ajax and Achilles. Yet at the same time, the Cycle Cups bind Theseus to those very heroes. The similarity between Theseus' Deeds and Herakles' Labors are apparent among the visual similarities observed among the combined struggles portrayed on a single large Parade Cup.

Struggles with Women

Theseus is not only known for his victories against bandits and monsters, but also for being a lover of women; he is portrayed whisking them away (or, in some cases, leaving them behind, such as Ariadne). Theseus stole a number of famous women, including Helen and Antiope.¹²⁸ Theseus as a womanizer has little prevalence in the Athenian vase repertoire, with examples occurring mainly in the fifth century in the red-figure technique. Scenes of Theseus pursuing a woman appear more frequently in red-figure than in black, and comprise only 4-5% of the entire Thesean repertoire. Antiope is most frequently shown in vase-painting of the late Archaic and early Classical periods, and her subject choice blends the line between "pursuer of women" and "Theseus as a heroic victor," since she is an Amazon. Of the eight collected examples of Theseus seizing women during the late Archaic period, five of them feature Antiope (CIII.57-CIII.60). The earliest example is on a late sixth century red-figure cup attributed to Euphronios, now in London (CIII.57; fig. 49). The cup depicts three separate scenes of Theseus and women (the obverse, reverse, and tondo). The tondo shows Theseus, beardless with long hair, playing a lyre while confronted by Ariadne (named). The reverse of the exterior depicts two nude youths on horses framing a standing male (Theseus?) and female. The obverse exterior scene includes a quadriga on the left, into which steps Theseus, beardless with short hair. In his right arm he grabs the reins and whip; he wraps his left arm around the waist of Antiope, while in his left hand he grasps the same reins and two spears. Theseus wears a breastplate and mantle over his shoulder and greaves. Antiope wears the zig-zag dress of a Phrygian, and in her left arm holds a bow. Two bearded warriors follow on foot, the far right one looks backwards over his shoulder. Theseus and Herakles both fought Amazons, yet the manner in which their encounters are represented on vases sets them apart. Theseus is presented against the Amazons not as the violent fighter, but rather as the aggressive lover. Similar to Zeus abducting Ganymede, or Hades taking Persephone, here Theseus is represented as the dominant male seizing the object of his desire.

¹²⁸ On Theseus' aspect as the "lover," see: Neils 1981, 177-79. On the iconography of Theseus' rape of Helen in ancient Greek art, see: Cohen 2007, 263-67.

Iconographic Allusions to Herakles

As noted in Chapter Two, Herakles was a popular hero to portray on vases throughout the sixth century, but with the rise of the red-figure technique, we also see an increase in representations of Theseus on Athenian vases.¹²⁹ Theseus resembles Herakles as a traveling hero with a historical narrative and a fixed set of Deeds against monsters and men. Scholars have suggested that Theseus becomes "the Athenian alternative to Heracles" after 510 B.C.¹³⁰ The new Deeds of Theseus appear to mimic or allude to those of Herakles: Theseus wrestles men as Herakles wrestles men, although Theseus uses his skill and Herakles relies on his strength. Theseus and Herakles both battle against Centaurs and Amazons. Further, Theseus resembles Herakles on Greek vases as a wielder of a club and the tamer of the Bull. Does the iconography of Theseus also imitate that of Herakles?

Club-Bearer

The holder of a club is not always Herakles. While the club is without question an attribute of Herakles, it is not completely out of place for Theseus to have a club as his weapon. With the introduction of the Cycle Cups of Theseus around 510, new subjects were added to his visual collection, including Periphetes, the "club-wielder". Theseus' first enemy encounter on the road to Athens from Troizen in Epidauros was with Periphetes, the "club-wielder," who used a metal club to kill people on the road.¹³¹ Theseus slayed him and, according to both Euripides and

¹²⁹ On the relationship between Theseus and Herakles, and Theseus and Athens, see: Schefold 1992, 163-82; Barringer 2005, 211-41. On the assimilation of Theseus' deeds to Herkales' in art, see: Taylor 1991, 36-39; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 24.

¹³⁰ Walker 1994, 51.

¹³¹ Periphetes is named after his main weapon/attribute, the club. "Periphetes" literally translates to "club-holder." See: Walker 1994, 66; Clark 2012, 75.

Plutarch, took his club and later used it as his own. In some examples of Theseus in fifth-century vase-painting the hero does, in fact, carry a club. Because this weapon was associated with that of the great hero, Herakles, it was perhaps intended to mimic him symbolically. The capture of the Bull of Marathon also imitates Herakles' encounter with the Cretan Bull, which is the same Bull in the mythological narrative. It is probable that the club should appear in the Marathonian Bull scene not only because it is an adventure similar to the one of Herakles, but also because it is one that demands a weapon powerful enough to tame a large, raging animal.¹³² The club held by Theseus is long and wavy, and very unlike the typical thick knobby club so often held by Herakles.¹³³ Thus, the presence of the club alone does not necessarily indicate Herakles; however, the combination of the club and the youthful face gives us good reason to question whether or not the hero is Theseus.

Bull-Tamer

The myth of the Bull links the iconography of the heroes Herakles and Theseus in late Archaic and early Classical vase-painting. The Bull – with either Herakles or Theseus capturing it – is represented more frequently on black-figure vases than on red-figure ones between their first appearances, c.530 and 500. After 500, Herakles is seen primarily on black-figure vases, yet red-figure vase-painters prefer to pair the Bull with Theseus, as almost the entirety of his fifth century vases with the Bull decorate red-figure examples. Both heroes, Herakles and Theseus, contended with this same Bull (Herakles to simply capture and relocate; Theseus to capture and drive to sacrifice), and both episodes are represented on late Archaic Athenian vases. Only subtle

¹³² In modern circuses, large whips have been the common tool for training large felines, as used by Clyde Beatty in the mid-1920s (along with a pistol and a large chair). However, the very first American lion tamer, Isaac Van Amburgh in 1833, routinely beat the animal into submission by means of a crowbar (see: Thayer 2005, Part II).
¹³³ For example, see CIII.33.

iconographic differences – and context – have helped distinguish the hero as either Herakles or Theseus. The identity of the hero is often uncertain, however, and only tentatively identified as one hero or the other, the reasons for which will soon be discussed. Moreover, the Athenian vase-painters assimilate Theseus, the new favorite Athenian hero, to Herakles in the Bull scenes by giving Theseus a club to hold and a Bull to fight – the very same Bull Herakles captured while in Crete. In this manner the vase-painters create a conscious ambiguity between the two heroes, perhaps even allowing the viewer to choose which hero resonates best, since both Herakles and Theseus held much importance for Athenians at this time.

Politically, the fifth century was the age of Theseus as the national hero. When Theseus sought out the Bull on the plains of Marathon, he did not kill it right away, but rather captured it and brought it back to Athens for sacrifice on the Acropolis, the ultimate religious act. Thus the story connects Theseus and the Bull to Athens. Herakles' capture of the same Bull in Crete has no such Athenian associations. Herakles brought the Bull back to King Eurystheus in Mycenae, after which the Bull found its way to Marathon. One could reason that an image of this specific animal would automatically find resonance with an Athenian, and call to mind their hero Theseus. The bull was a costly animal for sacrifice, and popularly depicted in Greek art, whether as a sacrificial victim, alone, or in a mythological struggle with either Theseus or Herakles.¹³⁴ Theseus went on to capture the Bull at Marathon, and according to Plutarch, Theseus was said to have helped at the Battle of Marathon against the Persians. Thus, in the fifth century, after 490, the Bull then might also symbolize, in some respect, the Greek victory over the Persians.

In the most extreme interpretation, the Bull itself could become an attribute of Theseus, rendering all tentative Herakles identifications disputable. The identity of the hero in art is often unsure, but what is certain is that the episode with this particular Bull – whether captured by one

¹³⁴ Cattle cost from about 40-90 drachmae a head. On the cost of a Bull, see: van Straten 1995, 50, 54, 176-77.

hero or another – suddenly appears on Athenian (black-figure) vases. The Athenian vase-painters assimilate Theseus, the new favorite Athenian hero, to Herakles in the Bull scenes by giving Theseus a club to hold and a Bull to fight. According to Pausanias, Theseus sacrificed the Bull to Athena, who is present in many representations of Theseus and the Bull. However, Athena is most often the favored divine companion of Herakles, not Theseus, and the act of binding the Bull with rope in order to capture it also indicates that the hero could be Herakles.

Theseus is typically presented partially nude while subduing the Bull, sometimes tying its legs together. Herakles, on the other hand, is often, but not always, portrayed bearded and often fully nude while subduing the Bull. By showing Theseus wielding a club, the vase-painters enforce an obscure identification of the hero, leaving it up to the viewer to determine which figure is represented since both Herakles and Theseus held much importance for Athenians at this time. It is also possible that the artists developed a generic way to depict a composition of a man "battling the Bull," making the dispute of whether the hero is Theseus or Herakles irrelevant. After the initial composition, the choice of hairstyle, clothing, or attributes – and background and companions – is entirely left to the discretion of the vase-painter. And, in effect, the identification of the hero becomes debatable. However, it is likely that Theseus is the hero in the Bull scenes.

Possible Political Implications

Can vase-painting iconography reflect contemporary political situations?¹³⁵ The possibility of political influence on both art and cult must be considered. Mythology has a function, often aetiological, and changed political circumstances may explain a change in a

¹³⁵ Refer back to Chapter 2, footnote 35, for first mention of the discussion regarding Herakles as a political figure.

hero's allegiance or function. Major events - or crises - no doubt had an effect on religion and perhaps also on art. The period in question was rife with wars and a changing political climate. Does crisis alone lead to an increase in the popularity of hero worship? People in need yearn for a hero, after all. Heroes play a "more direct role of the hero in 'saving' and 'benefiting' the community – that is, in a crisis, normally the city as a whole."¹³⁶ During a crisis, or war, a city's people often look to their heroes (which are localized – specific to each city) to play a direct role in aiding the community. Heroes are mentioned frequently in the histories as having intervened during war; they even appear – on the battlefield, like at the Battle of Marathon with Theseus, Marathon, Herakles, Kallimachos, Miltiades, and Echetlos/Echetlaios.¹³⁷ The Kleisthenic Reforms in 508/7 are possibly the best (Athenian) example of the state's role in (hero) cult development. No new cults were established by Kleisthenes; all heroes worshipped at this time were the objects of pre-existing cults. Unfortunately, pitifully little is known about these cults before the Reforms. Though the heroes remained the same, their functions and statuses may have changed considerably, reflected by the significance of their hero-cults. One major alteration in religion and hero cult brought about by Kleisthenes was the creation of the Ten Eponymous heroes, chosen to represent the Attic gene. The Attic gene provide large body of evidence -"groups based in some manner on kinship ... claiming descent from a common ancestor who is worshipped as a hero."¹³⁸ Are the Eponymoi more significant in terms of Athenian mythology than as an actual cult?¹³⁹ Is this a political move, stressing Attic synoecism with the creation of the Eponymoi? Kearns explains how a "changed political situation has added new religious

¹³⁶ Kearns 1989, 44.

¹³⁷ Plutarch, *Thes.* 35; Pausanias I.15.3, I.32.3, 5.

¹³⁸ Kearns 1989, 65; Parker 1996, 61, 118.

¹³⁹ Demosthenes 60.27ff.

functions to be filled, and the cult in its turn acts as a guarantee of the political system."¹⁴⁰ With this in mind, political changes were arguably reflected in art and evidently in architectural sculpture.

The large number of festivals and rituals that honor or include Theseus attest to his heightened significance in Athens; the cult of Theseus, newly formed after the unification of Athens, "was restricted to Athens itself."¹⁴¹ Kearns argues accordingly that the creation of a historical narrative for Theseus was based on a "desire for a heroic figure who would express in himself the developed forms and ideals of Athenian political life."¹⁴² During the first quarter of the fifth century, immediately following the Reforms, the image of Theseus on vases "rises in popularity and almost comes to equal Heracles ... the rise in the frequency of Attic vases depicting Theseus coincides with the restoration of the republic."¹⁴³ Sarkady begins the discussion of heroes used for political purposes by arguing that Theseus as the founder of the Athenian synoecism is an invention of the period of Peisistatros.¹⁴⁴ Cook is skeptical of Boardman's argument that images of Herakles during the sixth century were political propaganda issued by Peisistratos, especially due to the absence of any evidence connecting Peisistratos to a cult of Herakles.¹⁴⁵ Shapiro is not convinced by Boardman's strictly political interpretation of Herakles as Peisistratid tyranny and Theseus as Themistoclean democracy.¹⁴⁶ Kearns (1989) leans toward the view that Theseus had little importance in Athens before the last

¹⁴⁰ Kearns 1989, 86.

¹⁴¹ Walker 1994, 21.

¹⁴² Kearns 1989, 120.

¹⁴³ Walker 1994, 50.

¹⁴⁴ Sarkady 1969, 1-10; Queyrel 2003, 41-69.

¹⁴⁵ Cook 1987, 167-69; Boardman 1989, 158-59.

¹⁴⁶ See footnote 133. Also refer back to Chapter 2, footnote 34.

third of the sixth century, based on the lack of evidence for widespread cult as well as visual representation other than Theseus and the Minotaur.¹⁴⁷

Both Kearns and Shapiro make pertinent contributions to the discussion of the political allegiance towards one hero or another by Peisistratos, or Kleisthenes, because the evidence reveals that Theseus appears frequently in art during the Peisistratid reign, even earlier as an Athenian hero on the François Vase (he is depicted not slaying the Minotaur but leading the children of Athens to Delos and safety). Also, many vases (and monumental buildings with architectural sculpture, such as the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Hephaisteion in Athens) depict the two heroes working together. The myths themselves reflect the corresponding congeniality of the two heroes. The deeds of Theseus may certainly be an invention of the Peisistratids that do seem to reflect or mimic those of Herakles (Bull, Amazonomachy, *llioupersis*, more animals, going to Hades, etc.), but the fact is the two heroes are shown amicably. Theseus is not shown in contrast to Herakles, he is not cast as someone to replace the Panhellenic hero, though it would appear that he did so – at least in Athens – for a short while.

General Conclusions

In considering the evidence from Greek vases, the late Archaic period saw a shift in preference from beastly foes to human antagonists.¹⁴⁸ The newly presented visual subject matter for Theseus reflects this trend as this particular hero appears defeating adversaries of the anthropomorphic sort in addition to the animals and hybrid creatures he defeats. What is

¹⁴⁷ Kearns 1989, 169.

¹⁴⁸ Shapiro 1990, 135; Walker 1994, 72-73.

common among all subjects is that Theseus is paired in duel formation (attacking), and often surrounded by (mortal) supporters. Athena is patroness of major Athenian heroes and, of course, the patron deity of Athens.¹⁴⁹ Athena's presence as the hero's protectress is prevalent during this time period and she quickly becomes a constant companion for Theseus. It is interesting to note that the decline of the visual representation of Theseus on vases correlates with the increased importance of Theseus as an Athenian cult hero after c. 500.

On vases, Theseus is consistently represented as a nude graceful youth, beardless and engaged in contests of strength and cunning. He is presented as a young male during the sixth century when he is known only as the slayer of the Minotaur, and he remains youthful during the fifth century as he makes his way from Troizen to Athens. While there is no attribute to identify him specifically as the hero Theseus, the identification of the other figures present affirm the identity of the idealized youth. An assessment of the appearance, poses, and context of the majority of Thesean scenes determines his typical appearance: Theseus, like Herakles, is a combative athlete – his poses and gestures mimic those of Athenian athletes of pankration, wrestling, and boxing.¹⁵⁰ It should be noted that for both Herakles and Theseus; and the Bull follows closely for both). It has been noted in the previous chapter that Herakles is almost always shown with his right arm held down behind him and bent at the elbow holding a weapon, with the left arm extended grasping, or pointing to, his foe. His legs are splayed, the front leg bent and the back leg extended. This is the same pose adopted by one of the Tyrant-Slayers in the late

¹⁴⁹ On Athena as the patron deity of heroes, see: Bowden-Rawlings 2005, 48; Servadei 2005, 126-33; Deacy 2008, esp. Ch. 4. On Athena as the patron deity of Athens, see: Deacy 2008, Ch. 5; 2010, 224-31.

¹⁵⁰ On the iconography of ancient athletics and combat, see: Poliakoff, 1987; Gardiner 2002; Neils-Tracy 2003; Miller 2004; Tyrrell 2004; Smith 2012, 544-53.

Archaic/early Classical representations.¹⁵¹ In the majority of vase-painting scenes that depict Theseus, the painter replicates this stance. The hero stands to the left of his opponent with his left arm extended forward and right arm ready to strike. While Herakles tends to wield a weapon high behind his head, ready to strike, Theseus wields his weapon low behind his body, ready to thrust. Theseus, however, is not always portrayed in this manner. Since his iconography (image and attributes) varies, the context of the scene (or inscriptions) more often identifies the hero. The Cycle Cups solely belong to Theseus, and in them he defies the iconic placement of the victor on the left. He is shown in many different poses and placements (right, left, standing, kneeling, wrestling), and also fluctuates depiction (light hair, dark hair, long hair, short hair, weaponless, sword, club etc.).

The poses and gestures of Theseus as he defeats various foes and the general depictions of wrestlers on vases overlap iconographically. The compositions resemble those of contemporary representations of athletes wrestling, facing-off nude and hunched over while grabbing each other's wrists, waist, or even neck (since those are the vantage points by which one will gain control over the other). It is an iconographic conflation of the realistic with the mythological, not only reaffirming Theseus' skill as a wrestler, but making his ideal a more approachable goal for the viewer, the Athenian citizen.

Theseus is presented as the ideal youth: he is victorious in his Struggles against beasts and bandits, and he defeats them using his skill acquired in the gymnasion. He is not only an Athenian hero, but the hero of Athens; his defeat of the Minotaur marks the culmination of that title as he saves the city's children. By equating his Deeds with the Labors of Herakles, both structurally and visually, Theseus attains a Panhellenic status while rendering Herakles more

¹⁵¹ Naples, National Archaeological Museum G103-4. H. 1.95. On the image of the Tyrant Slayers, see: Brunnsaker 1955; Boardman 1985, fig. 3; Taylor 1991; Carpenter 1997a; Mills 1997, 28.

Athenian. These effects cause us to question the ways in which the iconography of one hero influences that of another, and we will return to this query in the following chapters.

AJAX: CULT, MYTH, AND EPIC STRUGGLES

-IV-

Introduction

Ajax was a hero of Homeric epic who had cult centers in Attica, but the visual representations of this hero only include scenes from his mythological narrative. The heroes from epic literature are those who are most commonly depicted in Greek vase-painting.¹ Heroes began to appear in the art of Greece in the eighth century, the same date scholars propose for the beginning of hero cult, as well as epic poetry.² Definitive representations of Homeric scenes first appear in the late seventh century, but iconography reflecting the Homeric poems as we know them does not occur until the sixth century.³ The primary reason why other heroes from the epic saga, such as Odysseus, Menelaos, and even Helen, are not the focus of this study is their lack of representation in vase-painting and other arts during the late Archaic and early Classical periods.⁴ Achilles did not have a cult site at Athens, though he was a prominent mythological

¹ On the visual representations of Iliadic imagery, see: Anderson 2001, 105-246; Burgess 2001, 53-94, Appendix B; Erskine 2001, 48-58.

² Snodgrass 1998, 12-13; Coldstream 2003, 341-43.

³ On the relationship between the visual representation of the epic poems and the poetry itself, see: Hedreen 2001, 3-12; Ready 2007, 111-40.

⁴ Most Trojan subjects were derived from other parts of the Epic Cycle besides the Iliad (and seldom the Odyssey). Several of the Trojan and Greek warriors (Achilles, Ajax, Hektor, Menelaos) are all strongly individual, both in poetic sources and in their artistic depictions. However, the Trojan Cycle as a whole does not appear in force in Attic art until the second half of the sixth century. There is a sudden interest in Trojan themes in Athens in the years around 560 B.C. Some that begin twenty or more years later and then become favorites are the dice game of Achilles and Ajax, Achilles and Penthesilea, and Aeneas carrying his elderly father, Anchises. These subjects are

figure in Athenian art.⁵ Thus, Achilles is discussed here only in his relation to Ajax as it appears on the vases.

The Homeric epics could be seen as both mythological fantasy as well as historical narrative. Matthew Clark argues that the Greeks did not distinguish between history and myth the way we do, that the epics "were not myths in the modern sense of the word myth."⁶ Figures from the epic tradition were not simply mythological heroes, and many were honored with cult rites all over the Greek world from as early as the eighth century.⁷ Trojan War figures and their stories were Panhellenic, as were Herakles and Theseus; they were known and revered throughout the Greek world and not limited to a specific locality. According to Junker, myths have "no individual author, but [are] the anonymous possession of a cultural community, one which is transmitted and kept alive in that community over a long period."⁸ While the Panhellenic myths would have reflected the interest of all Greeks, the heroes and myths that belonged to more specific localities reflected specific ritual and detail of belief. Thus, a locale could elevate its importance through the ownership of a local mythological figure who was also recognized throughout the Greek world.⁹

The role of Athens at Troy was minimal, according to the epic tradition, with only a brief mention in the Catalogue of Ships.¹⁰ All the same, the Athenians considered their role at Troy a source of pride and decorated their vases and monumental buildings with scenes from the Trojan War, including the fifth century artistic program on the Acropolis. Ferrari has shown that verses

more common in Attica than elsewhere. For further reading on the Trojan Cycle in Greek art, see: Johansen 1967; Shapiro 1990, 126-36; and Hedreen 2001.

⁵ Cult sites of Achilles exist primarily around the Black Sea. On the cult of Achilles, see: Herodotus 5.94; Pliny *HN* 5.125; Hedreen 1991, 313-30; Burgess 2003, 33.

⁶ Clark 2012, 6.

⁷ Jones 2010, 14.

⁸ Junker 2012, 25.

⁹ On heroes as possessions of a specific community, see: Clark 2012, 14; Junker 2012, 25.

¹⁰ Homer, *Il*. 2.546-56.

inscribed on three herms that commemorated Kimon's siege of Eion, a Persian fortress, in 476/5 B.C., "explicitly claimed the heroes who fought at Troy as the antecedents of contemporary [Athenian] heroes."¹¹ Athens and Athenian leaders used these epic figures for their own political and strategic manipulation by "claiming descent from some figure we would term mythical" present in the epic literature.¹² Of the major Trojan War heroes, Menelaos and Ajax were also Attic heroes.¹³

This chapter provides an analysis of the iconography of Ajax, a glorified figure from epic poetry who is present in the events before, during, and after the Trojan War.¹⁴ It summarizes, surveys, and analyzes the general iconography of the late Archaic vase-painting, paying special attention to the compositions, themes, and frequency of this hero's depictions. After presenting a brief overview of the cult and myth of Ajax as it pertains to Athens, it provides an analysis of the iconography of this hero on vase-painting of the Athenian late Archaic period. The following visual analysis first examines the appearance of Ajax scenes during the second half of the sixth century, and then reviews the individual subjects, noting canonic and unusual representations. In keeping with the dissertation as a whole, this chapter examines key aspects of Ajax's iconography and compositional subjects that depict a struggle, either physical or, in the specific case of Ajax, internal and/or emotional. The discussion of his iconography will consider the dress, attributes, gestures and poses, and the context and composition of the scene itself. The primary focus is to examine the immediate iconography of the heroic figure himself, then the

¹¹ Ferrari 2000, 119.

¹² Higbie 1997, 293.

¹³ See the lists by Kearns 1989, 141-42, 185. See also: Whitley 1994, 226. There is no record of any cult centers in Attica for either Odysseus or Achilles.

¹⁴ On the visual record of Ajax, see: *LIMC*, s.v. "Aias I". On the visual role of Ajax in the Trojan Cycle on vases, see: Shapiro 1990; Woodford 1993; Anderson 1995; Hedreen 2001. On Exekias' preference for Ajax as a subject, see: Boardman 1978, 24; Moore 1980, 417-34; Shapiro 1981, 173-75. On the hero cult and politics of Ajax in Athens, see: Shapiro 1989, 143-57. On Ajax in Greek literature, see: Mills 1981, 129-35; Finkelberg 1988, 33; Evans 1991, 61-85; Anderson 1997; Taplin 2007; Langridge-Noti 2009, 125-33; Mariscal 2011, 394-401.

context within the scenes, and finally to take into account the subject matter – especially in cases where context is seemingly the only manner of identification for the hero.

Cult of Ajax

Ajax had a cult center in Athens, but he was not originally an Athenian hero.¹⁵ His original cult was located on the island Salamis. Ajax is an ancient cultic figure, and "before the battle of Salamis, all the Greeks prayed to Aias and his father."¹⁶ Called "Salaminian Ajax" by Homer, Ajax had a temple and a statue on Salamis, where he received heroic honors, as well as a festival celebrated in his honor.¹⁷ Athens appropriated the cult of this epic hero as its own during the late sixth century, honoring Ajax with religious rites.¹⁸ According to Herodotus a statue of him was dedicated in the Athenian Agora.¹⁹ Homer mentions Salaminian Ajax, saying "Ajax, from Salamis, led 2,000 ships."²⁰ Ajax, who in post-Homeric legend is described as the grandson of Aiakos and the great-grandson of Zeus, was the tutelary hero of the island of Salamis, near Athens, where he had a temple and an image, and where a festival called *Aianteia* was celebrated in his honor.²¹ In fact, the tomb of Ajax is located beneath his temple in the agora of Salamis (an

¹⁵ For Ajax as hero of Salamis, see: Farnell 1921, 305-9; Tracy 1979, 174-79. For Ajax as one of the ten tribal heroes of Athens, an aspect of the hero that was instituted in the late sixth century, see: Kron 1976, 171-76. On the two cults of Ajax, see: Kearns 1989, 81-82, 141-42.

¹⁶ Herodotos 8.64; Kerenyi 1959, 325.

¹⁷ *Il.* 2.557, 13.177, 15.745; Kearns 1989, 141-42; Larson 2007, 199. On the Aianteia at Salamis, see: Deubner 1932, 228; Culley 1977, 294-96; Mikalson 1998, 183.

¹⁸ Other Epic heroes who had a similar treatment by Athens were: Kastor and Polydeukes (known collectively as the Dioskouroi); and Demophon and Akamas. These four heroes (generally shown not individually but in their respective pairings) have minimal representation in the visual record. The acquisition of these heroes by Athens is discussed below in connection with how Athens "acquired" non-local heroes as their own for strategic political maneuvers. On the separation of heroes of epic and heroes of cult, see: Nagy 1979; Burkert 1985, 203; Nagy 1990, 143; Currie 2005.

 ¹⁹ Herodotos 5.66; Higbie 1997, 295.
 ²⁰ Homer, *Il.* 2.557 (translation by author).

²¹ Kearns 1989, 141. For Salaminian nationality of Ajax, see: Homer, *Il.* 2.557, 7.199; Herodotos 5.66.

island very near the port of Athens) where he received heroic honors.²² An ebony statue of Ajax once stood in the market place of Salamis, where he was worshipped.²³ Herodotus writes that the Salaminians believed Ajax fought with them against the Persians in the Battle of Salamis in 480 B.C and after they dedicated a captured trireme to him as thanks.²⁴ Ajax received votive offerings worthy of a god, including three Phoenician ships, while only two ships were dedicated to Poseidon at Sounion and Isthmia.²⁵

The cult of Ajax in Athens may trace its origins as far back as the time of Solon, when Athens appropriated rule over Salamis from Megara.²⁶ Salamis was probably first colonized by Aegina and later occupied by Megara, but became an Athenian possession in the time of either Solon or Peisistratos, following Athens' attack on Megara for possession of Salamis on and off between 600 and 540 B.C.²⁷ A cult to Athena Aiantis began during or immediately following the Kleisthenic reforms, linking the hero of epic to the patron deity of the city, Athena.²⁸ The Athenian cult to Ajax most likely began during the sixth century following a quarrel with Megara, who also had a cult of Athena Aiantis.²⁹ Ajax received cult honors in Athens itself after he became one of the "Eponymous" heroes in 508/7 B.C. under the Kleisthenic Reforms. Kleisthenes reformed the Athenian constitution in an effort to make it more democratic. He attempted to unite the four tribes of Attica by arranging them into ten groups, or *phyle*, each of

²² Pausanias 1.35.3, 5. For the recent excavation reports on Salamis, and for claims that Mycenaean Palatial construction on Salamis were associated with (or even belonged to) Ajax, see: Lolos 2012, 2-10; 2013, 2-10.

²³ Pausanias 1.35.3; Kerenyi 1959, 325.

²⁴ Herodotos 8.64, 121.

²⁵ Herodotos 8.121.1; Mikalson 2003, 129.

²⁶ Early sixth century B.C. On the role of Solon and Megara, see: Shapiro 1989, 155.

²⁷ ODCW, s.v. "Salamis;" Bromiley 1995, 562; OCD, s.v. "Salamis," 1309. On Solon's involvement in the early rivalry between Athens and Megara for Salamis, see: Plutarch *Solon* 8.1-3, 9; McCauley 2002; Queyrel 2003, 31-40.
²⁸ For more detailed information of this cult, see: Kearns 1989, 141. Much of the evidence for this elaborate festival, however, is much later, dating from the celebration in the second century A.D., during which time they included a procession, sacrifice, gymnastic competition, torch-race and boat-race, with the special participation of the ephebes – an elaborate festival for a hero.

²⁹ See: Pausanias 1.42.4. For a discussion on the acquisition and transition of the cult, and the initial dispute over Megara, see: French 1957, 238-46; McCauley 1999, 85-98; Cargill 1995, 3-8.

which had a patron hero. Each *phyle* was named for its hero; thus the heroes were "Eponymous."³⁰ Ajax was the only well-known figure of myth as well as the only non-local hero included among the Eponymous heroes of Attica.³¹ In Athens, his cult site was centered in the shrine of his son Eurysakes. According to Shapiro, inscriptions imply that the cult of Ajax:

was located in or near the Agora, and it has reasonably been supposed that it was within the temenos of Ajax's son Eurysakes on Kolonos Agoraios ... thus it lay outside the territory of the Kleisthenic tribe named for Ajax, implying that it must already have existed on that site before 508.³²

The group received a dedicatory statue in the Athenian Agora, but each eponymous hero was worshipped at various sites both within and outside Athens.³³ Shapiro notes how the appropriation of the cult of Ajax from Salamis by Athens "offers the most striking example of the political use of hero-cult in Athens."³⁴ Ajax's association with the Aiakos family occurred only after Salamis came into Athenian possession, after which the possession of his cult became a matter of politics.³⁵

Ajax was not readily identified as Aiakid in Homer; this lineage is a later phenomenon.³⁶

The Homeric lines in the Catalogue of Ships that mention the phalanxes from Athens that were

also led by Ajax have been thought by many scholars of philology to be a later Athenian

interpolation "intended to legitimate the annexation of Salamis by Athens" as noted by

³⁰ *OCD*, s.v. "Cleisthenes," 330; s.v. "eponymoi," 529-30; Kearns 1989, 80-92. On The Democratic Reforms of Cleisthenes, see: Queyrel 2003, 71-80.

³¹ Shear 1970, 145.

³² Shapiro 1989, 154; Mikalson 1998, 183.

³³ For ancient sources on the ten Eponymous heroes, see: Herodotos 5.66.2, Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 21.6, 53.4, Pausanias 1.5.2-4. Also see: Kearns 1989, 80-92; Jones 2010, 19.

³⁴ Shapiro 1989, 143. The Dioskouroi, heroes from Sparta also provide an excellent example of Athenian appropriation of cult for political reasons. Julia Kindt, when discussing the Athenian use of property of the Thirty Tyrants in religious processions, concludes that the symbolism of Greek religion and the negotiation of socio-political power are intrinsically involved (2012, 89).

³⁵ Shapiro 1989, 154.

³⁶ West 1985, 162; Higbie 1997, 293-94.

Finkelberg.³⁷ The hero was the one prominent figure from the Trojan War saga to have a cult center in Attica, thus defining him as a cultic hero as well as a major mythological figure.

Mythology of Ajax

The mythology of Ajax is best known in the Trojan War epics, particularly the *Aethiopis* and the *Little Iliad*.³⁸ Tragic playwrights of the Classical period show an interest in the episodes described in the epic poems, focusing on the isolation of Homeric Ajax, the hero doomed to betray his fellow Greeks and kill himself rather than live in a world whose terms he cannot accept.³⁹ Ajax's biographical narrative focuses on the events immediately during the ten years at Troy and until his suicide immediately after. Homer describes Ajax, the hero from Salamis, as "Telamonian" or "Greater" Ajax, a mighty Achaian warrior.⁴⁰ A son of Telamon, Ajax is deemed the "mightiest" of the Achaians, second only to Achilles among all the Greeks at Troy.⁴¹ Homer repeatedly describes Ajax as a warrior of great stature (cf. *Il.* 3.229), having a colossal frame and the strongest of all the Achaians: "without the protecting presence of the goddess

³⁷ Homer, *Il*. 2.558-59; Finkelberg 1988, 31.

³⁸ On the fragmentary evidence from these epics, see: Gantz 1993, 629-35; Garvic 1998, 1-6.

³⁹ Both Aeschylus and Sophocles wrote plays concerning the story of Ajax. The relationship between vase-painting and tragedy is one which has been thoroughly explored beginning with John Huddilston (1898) and continuing on to the informative study by Oliver Taplin (2007). On the Classical reception of Homer's "Ajax" as seen in tragedy, see: Knox 1961, 1-37; Seaford 1994; Segal 1998, 16-25; 1999, 109-50; Finglass 2011, 11-27; Nooter 2012, 31-55. ⁴⁰ Homer, *II*. 3.229.

⁴¹ Homer, *Il*. 17.292.

Athene he strode like Ares into battle [*Il*. 7.208]."⁴² The hero was trained by the centaur Chiron, who was also tutor to Achilles.⁴³

Ajax is present in some of the most significant episodes in the Trojan War, and is described as vicious, fearless, strong and powerful but also possessing a high level of combat intelligence. In Book 15 of the *Iliad*, Hector leads the Trojans into the Greek camp and attacks the ships. Ajax, wielding an enormous spear as a weapon and leaping from ship to ship, holds off the Trojan armies virtually single-handedly. This is just one example of his many super-human feats during the Trojan War. The hero also appears in the fight for the body of Patroklos, the rescue of the corpse of Achilles, and quarrels with Odysseus.⁴⁴ He fights his way through the Trojan War and does not perish until it is over; in fact, he is probably the only warrior in the entire Trojan War not to suffer any injury – even the goddess Aphrodite gets cut by a sword.⁴⁵ Ajax himself dies after the death of Achilles, and then only because he takes his own life. He is also the only major character –either Trojan or Greek – who does not receive personal assistance from any of the gods who take part in the battles. He has neither divine parentage, nor does he receive divine aid, unlike other heroes.⁴⁶ Of more local importance to Athens, Ajax is the father of Eurysakes, an Athenian hero.⁴⁷

⁴² Kerenyi 1959, 324.

⁴³ The relationship between Chiron and Ajax is not reflected in the visual record, unlike that between Chiron and Achilles. For Chiron, see: *LIMC* III, s.v. "Cheiron", 237-48 (M. Gisler-Huwiler).

⁴⁴ Homer, *Il.* 2.768-80; *Od.* 11.550-51. The quarrel with Odysseus over the armor of Achilles is the final episode of the *Aethiopis*, and the first scene of the *Little Iliad*.

⁴⁵ Homer, *Il*. 7.208.

⁴⁶ Ajax does not receive the protection of the goddess Athena.

⁴⁷ Kearns 1989, 141.

Ajax in Early Representations

One of the earliest images of Ajax, his suicide, appears under the handle of an early seventh century Middle Proto-Corinthian aryballos attributed to the Ajax Painter, currently in Oxford.⁴⁸ However, the suicide of Ajax does not reappear in Greek vase-painting until the end of the sixth century. Instances of Ajax shouldering the lifeless body of Achilles appear as early as the late eighth century B.C., the two oldest examples are a clay plaque from Samos and an ivory disc from Perachora.⁴⁹ These, along with other early examples, all show Ajax carrying his burden to the right (in profile facing right), either armed or nude.⁵⁰ It is because of the inscriptions on the François Vase that we are able to identify the figures and scenes with certainty.⁵¹ In all of these early examples, only the details differ (clothing, attributes), but the composition and positioning of the figures remain the same.

The earliest depiction of Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles in Attic art is present under both handles of the François Vase c. 570 B.C. (*fig.* 50).⁵² Achilles is beardless and nude. His hair hangs towards the ground as lifeless as his body. He is folded over at the waist as Ajax, who is nude except for a helmet and breastplate, carries him on his left shoulder and holds a spear in his right hand. His knees are both bent as he either runs or kneels. This scene appears again c. 560 B.C. on two Athenian red-figure cups.⁵³ Ajax's image occurs sporadically on vases

⁴⁸ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 146, aryballos, Ajax Painter, Middle Proto-Corinthian IA. On the Proto-Corinthian Ajax Painter, see: Benson 1995, 165-77; Jenkins 2002, 153-56. For earliest references to Ajax in literature and art, see: *LIMC* I, s.v. "Aias I", 314-36.

⁴⁹ Moore 1980, 424.

⁵⁰ On the early examples of this theme in all of Greek art, see: Loudon and Woodford 1980, 26-27; and see also Hedreen 2001, 112; Brommer 1973, 376, C1; Kunze 1950, 151, PL. 38.

⁵¹ On Kleitias, see: *ABV* 76-78; *ABFV* 33-34.

⁵² *Fig.* 50 [BAPD 300000]: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, black-figure volute krater, Kleitias and Ergotimos [attributed by signature], c. 570 (Biblio – *ABV* 76.1, 682; *Para.* 29; *LIMC* VII, PL.664, s.v. "Theseus" 276 (PART)). On depictions of the Trojan War on the François Vase, see: Lowenstam 2008, 20-27.

⁵³ [BAPD 300570]: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3893, black-figure Siana cup, Heidelberg P.. [attributed by Beazley], c. 575-525 (*Biblio – ABV* 64.26; *Para* 26; Poliakoff 1987 24, fig.6 (Part of A); *Decoration –*

in the decades which follow. It is not until Exekias introduces new subjects of this hero's narrative to the visual repertoire that he appears again c. 540 B.C. The objects produced in Attica did not portray any local mythological subjects of Ajax, those that tied him to Salamis or to Athens as an Eponymous hero, but artists rather favored the tales concerning Ajax's role as a figure of the Trojan War. Junker suggests:

Across the gap of the centuries, the myths have always had the power to speak directly to an audience [Homeric recitations to Archaic audience, for example; even modern movies of Odysseus' adventures] or to the spectators in a theatre, and to encourage them to witness the events.⁵⁴

The artist's choice of subject, as well as his manner of composition, reflects the contemporary reception of the hero.

Ajax in Late Archaic Vase-Painting

The appearance of Ajax on Greek vases peaks during the late Archaic period. Ajax enjoyed a stint of popularity on Athenian vase-painting during the last third of the sixth century B.C. There are 371 known examples of Ajax in Athenian vase painting, and of those, 133 (35.8%) fall within the time period concerned. All of the scenes derive from epic literature — not one of them is in any way a religious scene. Ajax is portrayed as a bearded male figure dressed in the armor of a warrior: greaves, helmet, breastplate. He has no specific identifying attributes, though in the literature he is often accompanied by a "tower-like shield", and in some visual

Int.: Ajax with the body of Achilles; Exterior: Athletes, wrestling, draped men with staffs, one squatting. On the early examples of this scene in Attic art, see: Moore 1980, 424-31. For a similar contemporary depiction of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles in early Greek vase-painting, see: [BAPD 301072:] Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 317, black-figure Little Master Cup, Phrynos P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 575-525. *Biblio – ABV* 169.4; *Add.* ²⁴0; *Decoration –* Int.: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles.

⁵⁴ Junker 2012, 20.

representations he carries a Boiotian shield, while in others he carries a hoplite shield.⁵⁵ Ajax is a complex hero with some standard iconography: the Boardgame with Achilles, retrieving the Body of Achilles, the Quarrel with Odysseus and subsequent Vote regarding Achilles' armor, and his Suicide. Can Achilles, his companion, count as an attribute? Approximately 85% of the vases showing Ajax include Achilles, making this suggestion a distinct possibility.

In such scenes that include Achilles, the context in which Ajax is placed (i.e., the scene and its occupants) allows for the identification of the figures where an inscription is lacking. Achilles is often the other person in the scene, and it is the actions of the two together which confirm their identifications. Much has already been written regarding the many examples of both Ajax and Achilles together, especially the first examples by Exekias and his apparent affinity for Ajax.⁵⁶ However these scholarly analyses have focused on the pathos of the scene or the choice of subject matter rather than the visual distinctions of each hero.

⁵⁵ Homer, *Il.* 7.219; 17.138. On the association of Ajax with a Boiotian shield, see: Schefold 1992, 223; Larson 2007, Ch. 3.

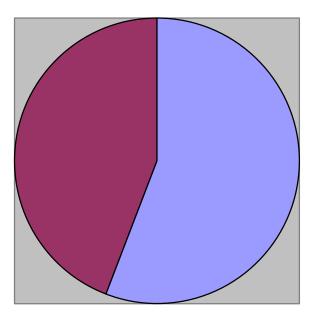
⁵⁶ For an overview of Exekias, see: Technau 1936; *ABV* 143-47; Boardman, 1978, 56-58; Lowenstam 2008, 39-43; Mackay 2010; Moignard 2013.

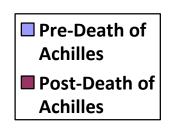
	Total #	ABF #	ARF #
	135	130	5
"mission to			
Achilles"			
"playing with	43	40	3
Achilles"			
"Hektor duel"	3	2	1
"battle for	1	1	
Patroklos"			
"carrying body	33	32	1
of Achilles"			
	3	3	
"Odysseus/arm			
of Achilles"			
"sheep"			
"suicide"	1	1	

Table IV.1. Ajax Episodes (550-500 B.C.)

Pre-Death of Achilles: 47 (14.8% of sample (317); 34.8% of overall date range (135))

Post-Death of Achilles: 37 (11.67% of sample (317); 27.4% of overall date range (135))



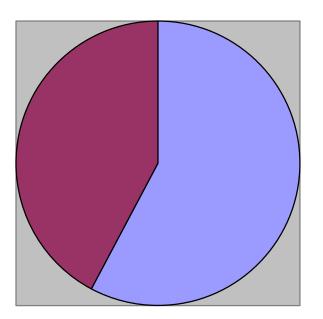


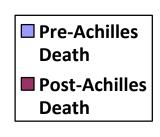
	Total #	ABF #	ARF #
	133	111	22
"mission to			
Achilles"			
"playing with	50	39	11
Achilles"			
"Hektor duel"	1		1
"battle for	1		1
Patroklos"			
"carrying body	25	22	1
of Achilles"			
	10	7	3
"Odysseus/arms			
of Achilles"			
"sheep"	1		1
"suicide"	2	1	1

Table IV.2. Ajax Episodes (525-475 B.C.)

Pre-Death of Achilles: 52 (16.4% of collected sample (317); 39.1% of overall date range (133))

Post-Death of Achilles: 38 (11.9% of collected sample (317); 28.57% of overall date range (133))



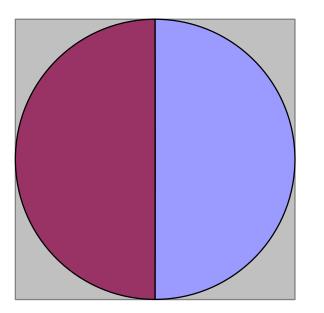


	Total #	ABF #	ARF #
"AJAX"	23	5	18
"mission to	3		3
Achilles"			
"playing with	6	4	2
Achilles"			
"Hektor duel"	2		2
"battle for			
Patroklos"			
"carrying body	3	1	2
of Achilles"			
	6		6
"Odysseus/arms			
of Achilles"			
"sheep"			
"suicide"	2		2

Table IV.3. Ajax Episodes (500-450 B.C.)

Pre-Death of Achilles: 11 (2.9% of sample (371); 47.8% of overall date range (23))

Post-Death of Achilles: 11 (5.91% of sample (186); 47.8% of overall date range (23))





Ajax, though a prominent figure in the Trojan War saga, is not as prevalent a figure in Attic vase-painting as Achilles, or other mythological Atheno-centric heroes, such as Theseus. Although Ajax was considered the best of the Achaian warriors during Achilles' absence, he never quite measures up to Achilles.⁵⁷ Though scenes connected to the Trojan Cycle in general appear in force in the second half of the sixth century, Achilles as a subject "interested Attic vase-painters from the very beginning," but did not become frequent in number until the final third of the sixth century B.C.⁵⁸ Ajax is really only a significant presence in the vase iconography during the final quarter of the sixth century. After 500, interest in Ajax subject matter rapidly declines. During the first quarter of the fifth century there are no more than thirty known examples of Athenian vases depicting Ajax. A handful of black-figure Boardgame scenes remain after 500, perhaps due to a sentiment for tradition. Similarly, scenes of Achilles decline in frequency, but not to the same extent as those of Ajax (and most of the Achilles representations do not include Ajax). Scenes with Odysseus are the most frequent of the later Ajax scenes, and primarily occur in the red-figure technique. While scenes of Ajax are in decline on vases, "the representations of the [Ilioupersis] subject on Athenian vases are on the increase from the 490s B.C.E."⁵⁹ In addition, the *Ilioupersis* became a favorite subject on large monumental sculpture and public art (such as the Stoa Poikile) in the decades following the Persian Wars; however a search on Beazley Archive Database yields only twenty results of vases decorated with an "Ilioupersis" subject matter between 525 and 475.60 Aeneas leaving Troy with Anchises is a

⁵⁷ Homer, *Il.* 17.279; Kerényi 1959, 324; Hedreen 2001, 97.

⁵⁸ Shapiro 1990, 131.

⁵⁹ Ferrari 2000, 120. Scenes depicting the episodes from the *Ilioupersis* are often presented in sequence comparable to the arrangement of the combined Struggles of Theseus on cups dating to c. 500 B.C.

⁶⁰ On representations of the sack of Troy in Greek art, see: Pipili, *LIMC* 8.1, s.v. "Ilioupersis", 650-57.

regularly depicted image of the events that took place during the sack of Troy, and compositionally it has many similarities to images of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles.⁶¹

Ajax is primarily a subject of black-figure vase painters, with 111 (85.5%) of his vases made in the black-figure technique.⁶² Though a handful of red-figure painters choose to portray the Boardgame scene, only one red-figure example exists of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. Red-figure painters who depicted Ajax include Douris, Exekias, Makron, and the Brygos Painter.⁶³ In the work of these painters, "the choice of scenes from the life of Ajax seems to reflect an interest in the hero not just as a biographical figure but as an exemplar of a particular kind of relentless logic that results in destruction."⁶⁴ Red-figure painters preferred Ajax's deeds at Troy to his suicide, with the exception of the Brygos Painter, as exemplified on a red-figure kylix in Malibu (CIV.1).⁶⁵ The iconographic discussion that follows will examine representation of Ajax with Achilles, with Odysseus, his duels in battle, and finally his suicide. A major conundrum to address here is that although Ajax was worshipped with cult rites in Attica, most representations of Ajax in Attic art portray scenes from the Homeric poems, i.e., belong to mythological narrative rather than cultic reality.

Ajax With Achilles

It is almost impossible to discuss the visual representations (or the mythology) of Ajax without any reference to Achilles, who is arguably the primary hero of Homer's *Iliad* and a force

⁶¹ On the similarities of these two themes in vase-painting, see: Loudon and Woodford 1980, 25-40.

⁶² For the political and cultural reflection and interconnected role of both black- and red-figure vase painters in latesixth century Athens, see: Steiner 2004, 429.

⁶³ On Douris, see: *ARV*² 425-48; Boardman 2000, 137-39. On Exekias, see: *ABV* 143-47; Boardman 2000, 56-58. On Makron, see: *ARV*² 458-80; Boardman 2000, 140. On the Brygos Painter, see: *ARV*² 368-85; Boardman 2000, 135.

⁶⁴ Hedreen 2001, 114.

⁶⁵ Shapiro 1994, 152.

in all the epic literature and myths. The image of Ajax on Athenian vases reflects his secondary role to Achilles.⁶⁶ Many scholars have observed a distinct rise in the number of images of both Ajax and Achilles after 530 B.C. At the same time, scenes of Odysseus or Menelaos are minimal, the former not appearing in notable quantity until the 5th century and the latter appearing mostly in composite scenes of the *Ilioupersis* narrative. The two primary scenes that depict Ajax with Achilles are Ajax Carrying the Body of Achilles, and the Boardgame between Ajax and Achilles. These two subjects comprise 56.4% of the known Ajax scenes during the time period in question. There are twice as many extant Boardgame scenes on vases as there are of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles from battle, though the latter was the first known identifiable depiction of Ajax in Athenian art.

Carrying the Body of Achilles

Ajax carrying the body of Achilles from the battlefield is mentioned in the *Aithiopis* and the *Little Iliad*: a great battle took place for body of Achilles, Ajax both shouldered the body and took it to the Greek camp for funeral rites.⁶⁷ Yet the battle is not the moment which the vase-painters prefer. Instead they highlight the important moment where Ajax bears the body of Achilles.⁶⁸ Scenes of Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles comprise almost 19% of the total scenes of Ajax during the late Archaic period. It is the earliest identifiable scene of Ajax in Attic art, the earliest known image identified by inscription on François Vase c. 570. Only a few examples of this scene are known during the middle of the sixth century, but after c. 540 the

⁶⁶ On the preeminent warrior status of both Achilles and Ajax, see: Homer, *Il.* 8.224-26; Pindar. *Nem.* 7.27; Alkaios frag. 387; Hedreen 2001, 94.

⁶⁷ Proculus, Homerica, Loeb ed. 1967, 507, 513; Proculus, Chrestomathia 2; Moore 1980, 246.

⁶⁸ Hedreen claims that this is Ajax's most important accomplishment (2001, 111). However, this scene is not as frequently depicted as Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame.

subject continues to find favor with black-figure vase-painters through the end of the sixth century. There are 25 known occurrences of this scene dating between 525-475, only one of which is decorated in the red-figure technique, and two of which appear after 500 B.C. The collection assembled for this study comprises approximately half of all extant examples of this scene in Greek vase-painting.⁶⁹ After 530, representations of Ajax with the body of Achilles became increasingly frequent with the black-figure painters, and nearly all of them show Ajax moving from the right to the left, carrying the armored body of Achilles, as in the manner of Exekias (CIV.2; *fig.* 51).⁷⁰ Exekias' examples are emulated by vase-painters thereafter: Ajax moves to the left, the two bodies and legs of the heroes are close together, Achilles, though dead, wears a helmet still, and the shield of Ajax is intricately decorated.⁷¹ The scene is often framed by one figure on either side, generally distressed women. After 500, vase painters select other scenes from the Ajax narrative.

The original composition of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, present on the François Vase, is characteristic of the selflessness of Ajax: one warrior, bearded and wearing only a breastplate and helmet, runs to the right in a *knielauf* pose. He is Ajax, who is identified by an inscription. Draped over his shoulder is the nude body of a beardless comrade, which he holds steady with his left arm while carrying a spear in his right. He is Achilles, also identified by an inscription. The limp hair of the hero's lifeless head hangs towards the ground on the right, in front of Ajax; and Achilles' feet almost drag on the ground on the left, behind Ajax. No one else is present in the scene. On this example and others during the mid-sixth century, Achilles

⁶⁹ For a complete list of the known examples, including on fragments and in private collections, see: Loudon and Woodford 1980, 24-40, Appendix I; Lissarrague 1990, 71-96.

⁷⁰ On the influence of Exekias on contemporary and later vase-painters, see: Moore 1980, 427-29; Moignard 2013. ⁷¹ Loudon and Woodford 1980, 27.

appears without armor.⁷² When this scene appears elsewhere without inscriptions to identify the subject, we must assume that it is Ajax carrying the body of Achilles.⁷³ Later black-figure examples includes dozens of uninscribed generic scenes of a warrior carrying his dead comrade, assumed to be Ajax and Achilles but somewhat unclear. Apart from the placement of the figures, there are no specific identifying features.⁷⁴ During the early and middle sixth century, Ajax runs to the right, yet after the initial example by Exekias, in which he switches the direction Ajax faces, other vase-painters begin to depict Ajax also facing left, and examples of him running to the right become increasingly rare.⁷⁵

Exekias' first known representations date to c. 540-530 B.C., just before the time period framed by this study (CIV.2-4). Exekias' depictions are all different from each other, yet all are inscribed. In these three scenes by Exekias, the two heroes are dressed and armed similarly to each other with a short chiton, breastplate, helmet, greaves, and Boiotian shields.⁷⁶ Moore points out that here "Exekias shows Achilles with his armor, a feature excluded from the three earlier painted scenes" and this perhaps increases the heavy burden that Ajax carries; he literally seems to stumble under the weight of his friend's body which is covered by the armor that Ajax later loses to Odysseus.⁷⁷ Though dead, Achilles, is represented as a fully armed warrior, perhaps because his armor plays such an important role in the narrative of Ajax later on. Most noticeably, however, Exekias switches the direction that Ajax faces: Ajax now runs facing left, while Aeneas

⁷² For other black figure examples, see: Loudon and Woodford 1980, 26-30.

⁷³ This identification remains unchallenged until we first see a representation of Aeneas carrying his elderly father, Anchises. However, this subject first appears later, and the figure carried is unmistakably an older man.

⁷⁴ For a list, see: Brommer 1973, 373-76; Loudon and Woodford 1980, 25-40.

⁷⁵ See: Padgett 2001.

⁷⁶ On the relevance of the Boiotian shield for Ajax, see: Moore 1980, 245; Padgett 2001.

⁷⁷ Moore 1980, 245.

runs facing right.⁷⁸ Such a compositional choice is a departure from the traditional version of Ajax rescuing Achilles' body from the battlefield, as first seen on the François Vase (c. 570) in that the figures are facing left and hidden behind a massive shield. Exekias is known for his innovative technique and subject matter choices.⁷⁹ This subject is by no means new to Attic vase-painting, but the painter does not represent it in the traditional manner. The influence of the original composition on the François Vase, and Exekias changing the direction in which Ajax faces, is apparent on the late Archaic vases. There is little variation apart from the additional figures in the scene, if any (CIV.4, *fig.* 52; CIV.5-28).⁸⁰ The only known example during this time period showing Ajax running to the right appears on a black-figure neck amphora attributed to the Lysippides Painter, now in Munich (CIV.5).⁸¹

The second variation on the theme of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles by Exekias occurs on the obverse of a late sixth-century black-figure amphora now in Munich (CIV.2). The scene depicts two seemingly intertwined figures. A complicated arrangement of two shields and various body parts are separated diagonally by a checkered cloak which covers the lifeless body of a helmeted warrior; perhaps this is the shroud of Achilles. The warrior bears a shield in profile on his back as he is borne on the back of another, helmet-less warrior who strides in profile to the left. The standing man is partially covered by a shield, which he holds in his left hand, over which hangs the limp left arm of his lifeless load. The warrior's only garment is a loincloth.

⁷⁸ For a reference on movement, in duel scenes the victor typically is on the left moving to the right, see: de la Coste-Meseliere 1944/1945, 20-21; Loudon and Woodford 1980, 40. Formulaically the winner of a duel is placed on the left in vase-painting (see: Schefold 1992, 164).

⁷⁹ Boardman 1974, 52.

⁸⁰ For a list of the multiple combinations of external figures in the scene, see: Loudon and Woodford 1980, 26.

⁸¹ On the Lysippides Painter, see: *ABV* 254-57; Boardman 2000, 105. The Lysippides Painter, and possibly the Andokides Painter (who may be the same person as the Lysippides Painter), was heavily influenced by the works of Exekias. See: Boardman 1974, 257-65; Robertson 1975, 217; Cohen 1978, 26.

There are no identifying inscriptions, but the scene can be identified as Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles off the battlefield.

The final variation on this theme appears on a black-figure amphora signed by Exekias, currently in Philadelphia (CIV.4; *fig.* 52). Here the painter devises an entirely new composition to portray a moment earlier in the story. Ajax is is shown picking up Achilles from the ground, rather than with Achilles' body already on his shoulders. The figures are accompanied by identifying inscriptions. The Philadelphia amphora is the only known example of this variation.

Ajax is not always shown folding Achilles in half over his shoulder, a version of which is displayed on the obverse of a late sixth-century black-figure oinochoe now in the Vatican (CIV.27; fig. 53). The focal point of the scene is a pair of figures behind an oblong shield, above which peeks a crested helmet on the left, and the profile of another shield to the right. A pair of strong legs accompanied by two dangling, lifeless feet, are present below the shield. Upon closer inspection one sees that the man carrying the shield is hunched over by the weight of another man who is bodily draped over his left shoulder. The context of one soldier carrying a fallen soldier identifies the two figures as Ajax carrying the dead Achilles. Ajax bears most of the body of Achilles on his shoulder, letting the rest of him drag behind, rather than hoisting him by the waist. Two other figures frame the scene: the far left figure is a man standing in profile to the right with long white hair and a white beard. A himation is draped over his shoulders, and his left hand reaches up as if to grab something. On the far right of the scene, a female figure stands in profile to the left. She is wrapped up in a long garment, but her bent right hand peeks through and is held in front of her, palm facing up. The two framing figures are perhaps Achilles' parents, Peleus and Thetis, mourning their son. The composition is very similar to that of

Exekias'(CIV.2). The focus here is still on Achilles, even though Ajax is the only active figure. The shield of Ajax, however, covers most of the two figures, acting almost as a figure unto itself.

The compositional structure of one warrior shouldering a companion is used by vasepainters for other Trojan subjects, such as the early fifth century representation of Aeneas carrying his elderly father, Anchises, out of Troy.⁸² Contemporary to the Ajax and Achilles scenes, however, and iconographically similar enough as to cause pause for identification, is a scene on a late sixth-century black-figure hydria attributed to the Leagros Group now in London (CIV.28; fig. 54).⁸³ An armored soldier, standing in profile facing right, carries a helmetless solider, whose hair hangs limp towards the ground. The pair is placed centrally amidst an ongoing Amazonomachy; the Amazons are identified by the added white for their skin color and beardless faces - the same white skin and beardless face that belongs to the body draped over the central male warrior's shoulders. Apart from the fact that the central warrior's knees are not bent, as if to indicate a running motion, the manner in which he bears the body of his dead companion is identical to that of Ajax carrying Achilles on the François Vase. Tentatively one could identify these two figures as Achilles carrying the body of Penthesilea. Both Aeneas and Achilles run to the right, whereas contemporary depictions of Ajax present him running to the left.

The time span during which the scene of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles appears with frequency is brief, consisting of only the final quarter of the sixth century. The direction of Ajax now steadily faces to the left, but it is the body of Achilles that occupies most of the scene. Nonetheless, the vase-painters continue to devote special attention to the shield of Ajax, even though Ajax himself is almost hidden under Achilles' draping armored figure. There is a lack of

⁸² See Mariscal 2001.

⁸³ On the Leagros Group, see: ABV 354-91; Boardman 1974, 110-11.

specific iconographic individuality for the figures. Ajax is often shown as only a pair of feet moving to the left under a helmet and shield, while the rest of his body is covered by the corpse of Achilles (CIV.25-28). The struggle he suffers is the physical weight of his friend, who was, according to Homer, the best of the Achaians.

Ajax and Achilles Playing a Boardgame

The story of Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame is not found in extant ancient literature, but the account is told in the now lost epic poem, *Cypria*, which describes the two heroes as so engrossed in their game that they did not hear the trumpet sound the alarm when the enemy approached and, when the two looked up, Trojans had entered the Greek camp.⁸⁴ By displaying the Greek warriors at rest rather than fighting, the vase-painters reflected an "interest in the human aspects" by the painter, according to Junker.⁸⁵ Although the subject is absent from the epics, the Boardgame scene between Ajax and Achilles became the most frequently represented scene of Ajax in Archaic Athenian vase-painting.⁸⁶ The first known example of this scene appears c. 540-530 B.C. on a black-figure amphora signed by Exekias, currently in the Vatican (CIV.29). Exekias has named each figure with an inscription, so that their identities are certain, even if the setting is unfamiliar.⁸⁷ The painter's new composition quickly gained popularity among vase-painters of the final quarter of the sixth century and early fifth century, as they are the first known instances of a series of at least fifty vases that shows heroes playing a

⁸⁴ On the influence of the Epic Cycle, especially the *Cypria*, on this scene and its sudden presence on vases, see: Boardman 1978, 18-24; Moore 1980, 418; Mariscal 2011, 394-401. John Boardman interprets Exekias' innovation depiction of the two heroes playing a boardgame during the Trojan War as a negative commentary regarding the behavior at the Battle of Pallene, c. 546 BC, when Athenians were said to have diced as Peisistratos secured his tyranny through force (Herodotos 1.63. Also see: Boardman 1972, 1978, 1984, 1989; Hurwit 2002, 2). ⁸⁵ Junker 2012: 18.

⁸⁶ Woodford 1982, 173-85; Hedreen 2001, 91.

⁸⁷ On the influence of Exekias on the Boardgame scene, see: Lowenstam 2008, 39-41.

game, mainly Attic black-figure vases, and several red-figure cups, all of which date to the time period in question.⁸⁸ The scene decorates shield bands from Olympia and Aigina.⁸⁹ The favorite shape for this scene is the amphora, yet it does appear on lekythoi and various other forms. The Boardgame scene disappears from the Attic repertoire almost as suddenly as it burst onto the scene, present in force only from c.530-480.

The first extant depiction in Attic vase-painting, contrived by Exekias, shows two clothed, armed, and bearded male figures sitting across from each other; they are positioned in profile facing each other (CIV.29; *fig.* 55). Each man holds two spears in his left hand, while the right hand places game pieces on the table between them. They both wear short chitons and greaves on their shins as they sit at the edge of their low blocks and lean towards the table in the center. Their shields are propped up behind them. The man on the left wears his crested helmet back on the top of his head, while the figure on the right has set his helmet atop his discarded shield. Both men wear elaborately woven cloaks over their armor. Each hero is labeled by an inscription, and additional inscriptions describe the words each man says, thus identifying the action. The man on the left is named Achilles, and his friend on the right is labeled Ajax. Achilles exclaims: "tesara" ("four"); and Ajax says: "tria" ("three").⁹⁰ The words imply they are playing a boardgame or dice, and Ajax is not winning. Exekias is a true master artist, and every detail is carefully composed. The balance is even, yet not perfectly symmetrical. The two men are not identical: Achilles wears his helmet, but Ajax's rests on his shield; Achilles' stool is slightly higher than Ajax's, thus exalting him even further over Ajax. The subject is new to

⁸⁸ Hedreen (2001, 91) claims that there are over 100 examples of "warriors playing a boardgame", whether or not identified as Ajax and Achilles. For a complete list of the vases in the series, see: Woodford 1982, 173-85.
⁸⁹ On the non-vase examples, see: Kunze 1950, 142-44.

⁹⁰ For later literary references to this scene, see: Mariscal 2011: 394-401.

Greek art, but quickly gains popularity and is recreated by contemporary and later artists, who do not always identify the figures but allows the familiarity of the scene to provide enough context for identification.⁹¹

It is hard to dispute the common theory that Exekias invented this theme, and that his model in turn provided the models for other contemporary and future artists.⁹² While noninscribed representations often raise doubts as to which hero is Achilles and which is Ajax, those by the more able artists usually permit us to recognize each player by using criteria of both posture and gesture.⁹³ The composition is almost always identical: Achilles is seated on the left, Ajax on right. Both men sit on stools or blocks (or sometimes kneel), each hold two spears leaning upright in their left hands and extend their right arms towards the board/block in the center as if to move a piece or gesture towards the other man. Sometimes both figures are bareheaded, or one is, or they both wear helmets. Sometimes they are both bearded, or just the man on the right, which is assumed to be Ajax unless otherwise specified. Shields, spears, and helmets are always present, if not on their person then resting behind them. The men are rarely semi-nude, almost always dressed as if ready for battle. There are two variations on this theme: the first shows the heroes by themselves; and the second shows Athena or a tree standing behind the game table placed between them. The presence of Athena is not, however, a variation on non-Attic versions of the Boardgame scene.

Though this subject composition is emulated by contemporary and later painters, the original placement of these heroes does not remain constant, thus one must take caution when identifying the individual heroes on vase where inscriptions are lacking. At least three inscribed

⁹¹ For a detailed analysis of this vase, see: Lowenstam 2008, 39.

⁹² For other examples visually closest to that of Exekias' original, see: CIV.30-33.

⁹³ Moore 1980, 421. See Moore for a more detailed analysis on the emotional attachment Exekias felt for Ajax as rendered in the amount of artistic energy he puts into the figure on the right.

vases place Ajax on the left, the earliest of which appears on the reverse of the namepiece of the Lysippides Painter, a black-figure neck-amphora in London dating to c.530-520 B.C. (CIV.34; *fig.* 56).⁹⁴ The obverse of this late sixth-century black-figure amphora portrays two clothed, armed, and bearded men sitting across from each other; they are positioned in profile facing each other. Each man holds two spears in his left hand, while their right hands gesture at the table between them. They both wear short chitons and greaves on their shins as they sit at the edge of their low blocks and lean towards the table in the center. Their shields are propped up behind them and their helmets are set far back on their head. They are warriors, but they are at rest. Each man is labeled by an inscription: the man on the left is Ajax, and the man on the right is Achilles. An additional inscription positioned down the center identifies the potter (Lysippides). The Lysippides Painter is a close contemporary of Exekias. This vase must have been produced within a decade of Exekias' version, yet already this painter has changed the scene slightly to distinguish it as his own.

Further departures from Exekias' original composition include additions in the center of the scene, such as the presenc of a palm tree which sprouts up seemingly out of the boardgame. The palm tree indicates the setting at Troy.⁹⁵ A black-figure amphora attributed to the Madrid Painter, currently in Berlin, displays this variation (CIV.37; *fig.* 57). As expected, we see two clothed, armed, and bearded men sitting across from each other; they are positioned in profile facing each other. Each man holds two spears in his left hand, while their right hands gesture at the table between them. They both wear short chitons and greaves on their shins as they sit at the edge of their low blocks and lean towards the table in the center. Their shields are propped up

⁹⁴ The Lysippides Painter painted two other similar versions of this scene, both on Type A amphorae (CIV.35 and CIV.36).

⁹⁵ On the significance of the palm tree in a visual narrative, see: Hedreen 2001, 74-77, 102, 117.

behind them; the man on the right wears his helmet set far back on his head, while the man on the right wears his helmet so as to completely cover his face. No inscriptions identify the figures, but the subject matter and composition identify the two as Ajax and Achilles. A tall palm tree placed centrally divides the scene. It appears to sprout from the table itself, and sets the scene outdoors, and more specifically at Troy.

The second, and more common variation, places Athena – or a statue of Athena – between the two heroes, rather than a palm tree. This version first appeared around 520 B.C., and after 500, a statuesque Athena became a regular addition to the composition.⁹⁶ The presence of Athena lends an allusion of an altar to the game table as is seen on the obverse of a late sixth century unattributed black-figure lekythos currently in New York (CIV.66) which depicts two clothed, armed, and bearded men sitting across from each other; they are positioned in profile facing each other.⁹⁷ Each man holds two spears in one hand, while the other gestures at white pieces on the table. The heroes are engrossed at what is laid upon the table before them. They both wear short chitons and greaves on their shins as they sit at the edge of their low blocks. Their shields and helmets are propped up behind them. Both are dressed as warriors, but they are completely at rest for the moment. A standing female figure stands in front of the table and divides the scene. She wears a long garment under a snaky aegis. She wields a spear diagonally across her body with her right hand, and her left hand is raised. She is shown frontally, but her face is turned down in profile to the left. She is the goddess Athena. We can identify this scene as one popularized by Exekias: Ajax and Achilles at the gaming table. Yet different from Exekias' version, the figures are not labeled and the goddess (or perhaps a statue of the

⁹⁶ For a list of examples of this type, see CIV.37-71. On the iconography of statues on vases, see: Tiverios 1996, 163-76; De Cesare 1997; Hölscher 2010, 105-20.

⁹⁷ On the identification of specific altar types in vase-painting, see: Aktseli 1996; Ekroth 2001, 115-26.

goddess?) is present. The table the goddess stands in front of could reasonably be identified as an altar at which the two men are gesturing in acts of admiration. The goddess stands, statue-like, front and center. It is unclear what inspired this particular variation on the iconography.

An early black-figure lekythos attributed to the Athena Painter, currently in London, also demonstrates the statuesque nature of Athena (CIV.67; *fig.* 58).⁹⁸ We see the expected composition of two warriors playing a boardgame. The only discernible differences are that both men's heads are covered by their helmets; they kneel on the ground, not on blocks; and the goddess between them stands, statue-like, on top of a stepped table. Nonsense inscriptions punctuate the scene. Athena is positioned at an angle to the right with her body yet her face turned toward the man on the left (Achilles) – in this manner her torso faces the viewer. The goddess stands on or behind the block as if she were a statue, and the block no longer a game table but a statue base. In this way, the two flanking warriors, who often kneel rather than sit on stools, look as if they are supplicants. If not for the vase by Exekias to provide context for the scene's identification, one might describe the action here as two warriors revering the image of Athena.⁹⁹

<u>Duels</u>

Ajax rarely appears in the act of fighting an opponent. Although he was one of the foremost warriors for the Achaians in the epic tradition, the visual representations do not reflect Ajax as an action hero. An early example of Ajax in the act of fighting appears on a now lost black-figure "Chalcidian" amphora attributed to the Inscription Painter dating to c. 540 B.C.

⁹⁸ On the Athena Painter, see: *ABV* 522-524; Boardman 1974, 113-14, 147-49, 182.

⁹⁹ For contemporary examples of this type, see: CIV.48; CIV.68-CIV.70.

(CIV.71).¹⁰⁰ Ajax stands protectively over the torso of a fallen Achilles, who is pierced by two arrows, one in his back and one in his ankle (all figures are named). Dressed in greaves, breastplate, helmet and short chiton, he holds out his Boiotion shield with his extended left arm, and with his right arm raises a spear over his right shoulder, pointed at the fleeing Glaukos. Here Ajax appears larger than the fleeing Trojans on the right, taller even than the goddess Athena, who stands to the far left of the scene in her snaky aegis. This is the only known example (yet now lost) of Ajax fighting over the body of Achilles. During the late Archaic period, the only combative scenes of Ajax that the vase-painters chose to portray him in are the Fight over the Body of Patroklos and the Duel with Hektor.¹⁰¹

Battle for the Body of Patroklos

The battle over the body of Patroklos is a moment central to the theme of Homer's *Iliad* as it is the catalyst for Achilles' return to combat.¹⁰² It is the most important battle over a fallen warrior's body. For such an significant moment in the story, visual representations are surprisingly few, and thus far non-existent after 500 B.C.¹⁰³ The earliest certain depiction of the fight for the body of Patroklos, whose beardless and nude body is identified by an inscription, is on a mid-sixth century black-figure calyx-krater attributed to Exekias, currently in Athens (CIV.72; *fig.* 59). However, Exekias may have only been the first to identify the figures present with inscriptions, thus imposing a "precise meaning to a conventional battle scene known already

¹⁰⁰ On this group of vases, see: Iozzo 1994; Boardman 1998, 217.

¹⁰¹ This study omits any discussion of the possible representation of a duel between Ajax and Memnon, since Burgess has convincingly argued for an identification of such a scene in favor of Achilles and Memnon (2004, 34). Also see: Smith 2014: 31-41.

¹⁰² Homer, *Il.* 17.694-760.

¹⁰³ Moore 1980, 422. For a detailed discussion of this scene, see: Johansen 1967, 191-200.

for at least two decades."¹⁰⁴ The extant examples of this scene are fragmentary, but enough remains to identify the subject as at least four warriors battling over a fallen soldier's body. One inscription is present: "Hektor," and it is enough to place the scene as the battle for the body of a dead Greek, most likely Patroklos. The figure closest to the body on the left is probably Ajax, but there is no way to be certain. All that is visible is a pair of armored legs and the bottom of a short chiton and round shield. The tentative identification stems from Ajax's possession of a Boiotian shield, which is a type of shield particularly associated with both Achilles and Ajax.¹⁰⁵ The composition of the Agora krater closely resembles a similar unattributed black-figure krater now in Athens (CIV.73; *fig.* 60), decorated by an artist working in the manner of Exekias. The reverse of the krater portrays an almost identical image but without the aid of identifying inscriptions.

There exist a few additional certain examples of the fight over the body of Patroklos which appear towards the end of the sixth century and depict not just the battle for Patroklos, but Ajax facing off with well-known heroes from the Trojan side, such as Aeneas and Hektor.¹⁰⁶ The one red-figure example appears on a cup signed by Oltos, now in Berlin (CIV.74).¹⁰⁷ All names are inscribed (Ajax and Menelaos to right, Aeneas and Hippasos to left, body of Patroklos nude youthful on ground – Ajax has a round shield, not a Boiotian one). Ajax fights with Aeneas over the body of Patroklos, and they are accompanied by Menelaos and Hippasos, respectively. Patroklos lies on his back, nude and beardless, with an arm draped over his head. Above him on the left stand two warriors in short chitons with cuirasses, crested helmets, greaves, and a

¹⁰⁴ Moore 1980, 424. Similar compositions of this scene have been identified as Ajax defending the corpse of Achilles, rather than Patroklos, such as the architectural sculpture on the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia Athena on Aegina (c. 480 B.C.).

¹⁰⁵ Moore 1980. 422. For more on the discussion of the Boiotian shield and these two heroes, see: Broneer 1956, 345-49.

¹⁰⁶ On the lack of visual representation for the fight over the body of Patroklos, see: Johansen 1967, 191-200; Moore 1980, 424.

¹⁰⁷ On Oltos, see: ABV 320, 665, 674; ARV² 53-67; Boardman 2000, 56-57, 60-61.

halberd. In their outstretched left arms they hold round shields, and in their bent right arms held above and behind their head they each wield a spear. The two warriors on the right are posed in identical fashion, yet their position is reversed as the two pairs face each other. All four figures stand in the same pose as the Tyrant-Slayer, Harmodios.¹⁰⁸

A second example of the subject merges two well-known battle scenes from the *Iliad*: the fight for the body of Patroklos and the duel between Ajax and Hektor (discussed below).¹⁰⁹ The scene decorates a late sixth century black-figure amphora attributed to the Antiope Group and now in Munich (CIV.75; *fig.* 61). The composition is similar to that of Oltos', and presumably influenced by the Agora kalyx-krater of Exekias, given the similarities in dress and pose of the warriors present (as well as on the Athens krater). Here the painter has taken liberties with the original story by placing Ajax against Aeneas over the body of Patroklos – all of the figures, although not visually distinct – are identified by inscriptions. An archer kneels to the left behind Ajax. In the *Iliad*, Ajax and Aeneas never opposed each other during this moment, yet here the vase-painter shows a recognizable scene from the epic that combines two well-known heroes in a familiar scene.

Hektor

The *Iliad* describes an evenly matched battle between Ajax and Hektor, which ends with an exchange of gifts and a pact of friendship as the sun sets.¹¹⁰ The vase-painting reflects only the combative exchange between Ajax and Hektor, but is rarely seen on Greek vases. There exist only four known examples of Ajax fighting Hektor (the figures are identified by inscriptions),

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter 3, footnote 100, for the sculpture of the Tyrannicides.

¹⁰⁹ Books 17 and 7, respectively.

¹¹⁰ Homer, *Il.* 7, 271-371.

two in the black-figure technique prior to 500, and three in the red-figure technique, one late sixth century and two early sixth century (CIV.75-76, *figs*. 61-62). The typical composition for the duel between Ajax and Hektor is that of a generic duel between two warriors: two male figures are positioned facing each other in stances similar to that of Harmodios, holding a round shield in their outstretched left arm and wielding a spear in their upraised bent right arm.¹¹¹ Inscriptions for both warriors form a distinction between this image and one portraying two anonymous figures.

Two variations of the duel theme further specify the moment depicted. The first, a unique example of the merging of this duel with the fight for the body of Patroklos, is discussed above (CIV.75; *fig.* 61). The second example appears on a contemporary red-figure stamnos signed by Smikros, currently in London (CIV.76; *fig.* 62).¹¹² The positioning, gestures, dress and weapons of the two warriors is identical to previously mentioned scenes of two soldiers rushing towards each other with spear and shield, Ajax on the left, his name inscribed beside him, and Hektor on the right, also with an inscription over his head. Each man wears his helmet tilted back high on his head, a short chiton, cuirass, and greaves, with a sword hanging at his side in a halberd. Between them, however, stands Athena, who is positioned heading towards the right while looking back at Ajax. She raises her right arm at him with a forbidding gesture. Above Athena's head, on the right, is her name inscribed. Though she is not present in the description of the duel in the *Iliad*, the Attic representation shows Athena halting the combat. The composition of a

¹¹¹ A red-figure early fifth century B.C. volute-crater attributed to the Berlin Painter, now in London, depicts the duel between Hektor and Achilles, not Ajax ([BAPD 201941]: London, British Museum 1848,0804.1). Here the vase painter departs from the traditional poses in which to portray two warriors attacking each other, instead showing Hektor, on the right, stumbling backwards, and Achilles, on the left, rushing at him while yielding a shield in his left arm and a spear in his right arm, which is not held above his head but rather lowered behind his body, ready to thrust. It is a pose similar to that used by contemporary vase-painters to portray Theseus against his opponents [see Chapter 3]. On the Berlin Painter, see: *ABV* 407-09; *ARV*² 196-214; Boardman 1974, 91-95, 111.

striding warrior in short chiton, cuirass, helmet, and greaves on the left facing right, in profile yet showing us his chest, left foot forward, right foot back, left arm behind him and upraised holding a spear/sword, left arm in front and holding a shield is standard for Homeric (or any generic) duel scene. Unless inscriptions or an obvious attribute is present, the identification of these victorious warriors (for the one on the left is formulaically the victor) remains anonymous.

Ajax With Odysseus

Odysseus, the hero of Homer's *Odyssey*, is also pictured with Ajax. However, the scenes in which they appear together either center on Achilles or heavily allude to him: the Embassy to Achilles and the Quarrel/Vote for the Armor of Achilles.

Embassy to Achilles

The Embassy to Achilles is only worthy of brief mention here, since the primary focus of the scene lies with Achilles and Odysseus, rather than with Ajax. The extant painted representations of the Odysseus-led mission to Achilles do not include Ajax in the embassy of Greek warriors until after 500, all three examples of which are in the red-figure technique. (CIV.77-CIV.79). Red-figure vase painters paint the moment when Odysseus, Ajax (and Phoinix) all proceed to a seated Achilles to try to persuade him to reenter the battle. When Ajax is not identified by an inscription, it is assumed that he is among the warriors who accompany Odysseus. Only one example includes inscriptions for all figures present, thus assuring the presence of Ajax in the Embassy. The scene appears on an early fifth century red-figure skyphos attributed to Makron, now in Paris (CIV.79). Four figures fill the scene.¹¹³ The figure second to

¹¹³ On Makron, see: ARV² 458-480; Boardman 1974, 140.

the right is beardless, seated on a folding stool, and named by an inscription as Achilles. He is almost completely enveloped in his long himation; his helmet and sword are hanging from the wall behind him. Odysseus, bearded and leaning on a spear, stands to his left, bent over as if talking to him as he persuades him to rejoin the Greek effort against the Trojans. Odysseus wears a short chiton, boots, and a petasos tied around his neck, as if a traveler. Two almost identical bearded men, both in long himations and leaning on walking sticks, frame the scene. On the left stands Ajax and on the right is Phoinix, both named. There are no specific visual clues used to separate the representation of Ajax from that of Phoinix apart from their location on the vase. When inscriptions are not present to identify them, but two extra warriors appear with Odysseus as he approaches Achilles, it is assumed that the figures are Ajax and Phoinix; it is a matter of identification by association.

Quarrel/Vote over Armor of Achilles

The story of the vote for the armor of Achilles is told in Homer's *Odyssey* (11.543-67) and two epic poems summarized in *Chrestomathy*: the *Aethiopis*, which ends with the quarrel; and the *Little Iliad*, which begins with the same story. In both the *Odyssey* and the *Aethiopis* the judges for the debate for the armor are Trojan War captives, and in the *Little Iliad* the judges are Trojan maidens. Pindar alludes to this episode, arguing that Ajax was indeed deserving of the armor of Achilles and was quite literally cheated out of it.¹¹⁴ Aeschylus' trilogy on the subject, the *Oresteia*, possibly dates to as early as 490; however, only fragments are preserved.¹¹⁵ The vote as a subject is not present prior to late black-figure. There are ten known examples of this

¹¹⁴ Nem. 7.23-34, 8.21-34, *Isth.*4.35-39. *Nemean* 8 (c. 459 B.C.) is the only one of Pindar's Odes dedicated to a victor from Aegina. In it, the poet describes Ajax's unjustified defeat by Odysseus. On the discussion of the Homeric reception in Pindar, see: Fitch 1924, 57-65; Nagy 1990 (esp. Ch. 7).

¹¹⁵ On the literary and dramatic versions of the vote for the armor of Achilles, see: Buitron-Oliver 1995, 442.

episode in vase-painting dating to between 530 and 475, about 66% of which are in the blackfigure technique, yet after 500 all examples are in the red-figure technique and depict the vote more often than the quarrel. The scene reflects the emotional struggle that Ajax suffers. It is the struggle of injustice: Ajax is not rewarded for his most important accomplishment, rescuing the body of Achilles with its armor from the battlefield. Descriptions from Greek tragedy offer the explanation that Athena is the antagonist, as she favors Odysseus and sways the voters to grant him the armor.

The story begins with the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus as they vie for ownership of the armor of the late Achilles. The general composition of this scene – and one of the only known examples - is displayed on a late sixth-century red-figure kylix signed by Kachrylion as potter and currently in London (CIV.80; fig. 63).¹¹⁶ Ajax and Odysseus are shown quarreling without weapons but with raised arms, violent enough to merit the need to be restrained by two other Greeks, and the presence of Agamemnon between them. Seven nude, bearded male figures are present. One of the men stands in the center of the scene on the side of the cup, dividing the scene into two symmetrical sides. The man stands frontally, walking to the right but looking to the left. A helmet rests atop his head, and a folded himation is draped over his elbows. His hands are held outstretched to either side of his body. The grouping of three male figures to his left mirrors the trio to his right. Immediately to his left a nude man bends over in an effort to take down another man to his left – the central figure's outstretched arms seem to push the action away from himself. The man who is being grabbed around the waist faces towards the center with a hand stretched in front of him, either towards the man in the center or towards his mirror image on the other side of the central figure. The two men immediately framing the central

¹¹⁶ On Kachrylion, see: ARV² 107-09; Boardman 2000, 32, 56, 61.

figure form a "V" shape with their bodies as they are pulled apart. The figure on the right is bearded, wreathed, and nude. His right arm is held behind his back by another nude and beardless male figure, who appears to be wresting a weapon from his hand. It seems as if we have stumbled into the middle of a fight that was just broken up. The central figure takes control of the situation as the other men separate the two antagonists. No inscriptions are present; the assumed identification of the scene as the quarrel for the armor of Achilles is made more apparently by two early fifth century cups which juxtapose the above described scene on the obverse, while the reverse is decorated with the vote for the armor (CIV.81). The visual association of these scenes presented in a thematic sequence solidifies the identification of the story.¹¹⁷

The episode of the vote for the armor offers a more definite depiction. The general composition of the vote does not vary. It appears on a series of red-figure cups which show the Achaians approaching a low stone platform or table in order to deposit a pebble in one of two piles. The left pile is meant for Odysseus, the right is for Ajax, both of whom are included in the representations at the left and right ends of the pictures, respectively. Athena stands in the center, with her head inclined in the direction of Odysseus (CIV.1. CIV.83).¹¹⁸ A variation from the symmetrically arranged composition appears on an early fifth century red-figure kylix attributed to the Brygos Painter, currently in London (CIV.84; *figs.* 64a-b). Seven standing figures fill the exterior side of this kylix. None of the figures is labeled. Six of the figures are male and wear bordered long himations, yet the seventh figure (third from the left) is female; the female figure is positioned frontally with her arms held up in exclamation. Her left arm grabs a spear, she wears a long garment under a snaky aegis, and her long hair is covered by a crested helm, all of

¹¹⁷ On the thematic display of these two scenes simultaneously, see: Buitron-Oliver 1995, 442-43.

¹¹⁸ On vase-paintings of the general vote, see: Williams, 1980, 137-45; Hedreen 2001, 104-05.

which are attributes that identify her as the goddess Athena. She stands behind a low table (altar?) to the left of two men, who are positioned centrally with her.¹¹⁹ The man on the left is bearded, and the man on the right has no beard and leans on a walking staff. The two men on the far right of the scene are both bearded and hold walking staffs. The two male figures on the left of the scene also hold walking staffs – the male figure on the left is bearded, while the one on the right is a youth. Under the right handle the painter has stacked a crested helm on top of a shield. Under the left handle the painter has drawn metal greaves. The scene depicts the voting for the arms of Achilles (casting the votes). None of the figures is labeled, but we can presume that Ajax is the man on the far right who holds his head in his hands, knowing he has lost. The two figures are only identified in context in relation to each other within the scene. Though this is a scene from the Homeric epics, the men here are dressed in local garb as Athenian citizens.

The episode of the quarrel for the armor chronologically precedes that of the vote. The standard manner of depicting victor on left and defeated opponent on right are present even here: Odysseus is positioned to the left of the voting men, and Ajax stands by on the right end of the voters. The voting block is reminiscent of the game-table block from scenes of Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame. "The narrative connection between the game and the vote would have been most immediately accessible to late Archaic vase-painters, but one should not rule out the possibility that other types of viewer would have recognized it"¹²⁰ It is this emotional struggle that separates Ajax from the other figures present during the voting scene (except for Athena, whose dress and weapons and gender set her apart). Ajax appears passive, almost defeated, on the right of the scene of the vote. The rarer scenes of the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus

¹¹⁹ See footnote 98.

¹²⁰ Hedreen 2001, 109.

portray two men attacking each other with force of arms, separated by Agamemenon and restrained by other Greeks.

Alone/Suicide

The suicide of Ajax is found throughout epic poetry and on early non-Athenian art, such as seventh-century Corinthian vase-painting and early sixth century Peloponnesian shield-band reliefs.¹²¹ After losing the vote for the armor of Achilles, Ajax was overcome by "a sense of shame so overpowering that he saw no way out but suicide."¹²² The suicide of Ajax is the culmination and emotional apex of Ajax's tragic narrative. Spurned by his fellow Greeks and driven to madness by Athena, according to the tragedians, among them Sophocles, he kills his comrades thinking instead that he is slaughtering sheep.¹²³ Details of the tale are recorded and alluded to by later writers. The best source for this episode comes from Sophocles' Ajax. Sophocles sets the scene of Ajax's suicide on the shores of Troy, where Ajax plants his sword in the ground in order to fall upon it. His wife, Tekmessa, discovers Ajax's naked corpse first, and covers it with her own garment, like a shroud. His body lies unburied, and no one weeps for him (except Tekmessa). "The story of Ajax's suicide made a deep impression on Greek artists from an early date, especially the horrific manner in which he accomplished it, which never varies in our literary or visual sources."¹²⁴ The episode is present in Greek art as early as the beginning of the seventh century; the earliest known example appears on a middle Proto-Corinthian aryballos

¹²¹ The suicide of Ajax is recounted in Homer's *Aithiopis*, according to Proculus (*Homerica*, Loeb ed. 1967), as well as in the *Little Iliad* which elaborates on the armor being awarded to Odysseus rather than Ajax and Ajax's madness and subsequent suicide. For more literature on the suicide of Ajax, see: Davies 1971, 148-57. On the suicide of Ajax in early Greek art, see: Hedreen 2001, 110. Also see *LIMC* I, s.v. "Aias I" (Touchefeu). On the suicide of Ajax in late Archaic Greek vase-painting as a political statement, see: Basile 1999, 15-22.

¹²² Shapiro 1994, 149.

¹²³ There is only one current example of this scene on late Archaic vase-painting, and it is fragmentary, at best (CIV.85).

¹²⁴ Shapiro 1994, 150.

currently in Berlin, which is only slightly later than the first known example of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles.¹²⁵ The same scene is shown on other contemporary examples in various media, such as on bronze shield bands from Olympia in the late secenth century, and again in the sixth century on Corinthian vases, which identify Ajax by an inscription.¹²⁶ Even the early sixth century South Italian metope from Foce del Sele is iconographically similar: the deed is already committed, "with the hero impaled upon his sword planted in the ground, Ajax is on his hands and knees, and may face to left or to right. In some illustrations he is completely nude; in others he wears a helmet and greaves."¹²⁷ During the seventh century, Ajax is depicted alone; during the sixth century, he can also be accompanied by flanking figures, those who discover the body.

The suicide of Ajax is rare in Attic art; there are only three recorded examples of the scene in Athenian vase-painting. The first, and only example prior to 500, is attributed to Exekias (CIV.86; *fig.* 65). The obverse of a late sixth-century black-figure amphora now in Malibu depicts a haunting scene of Ajax, alone, preparing for his suicide. The palm tree on the left lets us know that the action takes place outside, most likely at Troy. On the right side of the frame lie a discarded shield, a crested helmet, and two spears. A Gorgoneion appears in red-figure on his black Boiotian shield, an image which is quite possibly the first example of red-figure in Athenian vase-painting. The center of the scene is pierced by an erect sword which is placed, hilt first, into the ground by a nude and bearded man crouching low in profile to the right. His nudity foreshadows his death. The scene itself is one that precedes the actual suicide of Ajax, and it is new to the repertoire of epic representation in vase-painting. Exekias' version is quite different from the earlier non-Attic depictions of Ajax lying on his sword, for it shows Ajax alone during

¹²⁵ Berlin, Staatliche Museen 3319, middle Proto-Corinthian aryballos currently in Berlin, c. 560 B.C., (see: Moore 1980, 431).

¹²⁶ For the bronze shields, see: Kunze 1950, 154-47.

¹²⁷ Moore 1980, 431. For the metope, see: Hurwit 1987, 227-28, fig. 94.

the moment of contemplation and preparation before the suicide. "It is typical of archaic subject matter that the moment depicted is the high point in the story, the moment of greatest excitement and action, and hence the one most easily recognizable."¹²⁸ Exekias' portrayal of the premeditated suicide "is intense... the loneliness, the ethos, the furrowed brow, as [Ajax] broods upon a fate over which he feels he has no control... Exekias has created a psychological study that stands virtually alone in Archaic Greek narrative art."¹²⁹ Exekias has redefined the focus of the scene from one of after-the-fact to that of premeditated suicide.

The subject of the suicide of Ajax does not appear in vase-painting again until the fifth century. The first example decorates the tondo of a red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, currently in Malibu (the exterior sides of this cup are illustrated with the quarrel and subsequent vote for the armor) (CIV.1). This version of the suicide reflects the earlier non-Attic representations, not influenced by the innovation of Exekias. Tekmessa covers the nude body of Ajax. Ajax lies on his back, with the sword running through his body, hilt at the back. The ground is rendered with dilute washes and tiny dots to indicate a sandy, pebbly beach. Tekmessa, with a fillet in her hair, rushes in with a shroud, decorated on the edges, to cover the body.

Exekias' composition influences the Alkimachos Painter's rendition of this scene on a red-figure lekythos dating to c. 460.¹³⁰ Although this lekythos is later than the time period concerned within this study, it is one of the finest examples and portrays a very rare subject, first depicted by Exekias, which shows a slightly earlier moment. A nude and kneeling Ajax invokes the gods just before he hurls himself on his sword, an act which recalls the passage in Sophocles'

¹²⁸ Moore 1980, 431.

¹²⁹ Shapiro 1994, 152.

¹³⁰ [BAPD 407]: Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS1442, red-figure lekythos, Alkimachos Painter [attributed by Schefold], c. 460 (*Biblio – LIMC* I, PL.246, Aias I 105; Robertson 1992, 151, fig. 156). On the Alkimachos Painter, see: *ARV*² 529-33; Boardman 2000, 37.

Ajax (lines 815-65), though it was probably performed a little later. Behind the hero, a shield leans against a pillar and the sheath for a sword hangs above. Death is what defines a hero, for without it there can be no tomb or cultic rites. While the suicide of Ajax is the illustration of the religious definition of his heroism, it does not seem to receive as much visual attention as it does literary.¹³¹

Stealing Ajax

The procurement of foreign heroes into Athenian religious life is based on political motivation.¹³² Apparently the local heroes could be seduced into withdrawing their protection from their previous worshippers and transferring it to new ones.¹³³ Thucydides claims that Brasidas performed a similar action before he felt he could expel the Acanthians from their city and Archidamos is reported to have addressed the heroes of Plataea from similar motives: acquiring a patron hero from another city for political purposes.¹³⁴ It is tempting to propose that the idea of using hero cult to support territorial claims may be traced back to Solon and the sixth century.

Just as one might appropriate the bones of a local hero and thus claim that he now protects one's own city, so might one do something similar through the establishment of a shrine to a hero. In the one case, a city gains whatever advantage is to be understood as coming from the relics of a hero, be they bones or a weapon, and in the other, a city gains through the establishment of some sort of narrative link between the hero and the city itself.¹³⁵

¹³¹ In comparison, images of a post-mortem Achilles, being transported by Ajax, are aplenty.

¹³² On heroes and politics, see: Larson 2007, 199.

¹³³ On the politics of bone transferal, see: McCauley 1999, 85-98; Ekroth 2007, 111-13.

¹³⁴ Thucydides 2.74; 4.87.

¹³⁵ Higbie 1997, 296-7.

The appropriation of Salamis from Megara to Athens (and the cult of Ajax within) took place during the final quarter of the sixth century, and was finalized in 509 B.C. The same visual and cultic acquisition occurs at this time in Athens with the Spartan Dioskouroi, who first appear in Athenian vase-painting c. 540 B.C.¹³⁶

The acquisition of the Ajax's cult by Athens from Salamis is framed by the power struggles between certain *poleis*. Megara, Aegina, Salamis and Athens all hosted cults of or connected to Ajax.¹³⁷ Scenes of Ajax are introduced into Athenian vase-painting during the final quarter of the sixth century and into the early fifth century, reflecting a few select scenes told in the epic cycle. Certain scenes of Ajax are specific to Athens, as is the variation of Athena's presence on other scenes. It is difficult to incorporate the provenance of such vases as evidence for an implied Athenian audience; for vases found in Etruscan tombs, it is impossible to say if they were produced exclusively for export or not. The cause for this new existence of both cult and image of Ajax in Athens could be political manipulation: the Athenian acquisition of Ajax for its own state image as a political strategy. Thus, Athens acquired Ajax via vase-painting. Unlike Herakles and Theseus, Ajax has no distinct features to identify him visually. Ajax does not have a divine figure to accompany him in the visual representations, not even Athena who is the patron goddess of other heroes such as Achilles and Herakles.

¹³⁶ On the Dioskouroi in Athenian art, see: *LIMC* III, s.v. "Dioskouroi," 567–93; Eaverly 1995, 59-61. On the cult of the Dioskouroi at Athens, see: Shapiro 1989, 149-53. On the cult transferal of the Dioskouroi from Sparta to Athens, see: Shapiro 1999, 99-107.

¹³⁷ On the political history of Megara, see: *OCD*, s.v. "Megara", 924. On the use of the cult of Ajax for political reasons during the sixth century B.C., see: French 1957, 238-46.

General Conclusions

The images produced in Athenian art do not portray any local mythological subjects of Ajax, those that tied him to Salamis or to Athens as an Eponymous hero, but artists rather favored the tales concerning Ajax's role in the Trojan War, all based on his mythological narrative. There are about as many examples of Ajax scenes dating from c. 525 to c. 475 as there are of Theseus during the same time frame. During the second half of the sixth century, Exekias played a major role in developing the popularity of Ajax in Attic vase-painting. "Exekias is showing us that the Athenian presence at Troy was at this time important to Athens' national consciousness."¹³⁸ He was the first to compose the Boardgame scene and the first to portray Ajax's contemplation of his suicide (rather than the act of the suicide itself, which involves more gore but much less emotion). The Ajax figure whom vase-painters chose to display is the noble yet sad mythological hero of Homer, not the Attic hero honored with a shrine and cult rites.

Ironically, the visual representation of Ajax on Athenian vases correlates with the introduction of Ajax as Athenian cult hero. After 500, the image of Ajax practically disappears from Athenian vase-painting – while, in contrast, the events from the fall of Troy (*llioupersis*) increase. Rarely is the hero depicted alone, apart from in his scenes of suicide; the majority of representations show him next to, but not equal to, Achilles, or in a scene that alludes to Achilles, such as the quarrel for the armor of Achilles. Achilles may be seen as an attribute or identifying feature for Ajax: when Achilles is present (or the composition of the scene identifies the subject as specific to Achilles), then, by process of elimination, can we identify Ajax. Rarely is he shown actually battling anyone using the strength Homer so often praises him for (a few

¹³⁸ Shapiro 1989: 148. For a reference of Exekias' tributes to Ajax in vase-painting discussed in this chapter, see: CIV.2-4, 32-33, 99.

vases portray his duels with Memnon and Hektor). He is associated with Achilles through representation and/or subject.

If Ajax is to be included in the theme of 'Struggle' this study has adapted for the previously discussed heroes, Herakles and Theseus, then the Struggle of Ajax must be viewed as an internal one.¹³⁹ Only a handful depicts Ajax in an aggressive pose or subject, he is otherwise shown alone, in defeat (emotionally or physically), or carrying the burden of Achilles (either physically or emotionally). Subject choices for Ajax are both emotional and passive; there are few action scenes. Athenian vase-painting actually does not portray Ajax's mighty prowess in battle, but instead his losses and struggles in life and also his friendship with Achilles — though even then he is shown losing to Achilles while engaging in something as trivial as playing a boardgame. Sometimes Athena is present in those scenes, yet her role is in support of Achilles, not Ajax. With Ajax, the Athenian vase-painters display an "interest in the human aspects."¹⁴⁰

The iconography of Ajax included in the period of this study is distinct from that of both Herakles and Theseus; perhaps, the hero of Salamis is meant to remain individual, as an outcast, not the ideal Athenian citizen. Herakles and Theseus share a similar iconography with the merging of combat and sports, but Ajax is rarely shown in combat, let alone in a pose that conveys the activities of the gymnasion. While other heroes are faced with Struggles of the flesh, Ajax, the warrior, is faced with Struggles of the soul.

¹³⁹ The study of the emotional tragedy undertaken by epic figures such as Achilles and Ajax has been studied in order to understand what today's soldier experiences, and to help treat Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Shay 1995; 2003).

¹⁴⁰ Junker 2012, 18.

THE HEROIC VASE: JUXTAPOSITION

Introduction

Athenian vase-painters developed an interest in the hero during the last half of the sixth century. Such an interest led to an increased production of heroic subjects on Greek vases. Vases are portable objects as well as functional – they do not remain static, but are seen from all points of view. The decorative scheme on specific shapes may reflect the function of the vase itself or become a point of discussion, such as symposium-themed amphorai and cups.¹ Two opposite sides of a single vase can be part of a thematic arrangement that works to connect the entire vase. In what follows, we will discuss the late Archaic development of such juxtapositions that formed what will be termed henceforth a "Heroic Vase."

The artistic decision to combine related themes on a single vase in a consistent manner does not begin during the Archaic period. The earliest example of a Heroic Vase actually appears as early as the seventh century.² Hurwit argues that a middle-late Proto-Corinthian olpe (c. 650

¹ On vases and the symposium, see: Lissarrague 1991, Ch. 5; Topper 2012, 10.

² Benson argues that the subjects which decorate both the obverse and reverse on a Middle Proto-Corinthian Ia aryballos (c. 690-670 B.C.) in Berlin attributed to the Ajax Painter–Ajax's suicide with warriors – are connected through what she dubs the "simile principle" (1995, 163), but she is the only scholar to have voiced such an opinion.

B.C.), the Chigi Vase by the Chigi Painter, is decorated with connecting themes, as well.³ A contemporary Proto-Attic example of two separate heroes that decorate the same vessel appears on the Eleusis neck amphora by the Polyphemus Painter (*fig.* 66).⁴ The entire body of this large vessel depicts the beheading of Medusa by Perseus, along with her two Gorgon Sisters. The neck of the amphora continues the heroic theme and portrays a Homeric episode: Odysseus and his men blinding the Cyclops, Polyphemus.⁵ The earliest arguable example of a vase-painter forming a complex yet unified theme on a single vessel through the separately depicted scenes is the unique case of the early sixth century Athenian black-figure krater, the François Vase (*fig.* 68).⁶ Portraying scenes from the life of Achilles, the artists Kleitias and Ergotimos included Peleus, Ajax, and Theseus along with Achilles, the central figure of Homer's *Iliad*. With the exception of the Eleusis amphora, which separates its two subjects on the body and neck of the vase, all of the above mentioned early vases are decorated with bands of friezes (because of their dates and styles). The placement, scenes, and left-to-right direction of the narratives all encourage the viewer to see the entire vase as a single unit.

By the mid-sixth century, vase-painters begin to use panels which fill the entire sides of a vessel, rather than friezes, to illustrate a snapshot moment for a given subject.⁷ The relation between the obverse and reverse panel subjects is less defined during this period. It is not until the invention of the red-figure technique and the introduction of "bilingual" vases, c. 530 B.C.

³ Formerly called the "MacMillan Painter." BAPD 9004217: Rome, Villa Giulia 22679. Dunbabin-Robertson 1953, 179-180: Salmon 1977, 84-101: Rasmussen 1991, 57-62: Hurwit 2002, 1-22.

⁴ Fig. 66, Eleusis Archaeological Museum, Inv. 2630, Polyphemus Painter. Boardman 2001, fig. 34.1,2.

⁵ Homer, *Od.* 9.360-412.

⁶ Fig. 68 [BAPD 300000]: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209. Not all scholars argue in favor of a unifying theme across the visual program on this krater. For a summary of the discussion, see: Torelli 2007. For authors who do propose a thematic unity of the krater, see: Carpenter 1991, 13-17; Osborne 1998, 91-5; Lissarrague 2001, 10-21; the collected articles in Shapiro *et al.* 2013.

⁷ On the development of vase-painting during the sixth century in Athens, see: Boardman 1991, 79-102; Robertson 1992, 20-41.

that the vase-painters, foremost among them the Lysippides Painter and the Andokides Painter, form a definitive iconographic unity between the two sides of a single vase.⁸ In these instances, the same subject is illustrated on one side in the older black-figure technique, and on the other side in the newer red-figure technique. The conversation formed is not necessarily one between the two subjects illustrated, but rather one between the separate techniques used to illustrate the vase.⁹ At the end of the sixth century we begin to see connecting themes throughout a single vase, such as on the Cycle Cups that combine multiple episodes from a single narrative, illustrating various deeds of Theseus or connecting scenes from the *Ilioupersis*.¹⁰

This chapter present a brief analysis of the visual program of the "Heroic Vase" on Athenian vases between c. 530 and c. 475 B.C., namely, those which portray different heroic scenes on a single vessel. It further examines the shifts and transformations in the iconography, compositions, themes, and frequency of the vases which are decorated with juxtaposed heroes. With a strong focus on quantitative data, the discussion will examine the subjects chosen for visual programs of Heroic Vases through the final quarter of the sixth century through the early fifth century.

⁸ On the Lysippides Painter, see Chapter 4, footnote 81.

⁹ On the paradigmatic value of the specific program Archaic and Classical vase painters intended combining subject and subject, and even subject and vase shape, see various essays in: Scheibler 1987; Bérard 1989; Lissarrague 1990; Steiner 1993; and Shapiro 1997. Generally, also see: Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 118-157.

¹⁰ Pindar connects heroic themes in his Odes, but sometimes the association between heroes is not apparent (Examples: *Pyth.* 2, *Oly.* 2.11). See the discussion on Cycle Cups in Chapter Three.

Juxtaposed Heroes in Late Archaic Greek Vase-Painting

A total of 56 vases from the date range of this study, primarily amphorae and cups, exhibit the formula of juxtaposed heroic scenes that make up a "Heroic Vase" during the late Archaic time period, 27 in the black-figure technique, 27 in the red-figure technique, and two on bilingual vases.¹¹ A total of 29 Heroic Vases date to c. 500 B.C. or earlier, nineteen of which are in the black-figure technique, eight in the red-figure technique, and two are bilingual [See Table V.1].

Table V.1. Chronology of Heroic Vases.

	Pre-500 B.C.	c. 525-475 B.C.	c. 500 B.C.	Post-500 B.C.
Black-figure (27)	17	3	2	4
"bilingual" (2)	2			
Red-figure (27)	7	1	1	18

	Herakles	Theseus	Ajax	Achilles	Other
Herakles (55)	12	13	9	2	4
Theseus (35)	13	10			1
Ajax (15)	9		1	2	2
Achilles (7)	2		2	1	
Dioskouroi (2)	1		1		
Demophon/Akamas	1		1		
(2)					
Triptolemos (1)	1				

¹¹ This count does not include the nine Cycle Cups of Theseus discussed in Chapter Three, or any bilingual vases depicting Herakles that repeat the same scene on either side in different techniques. It can be reasoned that the bilinguals were experiments in technique rather than an intended thematic arrangement of specific connected themes. This count also omits any vases with a unified program of episodes from the *llioupersis*, or the few (later in date) localized Athenian hero vases.

The heroes seen on Heroic Vases are primarily those whose iconography has been discussed in the previous chapters, with the additions of Demophon and Akamas, the Dioskouroi, Triptolemos and local Attic royal heroes. Herakles is the most frequently represented of these heroes with 55 documented occurrences. Following close behind is Theseus with 35 occurances (not including Cycle Cups). Ajax, often portrayed in episodes that place him next to Achilles, is included on the Heroic Vases, portrayed a total of fifteen times [See Table V.2]. Building upon the iconographic analyses of the previous chapters, in what follows we will focus on the subject matter and context of the scene as it plays a role in the arrangement of a vase's complete decorative scheme.

Herakles and Herakles

Table V.3. Herakles and Herakles.

"Side A" Subject	"Side B" Subject	
Kerkopes	Stag	
Nemean Lion	Deer	
Nemean Lion [repeat]	Lernean Hydra	
Nemean Lion	Reclining at Symposium	
Nemean Lion	Struggle for the Tripod	
Nemean Lion	Erymanthian Boar	
Apples of the Hesperides	Erymanthian Boar	
Chimaera	Erymanthian Boar	
Cretan Bull	Erymanthian Boar	
Cretan Bull	Two Foes	
Reclining with Dionysos	Reclining with Hermes	
With Eurytos	With? (squatting, fragmentary)	

Herakles was one of the most widely represented heroic figures on Greek vases, as discussed in Chapter Two. Vases which juxtapose a scene of Herakles with another scene that repeats the same hero number twelve (CV.1-12) [See Table V.3]. Eight are in the black-figure

technique, three red-figure, and one bilingual. The majority of the vases are dated prior to c. 500 B.C. Deeds of Herakles which do not have vast representation in vase-painting also appear here: the Stag/Deer, Apple of the Hesperides, and the Kerkopes (CV.4; *figs.* 26, 68). Yet it is the iconic subjects for Herakles which feature the most often on the Heroic Vases, again on such juxtaposed scenes that contrast episodes from the same hero's narrative. The Nemean Lion is depicted four times and the Erymanthian Boar four times, as well. However, only once do these two subjects decorate contrasting sides of a single vase (CV.6).

None of the juxtapositions here provide any visual connection to each other apart from the focus of the subject: Herakles. The only vase which exhibits some compositional unity across both scenes is a black-figure kylix attributed to the Theseus Painter, currently in London (CV.12; *figs*. 7a-b). Though the decoration has been described previously in Chapter Two, let us briefly review: Herakles reclines outdoors to the right of a deity (Dionysos on the obverse, Hermes on the reverse). Both pairs are accompanied by three bulls which graze around them. The placement of the figures and animals on both scenes is identical, and the (lack of) dress and appearance of Herakles is the same on both sides. The only difference between the two sides is the god who accompanies Herakles, identified by dress and attributes.

Theseus and Theseus

"Side A" Subject	"Side B" Subject
Poseidon's Palace	Arrival at Athens
Sinis	Prokrustes
Marathonian Bull	Prokrustes
Minotaur	Prokrustes
Minotaur	Prokrustes
Minotaur	Skiron
Minotaur	Skiron
Minotaur	Sinis
Sow	youth
Antiope	Girl; girl

Table V.4. Theseus and Theseus.

Vases which juxtapose a scene that portrays Theseus with another scene that repeats the same hero number ten, only two less than the Heraklean vases (CV.13-22) [See Table V.4]. Unlike the Heroic Vases which are decorated only by episodes of Herakles, all but one of the Thesean vases are decorated in the red-figure technique. The majority of them date after c. 500 B.C. The iconic subject for Theseus, the Minotaur, appears the most often here on juxtaposed scenes of Theseus. The bandits Theseus battles on this journey to Athens appear a total of eight times: four of Prokrustes, two of Skiron and two of Sinis.

Theseus fights both beasts and men on opposite sides of a single vase. The Minotaur is paired opposite one of those villains five separate times (CV.13-17; *figs*. 37a-b), thus combining, in a more concise manner than the Cycle Cups, Theseus' earliest familiar Deed with his newer narrative that links him to Athens. It would seem that the vase-painters prefer the Minotaur as Theseus' iconic beastly duel to juxtapose his anthropomorphic combats rather than the Bull (or the Sow). The Bull only appears once on a Thesean Heroic Vase, paired opposite Prokrustes (CV.18; *figs*. 69a-b). Though the hero is represented dissimilarly on both sides, the two scenes

mirror each other in composition: Theseus appears on the far left in an aggressive stance, his opponent is the central figure and faces the hero, and on the right stands a robed and unidentifiable female figure who watches the Struggle.

The Thesean Heroic Vases display a compositional similarity of both subjects and gestures of the hero. The vases have both a thematic and visual unity, as represented by the hero. Three vases stand out in particular. The first has been discussed thoroughly in Chapter Three, the girl "Cycle Cup" (CV.19; *figs*. 49, 70). The second vase juxtaposes two of Theseus' human foes, Sinis and Prokrustes, without the presence of his iconic representation (either the Minotaur or the Bull) (CV.20; *figs*. 71a-b). The final vase that places subjects of Theseus on both sides is decorated with two rarely shown subjects of Theseus: greeting his father, Poseidon; and his arrival in Athens as the son of King Aigeus, whereupon he is greeted by the city's patron deity, Athena (CV.21; *figs*. 33a-c). The rarely depicted episodes of Theseus at Poseidon's underwater palace and the hero's arrival in Athens are contrasted on a single vase, pairing the mortal and divine parentages of the hero on an early fifth century red-figure cup attributed to the Briseis Painter.¹² There is a united theme of lineage, while one side shows the divine aspect of Theseus, the other portrays his Athenian inheritance.

¹² On the Briseis Painter, see: ARV² 406-10; Boardman 1974, 137.

Herakles and Theseus

Table V.5. Herakles and Theseus.

Herakles	Theseus	
Triton	Amazonomachy	
Amazonomachy	Minotaur	
Amazonomachy	Minotaur	
Kyknos	Minotaur	
Nemean Lion	Prokrustes	
Nemean Lion	Marathonian Bull	
Nemean Lion	Marathonian Bull	
Nemean Lion	Marathonian Bull	
Erymanthian Boar	Marathonian Bull	
Antaios	Marathonian Bull	
Antaios	Prokrustes	

It is an almost anticipated development that vase-painters of the Archaic and Classical periods would create a visual programs that unified the heroic deeds of both Herakles and Theseus.¹³ Individual episodes from the two separate narratives appear on metopes on opposite sides of the Treasury of Athens at Delphi (c. 490 B.C.) as well as the mid-fifth century Hephaisteion in Athens.¹⁴ However, there is only one known vase that places the two heroes together within the same scene: an early fifth century red-figure lekythos which depicts Herakles rescuing Theseus from the Seat of Lethe.¹⁵ Herakles, as the most frequently depicted hero in Greek vase-painting, is placed opposite various heroic figures besides Theseus; but Theseus is only ever contrasted against either himself, Herakles, and once opposite fellow Royal Heroes of

¹³ On the use of certain heroic figures as a political statement, refer to Chapter 2, footnote 35.

¹⁴ On the metopes that decorate the Treasury of Athens at Delphi, see: Neer 2004, 63-93. On the metopes of the Hephaisteion, see: Boardman 1985, 146-8, fig. 111.

¹⁵ [BAPD 206035]: Berlin, Antiken. 30035, red-figure lekythos, Alkimachos P. [attributed by Beazley], 500-450, *Biblio – ARV*² 532.57; *Para.* 384; *LIMC* VII, PL. 665, THESEUS 294 (PART). The same story appears only one other time on a mid-fifth century red-figure calyx krater by the Niobid Painter (BAPD206954: Paris, Musée de Louvre G341; *ARV*² 601.22, 1661; *ARFV II* fig.4.1-2).

Athens (CV.23; *figs*. 72a-b).¹⁶ Vases which place a Heraklean subject opposite a Thesean subject number thirteen, one more than those that place Herakles opposite himself (CV.14, 24-35) [See Table V.5]. Although the known examples date mostly prior to c. 500, the distribution of technique is fairly equal, with seven in the black-figure and six in the red-figure.

The Nemean Lion and the Minotaur are the iconic representations for both Herakles and Theseus, respectively.¹⁷ It has been noted that the importance of the two pairings is reflected in both the Heraklean and Thesean Heroic Vases. Both episodes appear again as the most frequently represented subjects on Heroic Vases that juxtapose Herakles and Theseus. The Struggle between Herakles and the Nemean Lion is seen on seven vases, Theseus slaying the Minotaur on six vases, and Theseus and the Marathonian Bull on five. There are only three known vases which pair Herakles and the Lion with Theseus and the Minotaur (CV.14, CV.24-25). The first two examples, both in the black-figure technique, depict Herakles in the traditional manner: bearded, yet clothed, standing as he wrestles the Lion. The reverse side shows a similar composition of a beardless clothed male stabbing the Minotaur.

The late sixth-century red-figure kylix attributed to the Euergides Painter (CV.14; *figs*. 37a-b) emphasizes the association between these two heroes further by placing them adjacent on a single side, as if taking place simultaneously – the legs of the heroes even overlap as if they are together in the same space. Theseus, beardless and wearing a short chiton, is on the left as he prepares to stab the Minotaur with his sword, on the right a beardless and nude Herakles is bent over as he wrestles the Nemean Lion into a neck hold (on the reverse, the position and gesture of

¹⁶ On the Hero Kings of Athens, refer to the discussion in Chapter One. Also see: Kron 1976; Shapiro 1998, 127-51; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 26, 133, Cat. 367-68.

¹⁷ On the Nemean Lion, see: Chapter Two. Also see: Stansbury-O'Donnell 2014, 165. On the Minotaur, see: Chapter Three.

Theseus is mirrored as the same hero, now nude, prepares to strike Prokrustes). It is unusual to portray Herakles without a beard at this early a date, yet the wrestling pose in which he is portrayed, and the presence of the Lion, identify securely the figure and the scene.

The Lion and the Minotaur are indeed significant subjects in each hero's repertoire, but the juxtaposition of Herakles and the Lion with Theseus and the Bull, not the Minotaur, is paired just as often on vases during this time. There are three known examples of such a pairing; of these, two are in the black-figure and two in the red-figure technique (CV.26-27, CV.28; figs. 39, 73). One time the subject of Theseus and the Bull opposes that of Herakles and the Boar, instead of the Lion, (CV.29).¹⁸ The association of the Bull with both heroes has been discussion in both Chapters Two and Three, but it should be emphasized here that the presence of the Bull with either hero will cause an association for the viewer with the larger story itself, which begins with Herakles and ends with Theseus. The anonymity of the hero with the Bull has also been discussed, but in these examples the identity of the protagonist can be assumed by deduction: a bearded Herakles is already present on one side as he wrestles the Lion, so the viewer then may presume that the beardless youth taming the Bull is Theseus. The victorious nature displayed in such scenes "are clear demonstrations of [the hero's] physical power over adversaries. ... highly relevant here are their individual duals – Herakles and the Nemean lion, Theseus and the Minotaur – packaged as wrestling matches."¹⁹ The chosen themes for Herakles are those that portray him in the gestures similar to a wrestler, while the subjects chosen for Theseus require that he stand as an aggressor wielding a weapon. However, when the Lion and Bull scenes are juxtaposed, the compositions are similarly arranged. Both heroes are nude and carry a club (or a

¹⁸ Compare to CV.11, which juxtaposes the Bull and the Boar again, but with Herakles as the only heroic figure present.

¹⁹ Smith 2012, 546.

club-like weapon for Theseus), a tree is present in the background, and the animal lies prone and submissive, clearly defeated by the hero who is on the left. Theseus is positioned in his normal striking stance (right arm held down and back as the left arm holds the animal down) but with only a club for a weapon, and Herakles is bent over the Lion clasping his arms tight into a secure hold around the animal's neck.

Ajax and Heroes

Ajax appears as the third major heroic presence on the Heroic Vases. Heroic vases which feature Ajax on one side number fourteen (CV.36-CV.49). Ajax appears opposite a variety of heroes: himself (once), Dioskouroi (once), Demophon and Akamas (once), Achilles (twice), and Herakles (nine examples) [see Table V.6]. The vases are primarily in the black-figure technique (eight examples) and date prior to c. 500 (eight examples).

Ajax	Other
Ajax Carrying Achilles	Erymanthian Boar
Boardgame	Apotheosis of Herakles
Boardgame	Herakles and Kerberos
Boardgame	Herakles and Boar; and Bull
Boardgame	Herakles and Amazons
Boardgame	Herakles and Antaios
Boardgame	Herakles and Centaurs
Boardgame	Herakles and Centaurs
Boardgame	Herakles and Nemean Lion
Boardgame	Dioskouroi
Boardgame	Demophon and Akamas
Vote/Quarrel for Armor	Achilles Pursuing Troilos
Vote/Quarrel for Armor	Suicide of Ajax
Battle for Body of Patroklos	Achilles departing

Table. V.6. Ajax and Heroes

Ajax and Ajax

Ajax features opposite himself only once, on an early fifth century red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, currently in Malibu (CV.36; *figs*. 74a-b). The obverse shows the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus over the armor of Achilles, while the reverse shows Tekmessa covering the hero's nude and impaled body. The vase arguably illustrates the hero's story in the *Little Iliad* (and the theme of tragedy later in the fifth century): he loses the vote for the armor of Achilles which results in his suicide. Visually, the two sides of the cup are dissimilar. However, both subjects are connected by a unifying theme. The vase's theme is epic and heroic as well as one of solitude. The two sides of the cup are joined by the figure Ajax. The theme is a sad one, and the misfortune of the hero as displayed by both subjects evokes pity from the viewer.

Ajax and Achilles

Ajax and Achilles are an expected duo. It is rare to find Ajax without Achilles, as the latter's presence acts as attribute for the former.²⁰ Two red-figure cups depict subjects of Ajax – without Achilles – placed in contrast to a separate scene which stars Achilles (CV.37-38). The first example is unattributed and dates to the early fifth century (CV.37; *fig.* 63). The cup pairs the Quarrel for the Arms of Achilles (Side A) with the Pursuit of Troilos by Achilles (Side B).²¹ Side A contains seven figures total in a mirrored composition: two bearded nude male figures stride towards each other with swords drawn, restrained by two additional nude males per side. In the center stands another bearded and helmeted nude male, who separates the two. The figures

²⁰ Refer to the discussion in Chapter Four.

²¹ On the iconography for the story of Achilles' pursuit of Troilos, see: *LIMC* I, s.v. "Achilleus", 72-91 (Kossatz-Diessmann).

are Odysseus and Ajax rushing towards a duel, but stopped by Agamemnon and held back by fellow Achaians. Side B contains only three figures, one of whom is female and none of whom is nude. The left side of the scene is framed by a water fountain, at which stands Polyxena. The helmeted central figure, who wears a breastplate over his short chiton, is Achilles. With his spear held behind him, he chases towards Troilos.

The second example is attributed to the Brygos Painter and dates to the last decade of the sixth century (CV.38; *figs*. 75a-b). The Ajax side depicts the fight over the Body of Patroklos. Ajax and Aeneas face off over the body of the dead warrior, each one supported by another warrior behind him. Dressed as generic warriors with no distinguishing features to note, the two quarrelling men are identified by inscriptions. The Achilles side shows a scene of departure. Achilles and Antilochos, both identified by inscriptions, prepare to depart. Achilles is on the left shaking hands with an older male figure, and Antilochos stands in a quadriga, reins in hand. Behind him hovers an Eros figure. The two scenes take place years apart in the chronology of the Trojan War epics, yet the connection between Achilles and Patroklos, and Achilles and Ajax, remains via the separate sides. The presence of Antilochos further binds the two subjects as he was the warrior chosen to bear the news of Patroklos' death to Achilles.²² On both vases, the subjects on each side are taken from the Epic saga, but from different poems, but that is where the similarity between the two sides ends.²³ There is no iconographic assimilation.

²² Homer, *Il*. 17.640-714.

²³ See Smith 2014, 31-41.

Ajax (with Achilles) and Herakles

Ajax is most often paired with Achilles. The Boardgame played by the two is the most frequently depicted subject for the pair, with the second most commonly represented subject being Ajax Carrying the Body of Achilles.²⁴ Both subjects appear on the other side of a vase from an illustration from the life of Herakles: ten of the Boardgame and one of Ajax Carrying Achilles (CV.39-CV.47). The former subject shares a visual program with a diverse selection of Heraklean subjects, including ones not discussed in Chapter Two: his Apotheosis, Kerberos, Amazonomachy, Antaios, the Nemean Lion, the Erymanthian Boar, the Cretan Bull, and a Centauromachy (twice). One such pairing is particularly noteworthy for it appears on an amphora in the unorthodox "bilingual" technique (CV.39; figs. 76a-b). The vase juxtaposes Herakles and the Nemean Lion (red-figure) with the Boardgame scene (black-figure, attributed to the Lysippides Painter). The addition of the newer red-figure technique provides additional contrast to the hero and subject: while the traditional black-figure technique is used to illustrate a scene of epic warriors at rest, the red-figure scene opposite it shows a violent Struggle between man and beast. There is no compositional similarity between any of the aforementioned paired Ajax and Herakles scenes. The only visual unity between heroes is the presence of a beard, which is not to say much. Chapter Four's analysis of Ajax's primarily non-combatant representations concluded by claiming that the focus of Ajax's Struggles was emotional. This hero's iconography set him apart from other heroes, both epic and Panhellenic. Here the Heroic Vases combine the iconic image of Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame with various Labors of Herakles. The contrast between the vases is between a hero of action and a hero (or heroes, in

²⁴ See Chapter Four for a more detailed discussion of the number and iconography of these scenes.

this case) at rest. At the same time, it is this very contrast of subjects that also places the heroes at the same level of esteem.

The scene of Ajax Carrying Achilles appears only once on a Heroic Vase. A late sixth century black-figure amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, currently in New York, unites the hero's burden of his dead companion's weight with a scene of another hero, Herakles, carrying a load upon his shoulder, but in this case it is the Erymanthian Boar which he hoists above the cowering Eurystheus (CV.47; *figs*. 77a-b). Representations of Ajax carrying Achilles have been compared to scenes of Aeneas carrying Anchises away from Troy, another epic topic.²⁵ The only Heraklean comparison to such a composition is Herakles carrying Kerkopes, an episode from his heroic narrative which does not appear juxtaposed with Ajax.

Ajax (with Achilles) and Other Heroes

The Dioskouroi and the brothers Akamas and Demophon share visual programs with Ajax and Achilles.²⁶ The Dioskouroi, the twins Kastor and Polydeukes, sons of Zeus, appear opposite the Boardgame bidding their parents farewell on a black-figure amphora signed by Exekias (CV.51; *figs*. 55, 78). The brothers Demophon and Akamas, sons of Theseus, appear opposite the Boardgame rescuing their grandmother, Aithra, on an early fifth century red-figure kylix (CV.52). In each instance we have two heroes whose visual narratives reflect their inseparable nature placed on opposite sides of a vase with another pair similarly connected to each other. The heroes represented share the Trojan theme and both religious and mythological affiliation with Athens, yet each scene is compositionally different. While the arrangements on

²⁵ On the iconographic similarity of the two subjects, refer to Chapter 4, footnote 61.

²⁶ These two-paired heroes also share vases with Herakles (CV.48-50).

opposite sides of each vase do not at all resemble their counterpart, the juxtapositions of heroic duos is striking on its own.

Other Heroic Juxtapositions

Herakles, Theseus, and Ajax, the three heroes of this study, are also the most frequently represented heroes on juxtaposed Heroic Vases. The prevalence of specific subjects on the reverse side varies, however. Achilles will be included in this list, as well, as the majority of Heroic Vases which include Ajax depict a subject that pairs him with Achilles.

Achilles and Achilles

There is only one known example of a vase which places Achilles on both sides. Two duels of Achilles, Memnon and Hektor, appear on the top band of an early fifth century red-figure volute krater attributed to the Berlin Painter, currently in London (CV.53; *figs*. 79a-b).²⁷ The Berlin Painter is known for designing a visual scheme which incorporates the entire vase, and thus connects the two sides or parts. He is the first artist who splits the action of a single scene onto opposite ends of an amphora, such as images of Athena pouring wine from an oinochoe (shown on the obverse) into a cup held by Herakles (shown on the reverse).²⁸ Having

²⁷ On the visual occurances in Greek art of the duel between Achilles and Memnon and Achilles and Hektor, see: *LIMC* I, s.v. "Achilleus," 72-91 (Kossatz-Diessmann); "Hektor", 133-38; "Memnon" 175-81. For an addition Heroic Vase that juxtaposes the duel between Achilles and Memnon with a scene of Herakles and Busiris, see: [BAPD 200468]: Rome, Villa Guilia 57684, red-figure kylix, Epiktetos [attributed by signature], c. 525-475 (*Biblio – ARV*² 72.24, 1623, 1584.4; *ARV* 46.21; *Add.*² 167; *Decoration –* Side A: Hermes with scales between Achilles and Memnon; Side B: Herakles and Busiris).

²⁸ CII.21. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS456. The Berlin Painter is a well-studied figure. For a selection of the scholarship, start with: Beazley 1966; Kurtz 1983; Pinney 1981, 145-58; Robertson 1950, 23-34.

recognized the hand of this painter as the same artist, it is no surprise that the two sides of this red-figure krater create such clear visual unity.

The first comparison between the two sides is thematic: both sides illustrate an epic duel. Side A shows Achilles fighting Memnon; and Side B shows Achilles fighting Hektor. The figures are identified by inscriptions. The duels between Achilles and these two figures share a similar motive: revenge.²⁹ Achilles seeks out both heroes on the battlefield to avenge the death of Antilochus (Memnon) and Patroklos (Hektor). The second comparison is one of composition: two standing long-robed long-haired beardless figures flank the two helmeted warriors as they battle with weapons held ready to strike and shields held in front, ready to clash. The only difference in appearance between Achilles and Memnon is the presence of a beard on Memnon as well as his preference for a sword rather than a spear. On Side A of the vase, the figures are the mothers of the heroes, Thetis and Eos, each prepared to mourn the loss of her son.³⁰ On Side B the figures are the two gods who support the heroes: Athena on the left, identified by her aegis and helmet; and Apollo on the right, effeminate in appearance wearing a long robe. The third comparison is the figure of Achilles himself. On both sides of the krater he is the warrior on the left. Nude, helmeted, beardless, he wields a spear held low with his right hand and runs barefoot toward his opponent, leading the way with his round shield held in his left arm. The gestures and placement of Achilles are identical on both Side A and Side B. Behind him stands Thetis or Athena, respectively. The key difference in composition between the sides is seen in the gestures of Achilles' opponents. While the duel on Side A forms a perfectly balanced scene of two warriors rushing towards each other with spears held behind at the ready, their battle flanked by

²⁹ On the revenge of Achilles, see: Vermeule 1965, 34-52.

³⁰ See Smith 2014, 31-41.

standing figures, the decoration on Side B is less fluid. Hektor falls away from Achilles. Having been struck by the hero, a bearded, helmeted and nude Hektor holds his spear in front of him, parallel to his backwards trajectory as he stumbles.

General Conclusions

During the Late Archaic period of vase-painting in Athens, some painters chose to decorate vases with a unified theme of the Greek hero. The presence of such Heroic Vases remains constant throughout the period of the present study. There is no dramatic decrease of representation after c. 500 such as can be noted for the number of vases which represent only one hero. It should come as no surprise that the majority of juxtaposed scenes are those shown in previous chapters to be the favored subjects for each hero: Nemean Lion, Minotaur, Marathonian Bull, and the Boardgame. The choice of pairings, however, is less expected. Herakles is paired opposite every hero, most often with himself or Theseus, but Theseus is never depicted in juxtaposition on a vase with anyone else except himself or the other Royal Kings of Attica.

Herakles is the common denominator among the Heroic Vases. He is the paradigmatic hero. The only representations of Herakles not included on Heroic Vases are those which portray him taking part in a religious rite, whether he is pouring/receiving a libation or roasting meat at an altar.³¹ Herakles' iconography shows him as an athlete wrestling, a warrior striking, a master of beasts, and a participant in symposia. Each aspect is present on one side of a vase which is decorated with a separate hero on the reverse. However, only the composition and action of

³¹ Refer to discussion in Chapter Two.

Theseus mimics that of Herakles on Heroic Vases, most notably while fighting their iconic beastly foes: the Lion for Herakles, and the Bull or Minotaur for Theseus. This is not for a lack of options, either. Ajax's fight with Odysseus over the armor of Achilles is often compositionally similar to Herakles' Struggle with Apollo for the Delphic Tripod. However, the two scenes do not appear together on the same vase in the known examples. Ajax's quarrel with Odysseus is juxtaposed with another heroic theme only twice: once with Ajax's suicide, thus granting a theme of solitude to the entire vase; and the second time with Achilles pursuing Troilos, thus making Achilles the connecting figure on the entire vase. The Struggle of Herakles with Apollo over the Tripod is only paired opposite three other heroic subjects, one of which portrays another Struggle: Herakles' Struggle with a Lion. The two other scenes it appears shown opposite are: Demophon and Akamas rescuing Aithra; and Triptolemos with Demeter and Persephone (CV.47, CV.54; *fig.* 80).

It is more difficult to determine whether or not the Heroic Vases were intended for a Panhellenic or specifically Athenian audience. While the subjects that appear on the Heroic Vases illustrate feats of victory from heroes with Attic associations, this is not the case for all of them. For instance, the Berlin Painter's krater which juxtaposes Achilles' duels between Memnon and Hektor is purely epic in its visual program; there is no obvious Athenian connection. On the other hand, the Syriskos Painter's lekythos portraying Theseus' defeat of the Minotaur against the hero's fellow Royal Heroes of Attica leaves no doubt of the intended Athenian connection. While the specific find spots for many vases are recorded, the provenance

³² On the import and export of Greek vases, see: Stissi 2009, 23-43; Chankowski 2013, 25-38.

CONCLUSION

"όρᾶς τὸν θρασύν, τὸν εὐκάρδιον, τὸν ἐν δαΐοις ἄτρεστον μάχαις"¹

The commemoration of heroic figures, in any age, through monuments, likenesses, relics, legends, and celebrations, preserves the collective image of that hero.² Many have attempted to trace the path of heroic meaning throughout history and across cultures, notably beginning with European thinkers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Rousseau and Carlyle, whose definitions of hero worship in modern times is almost identical to that of hero worship in Archaic and Classical Greece.³ The heroes of ancient Greece were worshipped with cult rites and were also recognized images in contemporary art. When one thinks of Greek heroes, one recalls the legendary warriors from the Homeric epic poems, such as Achilles and Odysseus. Epic Greek heroes have permeated mythology and history by means of the Homeric poems, but these figures of legends and tales did not always have a place in ancient religion. The cultic worship of heroes was part of the religious system in ancient Greece and Rome and certain heroes were worshipped in a manner similar to divine figures. While the rituals of hero worship in ancient Greece are

¹ "Do you see the bold, the strong of heart, the dauntless in battles with the enemy?" Sophocles (Ajax, 364-65).

² Klapp 1949, 58.

³ Carlyle 1841. On Rousseau's unfinished essays, see: Jackson 1989, 434-46; Kelly 1997, 347-66.

known, the ways in which ancient Greeks conceptualized the hero are less easy to recognize. An obvious way of perceiving heroes might have been by gazing at the iconography on Athenian vases produced, traded, and used during the late Archaic and early Classical periods. The artist's choice of subject, as well as his manner of composition, reflects the contemporary reception of the hero.

This study has limited its analysis of heroic iconography in vase-painting to three figures who are prominent on Athenian vases and mythology, and who also had cults in Athens: Herakles, Theseus, and Ajax. The second quarter of the sixth century is the "transitional period" Shapiro proposes for the shift in black-figure vase-painting, but this dissertation proposes yet another shift around 530 B.C., after the invention of the red-figure technique that is characterized by more than just the new manner of painting.⁴ During the transitional period from the blackfigure technique to the red-figure technique in vase-painting, changes began to take place concerning heroic imagery: the hero becomes younger and lither; the hero fights more human foes and fewer animals or hybrid monsters; and the variety of mythological depictions increases.

A third shift in heroic subject choice occurs after 500 B.C. with the overall decline in representation of the hero. The heyday of artistic creativity in imagining new ways to represent the hero on vases, through new subjects as well as novel manners of conveying such subjects, falls between c. 510 and c. 490 B.C.; and then, all of a sudden, there is very little record of these same heroes on vases. However, after c. 480 there is more evidence for the same heroes as recipients of cult in Athens. Due to the incomplete nature of the evidence, we cannot state definitively a direct correlation between the increase of cult rites and the decrease of visual production, but, given the evidence, we are able to hypothesize a connection.

⁴ See Shapiro 1990 for the change in hero representation in the early sixth century B.C.

The present study opened with an examination of Herakles, since he is the paradigmatic hero not just for Athens or the Greek world, but for heroes themselves. He is the visual connector on Heroic Vases; it is his subjects and mythological narrative that are emulated or adapted by other heroes; and his fighting stance is appropriated by other heroes, as well. Only his unique and almost tender relationship with Athena remains his own, as well as his participation in scenes with religious aspects. Theseus does not replace Herakles full-stop as the hero of Athenian ideal, as has been proposed by scholars such as Boardman.⁵ Rather, Theseus joins Herakles as a visual symbol of the Athenian citizen: skilled in combat as well as athletics, familiar with the epic tales, and religiously observant. The conflation of iconography for the two heroes (their similar poses in combat as well as wrestling/pankration – attributes, dress, and struggles with beasts) and their connection with epic heroes (either mythological or visual), as well as juxtaposition of their favored subjects on vases, in addition to the contemporary monumental depictions, only reinforced this connection.⁶ The iconography of Ajax at first seems distant from that of either Herakles or Theseus, who both share a similar iconography with the merging of combat and sports, since Ajax is rarely shown in combat, let alone in a pose that conveys the activities of the gymnasion. He is displayed in scenes apart from the battle, or after the battle – even his own suicide. Perhaps he is meant to remain distinct, viewed as an outsider and not the ideal Athenian citizen.

In late Archaic and early Classical vase-painting, the attention, or the focus, lies on a single figure, a single hero. Each hero in the examples we have seen remains individual unto himself – neither divine nor generic, and it is arguable that the individual is important to these

⁵ Boardman 1975, 1-2.

⁶ The contemporary relief sculpture on the Treasury of Athens and the metopes atop the Hephaisteion, which are a generation later, display a juxtaposition of Theseus and Herakles, as well.

painters. This dissertation has also examined images that focus on a combination/pairing of certain heroes prominent in both mythology and art. Individuals that can either stand alone, but when paired together – or positioned in juxtaposition on a single vase – suggest a stronger concern for the heroic mentality. In exploring the iconography of the hero by looking at representations of three such individual figures in Athenian vase-painting from the chosen period, three significant iconographic patterns have also been uncovered: attributes; gestures and poses; and compositions.

Heroic Attributes

Distinct attributes, such as the helmet, spear, and aegis of Athena, and the lyre of Apollo, contribute to the identification of divine figures when there is no inscription.⁷ In the same way, repeated dress and affects for heroic figures, both on Greek vases and in other arts, secure their identifications and separate them from regular mortal men. Most notable for the vases under discussion are weapons and dress as well as the companions who accompany them.

Weapons and Dress

The specific weapons carried and costumes worn by heroes can help to identify them on decorated vases. Herakles comes with full regalia of lionskin, bow and arrows, club, and beard of a mature man. Sometimes he is nude with or without his lionskin. Theseus' attributes are more varied and fluid, often depending on the context of the myth portrayed. He wears a chiton – though is sometimes nude – and has the beardless face of a young Athenian. His weapon choice

⁷ For the specific attributes of Greek deities, see: Carpenter 1991 (organized by subject).

is primarily the sword, but he holds an axe when facing certain opponents and sometimes even a club that resembles the weapon of Herakles, though of a more narrow shape. Ajax is known in literature for his massive strength and tower-like shield, yet in vase-painting he carries a Boeotian shield and a spear, appears as a bearded warrior, dressed in full armor, shield, and helmet, and is often paired with Achilles. He has no specific attributes to distinguish him from a generic warrior, unless (as noted below) Achilles as his companion suffices as an attribute.

Companions

The mythological narrative of most heroes pairs them with a constant companion: Iolaos with Herakles, Perithoos with Theseus, and Achilles with Ajax. The companion acts almost as an attribute of sorts to identify the hero, especially for Ajax. While Iolaos and Perithoos are rarely represented apart from their grander counterpart, images of Achilles decorate a plethora of vases separate from the presence of Ajax. The most definitive method to portray a hero, as opposed to a mortal, was proximity to the gods, a device used in art as well as literature. Traditionally the gods can either help or hinder heroes in literature, but in art they offer assistance. Their assistance indicates both a positive outcome for the hero as well as a positive outcome for the specific city associated with that hero, in this case Athens.⁸ Images of both Herakles and Theseus show that they received regular patronage of gods, mainly Athena – Ajax, however, did not. Although deities are shown in association with heroes, they do not dominate the composition, but rather stand to the side and allow the hero to take the central position, thus reinforcing the central role of the hero in the scene. The role of Athena in particular poses a question to be considered for further discussion: whether or not her presence indicates that the scene is specifically heroic

⁸ Neils 2010, 116.

or specifically Athenian. She is the patron of both heroes and Athens, so the answer is difficult to determine.

Gesture and Poses

Particular poses and gestures of the individual heroes may provide insight to the singularity of their imagery. The specific methods in which individual figures are portrayed according to pose, gesture, and composition, when repeated often by multiple hands, attest to the singularity of that particular figure. The evidence divides into two categories: martial poses and peaceful poses.

Martial Poses

Martial conflict, both domestic and foreign, was prevalent during the time period in question, and the reflected interest in themes of war, especially from the Trojan War saga, is recognized in the visual imagery. Herakles is shown striding towards his opponent with his right arm holding a weapon -- a bow, club, or more rarely a sword or spear – above his head and with his left arm extended; Theseus is portrayed similarly yet he holds his weapon – a sword most often – lowered by his hip; and Ajax, when depicted in an act of fighting, is positioned similarly to Herakles but holding a spear, as would any generic warrior/hoplite. Yet, as with some representations of Theseus and Ajax, the only feature that distinguishes representations of episodes form the Trojan War from a generic scene of combat is an inscription.⁹ Images of certain heroes might have appealed to a male viewer at that time because they encourage the

⁹ Example: c. 500 B.C. Sosias Cup of Patroklos and Achilles, found in Junker 2012, 5.

viewer to have courage on the battlefield, but also remind them of mortality, because striving for glory through military achievements might bring death either by the point of another's sword or by the will of the gods.¹⁰

Combative poses for both Herakles and Theseus resemble specific sports from ancient Greece, primarily the pankration and wrestling. Herakles' active pose is similar to the striking pose of pankratiasts, as well as both Athena Promachos and Harmodios, with an arm raised in an active striking position; he is mature and constant.¹¹ Theseus' active pose is similar to the pose of wrestlers, and also the striding pose of Aristogeiton, with his arms held back ready to thrust (as a spear, though sometimes weaponless); he is youthful and skilled. Wrestling heroes and fighting beasts are not a novel concept or particular to the Greek world. In the Sumerian Epic of Gilgamesh (predating the Homeric epics), the hero wrestles the undefeated Enkidu (a form of 'belt' wrestling, according to the descriptions), a rival in both stature and strength, who immediately becomes a friend and ally [Tablet II].¹² The hero of this epic also fought beasts, such as Humbaba with swords and the aid of a companion, Enkidu [Tablet V]. The Struggling Hero is a recurring theme with neither chronological nor cultural boundaries. The heroes of Athenian art reflect this same affinity to see the hero not yet victorious, but in the process of becoming so.

¹⁰ Junker 2012, 12.

¹¹ For Athena Promachos, see: Boardman 1985, 170-73.

¹² On the epic of Gilgamesh, see: Sandars 1972, Hamori 2011, 625-42 (especially 626-32, for the depictions of wrestling).

Peaceful Poses

Yet this rule of martial arrangement is not one which is applied to all heroic figures, and we have seen many exceptions even among the three heroes discussed. The common exception is the hero at rest. Herakles is shown at rest when he is the subject of a religious scene, such as roasting meat at an altar, taking part in a libation, or participating as a *musikos argos*. Instances of Theseus at rest occur only in scenes from his mythological narrative which alludes to his local Athenian importance as a king of Athens and also the descendant of Poseidon. Ajax is primarily shown as the hero at rest. With nothing other than the familiarity of the scene or an occasional inscription to identify the hero, Ajax appears as a figure at moments that take place away from combat, such as playing a game with a companion, in the company of other Greeks, or contemplating the ultimate rest: his death. Ajax is the recurring protagonist in portrayals of emotional struggles.

One could claim that all forms of struggle uphold an emotional attraction, either elicited from the viewer or from the hero himself. Exekias, a mid-sixth century black-figure painter who introduces new subjects of Ajax, has been hailed as being able to show emotion through his extreme attention to detail, but the vase shapes and panel scenes enabled other black- and red-figure painters to do so, as well.¹³ The simplification of composition by use of synecdoche allowed for greater attention to detail of the individual figures. The painter now focused on the given or chosen moment rather than the myth as a whole. The heroic figures became caught in a moment of action, or contemplation, and is depicted in the act of mundane activities, like eating, drinking, shaking hands, or even just standing at rest. In such a way, the painters highlight the human aspect of the heroes, as well as their vulnerability. Representations of heroic subjects that

¹³ Shapiro 1994, 152.

alluded to daily life, such as ritual and sport, merge everyday themes with those of the mythological and divine.

Composition

A criterion for becoming a hero in ancient Greek culture was to do something extraordinary in life. The three heroes examined in this study all meet this standard. Herakles, the Panhellenic hero, struggles with beasts, men, monsters, and gods; he is presented as a victorious powerful figure. Theseus, the Athenian hero, struggles with villains, some beasts; he is portrayed as the ideal Athenian citizen. Ajax, the epic hero, struggles with himself above all else; he has the struggles of a warrior, the loss of companions and self – and self-worth – and the struggle with death above all else. Though each one varies, the heroes all encounter Struggles grand enough to be depicted by the vase-painters.

Yet when we examine the iconography of each hero individually and analyze the manner in which he is placed in relation to his foes within each scene, we see that the hero is primarily shown on the left, as the victor, in a manner of martial combat yielding a weapon. This rule of composition holds steadfast for scenes that portray Herakles and Ajax (who is not always the victor, and in such cases is positioned to the right of the scene). However, as the attributes and dress of Theseus remain inconsistent and ill-defined, so does the positioning of this particular hero within his scenes. He may be placed to the left or right of his combatant, though he is still meant to be perceived as the victor. The inconsistent placement of Theseus may be attributed in part to the introduction of the Cycle Cup, which, by its very nature portrays the Struggles of Theseus together across a single visual line. The painter thus makes the simple act of viewing the sequential combats of Theseus a trial in itself, as neither the hero's weapons or dress, nor placement in the duel is paralleled throughout. The busy visual arrangement on the Cycle Cups contrasts the ordered and simple scenes of Herakles and Ajax as they battle a single foe on a panel scene that fills only one side of a single vase.

The Heroic Vase

While the poses, attributes, and subjects of the heroes are unique, compositional similarities between heroic scenes become apparent when placed together. Such "heroic vases" – amphorae and cups – appear around the turn of the fifth century B.C.¹⁴ They juxtapose Physical and Emotional Struggles, such as the adventurous beast-defeating hero, Herakles, with the passive, internally struggling friend of Achilles, Ajax. On the vases the painters are able to juxtapose heroic feats, such as two separate episodes from the same hero's mythological narrative; scenes of Herakles wrestling the lion opposite scenes of Theseus tying up the Bull; and portrayals of Ajax, who is always paired with Achilles, with subjects of Herakles. Ajax was, in this manner, associated visually with Herakles by being placed on the reverse side of vases that also depicted Herakles; Theseus, however, is only placed opposite Herakles or himself.

While the present study has not been devoted to a single hero, or a specific genre of heroes, it has revealed that there are natural groupings and pairings of heroes on vases. Examining the heroes together, it has become readily apparent that a discussion concerning the iconography of Theseus could not be done well without also including that of Herakles, and the same is true with Ajax, whose analysis must also include the hero Achilles. Neither the vases depicting Theseus nor Ajax, as cult heroes specific to Athens, but mythologically known

¹⁴ Refer to Chapter Five for an in-depth examination of the Heroic Vases and the author's preliminary conclusions regarding the juxtapositions and arrangements.

throughout the Greek world, can fully be confronted on their own, as Theseus's iconography was so strongly associated with Herakles and Ajax's mythology with Achilles. These four heroes, all Panhellenic, form natural companions for vase-painters, and are seen juxtaposed on vases during this period. To be sure, one of the most significant conclusions of this study is that Herakles, a hero much-written about previously, serves as the visual connector between his fellow-heroes, as is evident on the Heroic Vases.

Final Thoughts: The Hero on the Vase

The results of the study of three major heroes on late Archaic Athenian vases leads to the conclusion that although there is no general iconography of the generic hero, there are individualized variations of specific heroic figures and subjects based on either mythological traditions (as opposed to cultic ones) or the innovation of the vase-painter. The Athenians portrayed their heroes in ways which alluded to the everyday life of the active citizen (Herakles and Theseus equal athletics, martial responsibilities, and Democracy) and also reflected the emotional struggle of the inhabitants of a city at war (Ajax). Herakles has specific attributes to identify him, because he is often more than a simple Panhellenic hero; he is also a god. Yet by placing Herakles opposite Ajax and Theseus, and by illustrating Theseus in poses that suggest assimilation to Herakles, the vase-painters place all three of our heroes on equal footing. By portraying these three heroes repeatedly in a manner that invokes quotidian activities, vase-painters have reinforced the idea of the "hero" as a model of the ideal Athenian citizen.

And what about other heroes? Both those depicted on vases of our period, and those with cult in Athens? Indeed, there are two types of heroes that future related studies might include.

The first type is that of non-Athenian heroes who also have a prominent visual presence on Greek vase-painting, such as Odysseus and Achilles. The second type is that of heroes with cult rites in Athens itself who have a minimal or nonexistent known presence in Athenian vasepainting, such as Erichthonios and Pandion. The first group was not included in the present study due to the lack of known cult in Athens and Attica. Further exploration of the iconography of the hero on Greek vases during this time period might expand on the geographic location of cults to include additional heroes with documented cult rites elsewhere, among them the Dioskouroi and Memnon. The second category of hero was not incorporated here due not to the lack of cult, of which evidence is plenty, but rather to the dearth of visual evidence. The Athenian cultic heroes include former kings of Athens (i.e., Theseus, Kekrops, and Erechtheus), the Eponymous Heroes, the Physician Heroes, and the Tyrant Slayers, Harmodios and Aristogiton.¹⁵ At least 160 heroes were known to have had cults in Athens. Sadly, we know very little about the origins of these hero cults as well as little or nothing about their mythology. While honorific rites took place in the Agora, on the Acropolis, on the Sacred Way, and in Eleusis, to name a few locations, these local heroes decorated a limited number of known vases, if any. The lack of representation contrasting the presence of cult is a topic of much interest in its own right.

In modern times as in the past, to better understand ourselves, we must understand our heroes. A better comprehension of the ancient Athenian conception of their own heroes during the late Archaic period, as reflected on vases, may in turn contribute to our knowledge not only of the city itself at a crucial time in its history but also of the ways that vase-painting more generally can be used as an interpretive tool. The biggest concern any scholar of vase-painting faces is that of interpretation, since the arbitrary nature of the vase-painter's craft is that the

¹⁵ On the Tyrant Slayers, refer to Chapter 3, footnotes 96-97, 151.

images produced are artistic interpretations, representations, and idealization of daily life or mythological tales. While it is possible to determine how heroes were represented on Athenian vases, can we with certainty even address the "why"? The answer is indefinite, yet, as scholars of the ancient world, we must at least pose the question. After all, as Sociologist Professor Douglas Porpora has stated: "heroes are one indicator of who we are and what we stand for."¹⁶

¹⁶ Porpora 1996, 209.

-CATALOGUE

The vases presented in the Catalogue are divided into five separate sections corresponding to each appropriate chapter; a notation is given in the case of cross-references. The numbering system of the catalogue is as follows: the Roman numeral refers to the chapter in which the vase is primarily referenced, and the Arabic numeral identifies the order in which the vase is referenced. The information following the catalogue identification is as follows: museum location, technique, vase shape, painter and attributed (if known), approximate date, bibliography (abbreviated as *Biblio*.), and a brief description of the figural decoration. In certain instances the vase has numerous publications, yet here only the pertinent scholarship and most common references for the subject matter are included. The decoration is organized by location on the vessel (shoulder, body, Side A, etc.). Unfortunately, some details of certain vases remain ambiguous due to inaccurate information on the author's part (such as no access to the vase in question). In such cases, the information is necessarily brief.

Not all of the vases referenced are found in the catalogue. For these entries, a corresponding footnote displays both inventory and publication record corresponding to the vase (e.g., the BAPD number, museum, shape, painter and attribution, date, and bibliography).

HERAKLES: CULT, MYTH, AND PANHELLENIC STRUGGLES

CII.1. Athens, National Museum 1666, red-figure kylix, Proto-Panaetian Group, c. 500-490. *Biblio – ARV* 1567; *LIMC* I s.v. "Antaios", no. 25; *LIMC* VII s.v. "Theseus", no. 133, 229; *ThesCRA*: V, PL.30.229 (I); BAPD 350911. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles wrestles Antaios; Side B: Theseus, holding an axe, attacks Prokrustes; Int.: youth pouring a libation.

CII.2. Taranto, Museo Nazionale 6515, black-figure cup C, Theseus Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-475. *Biblio – ABV* 520.33; *LIMC* IV, PL.445, s.v. "Herakles" 15 (I); BAPD 330715. *Decoration –*Sides A, B: symposion; Int.: statue of Herakles.

CII.3. Paris, Musée du Louvre G107, black-figure neck-amphora, Euphronios [attributed by Furtwangler]; c. 500. *Biblio – ARV* 18.2; *ARV*² 18.1, 1619, 21; *LIMC* IV s.v. "Herakles", no. 16; BAPD 200088. *Decoration –* Side A: kneeling Amazon shooting an arrow; Side B: statue of Herakles with inscribed base. [*figs*. 2a-b]

CII.4. Rome, Villa Giulia 106462, red-figure kylix, unattributed, c. 520. *Decoration* – Side A: sacrificial procession to an altar; Side B: Herakles and Nessos.

CII.5. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1856, black-figure amphora, Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 370.130, 696; *LIMC* IV s.v. "Herakles" 1333(A); BAPD 302125. *Decoration –* Side A: Sacrifice, Herakles leads a Bull to the altar; Side B: Gigantomachy, Athena and Giants.

CII.6. Thebes, Archaeological Museum, black-figure olpe, Painter of Vatican G49 [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio –ABV* 536.38; BAPD 305640. *Decoration –* Herakles ties a fillet around the neck of a bull (for sacrifice).

CII.7. London, British Museum 1864,1007.221, Painter of Vatican G49 [attributed by Beazley], black-figure oinochoe, c. 500. *Biblio – ABV* 536.37, *Add.*² 132, *LIMC* V s.v. "Herakles" no. 1340; BAPD 305639. *Decoration –* Herakles roasts meat on a spit at an altar. [*fig.* 3]

CII.8. Paris, Musée du Louvre F338, black-figure olpe, Painter of Vatican G49 [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 536.35, 705; *Para* 267; *Add*.² 133; BAPD 305637. *Decoration –* Herakles with meat on a spit at an altar.

CII.9. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1919, black-figure olpe, Painter of Vatican G49 [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio –ABV* 536.36; *Add.*² 132; BAPD 305638. *Decoration* – Herakles, standing, roasts meat on a spit at an altar.

CII.10. Gotha, Schlossmuseen 44, black-figure olpe, Painter of Vatican G49 [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ABV* 537; BAPD 305650. *Decoration –* Herakles roasts meat on a spit at an altar.

CII.11. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 41.162.29, black-figure white-ground lekythos, Sappho Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 500. *Biblio –ABV* 507.6, 702; *LIMC* V, PL.638, s.v. "Helios" 105; BAPD 305499. *Decoration –* Herakles kneeling at an altar with meat on spits by a dog; Helios rising in a frontal chariot.

CII.12. Athens, National Museum 15217 (Acr. 328), red-figure kylix, Makron [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio –ARV*² 460.19, *Add.*² 244; *LIMC* V, s.v. "Herakles," no. 3170; BAPD 204700]. *Decoration* – Herakles stand, holding a phiale, Athena pouring into it from oinochoe. [*fig.* 4]

CII.13. London, British Museum 1953,0928.1, black-figure lekythos, [Manner of] Emporion Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-480. *Biblio -- ABV* 709.13*bis*; *LIMC* V s.v. "Herakles", no. 3168; BAPD 306886. *Decoration* – Herakles and Athena, libration.

CII.14. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1911.627, red-figure stamnos, Siren Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490. *Biblio – ARV* 471; BAPD 5446. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles seated with phiale, Athena and Nike pouring from oinochoe; Side B: woman, palm tree.

CII.15. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum ZV1680, black-figure skyphos, Theseus Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-500. *Biblio – ThesCRA* II, PL.89.GR345 (A); BAPD 390468. *Decoration –*Herakles and Athena, libation.

CII.16. South Hadley (MA), Mt. Holyoke College 1925 BS II 3, black-figure skyphos, Theseus Painter [unknown attributor], c. 525-500. *Biblio – ABV* 519; *Add.*² 129; *LIMC* V s.v. "Herakles", no. 3160; BAPD 9028570. *Decoration* –Herakles and Athena, libation.

CII.17. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.139, red-figure amphora, Unattributed, c. 480. *Biblio – Add.*² 392; BAPD 14731. *Decoration –* Side A: generic libation scene; Side B: Herakles and the Struggle for the Tripod.

CII.18. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS456, red-figure amphora, Berlin Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-490. *Biblio – ARV*² 1634.1*bis*; *Para*. 342; *LIMC* V, PL.141, s.v. "Herakles" 3165 (A, B); *ARFV* I, fig. 146, Boardman 2001, fig. 122; BAPD 275090. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles extends a cup; Side B: Athena pours from an oinochoe.

CII.19. Munich, Antikensammlung Museum 2648, red-figure kylix, Douris [attributed by Hartwig, Beazley], c. 480-470. *Biblio – ARV*² 441.185, 1653; *Add*.² 240; BAPD 205230. *Decoration –* Herakles and Athena libration scene. Herakles sits on a stone block. [*fig.* 5]

CII.20. London, British Museum 1902,1218.3, black-figure skyphos, Theseus Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 500. *Biblio –ABFV* fig. 246; *LIMC* II s.v. "Athena", no. 181; *LIMC* V, PL.141, Herakles 3161 (A); BAPD 466. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles seated with phiale, Athena is pouring into it. Herakles' seat resembles an altar; Side B: same. [*fig.* 6]

CII.21. London, British Museum 1867,0508.965, black-figure oinochoe, Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ABV* 377.243; BAPD 302324. *Decoration –* outdoor symposion of Herakles and Iolaos; both are nude and bearded, and wear fillets. By the side of each lies food.

CII.22. Athens, Agora P1545, black-figure skyphos, Theseus Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 518.4; BAPD 330672. *Decoration –* Herakles and man (Hermes?) reclining at symposion, bow and quiver suspended, ivy.

CII.23. London, British Museum 1864,1007.1686, black-figure kylix, Theseus Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ABV* 520.32; *LIMC* IV, PL.544, Herakles 1497 (B); BAPD 330714. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Dionysos reclining at outdoor symposion; Side B: Herakles and Hermes reclining at outdoor symposion; Int.: ithyphallic satyr straddles a doe, mock inscriptions. [*figs.* 7a-b]

CII.24. Athens, National Museum 27523, red-figure cup, Douris [unknown attributor], Python Potter [attributed by Bloesch], c. 500-475. *Biblio* – Buitron-Oliver 1995, PL.103, no.185 (I, A, B); BAPD 7240. *Decoration* – Int.: Herakles and Dionysos recline at symposion.

CII.25. London, British Museum 1843,1103.73, black-figure hydria, Alkmene Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ABV* 282.2; *Para*. 124; *CVA* 7, III.H.E.3, PLS. (333,334) 74.2, 75.2; BAPD 320244. *Decoration –* Shoulder: Herakles, nude, strangling the Nemean lion, Athenaand Iolaos are both present; Body: Herakles, nude, reclining on a kline; to the right stand Athena and Hermes, to the left stands Alkmene. All figures identified by inscriptions.

CII.26. Munich, Antikensammlung Museum 1575, black-figure neck amphora, Lysippides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 530-520. *Biblio – ABV* 256.16, 677; *ARV* 3.20; *ARV*² 1617; *Para*. 113; Boardman 2001, fig. 219; BAPD 302226. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles with kithara mounting a platform, Athena standing to the right; Side B: frontal quadriga. CII.27. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 1001, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 510. *Biblio – LIMC* IV, PL.540, s.v. "Herakles" 1445 (A); BAPD 4430. *Decoration –* Herakles with kithara mounting a bema between Hermes and Athena. [*fig.* 8]

CII.28. Athens, National Museum 635, black-figure skyphos, unattributed, c. 500. *Biblio* – *LIMC* IV, PL.540, s.v. "Herakles" 1448 (A); BAPD 44268. *Decoration* – Herakles on platform with lyre between Hermes and Athena, both seated.

CII.29. Rome, Villa Giulia 24998, black-figure amphora, Lysippides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-510. *Biblio – ABV* 255.9; *ARV* 3.14; *LIMC* IV, PL.539, s.v. "Herakles" 1442 (A); BAPD 302219. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles with kithara mounting a pedestal between Hermes and Athena, both seated; Side B: Kastor[?] (a youth with chlamys, petasos and spears) leading horse, old man with scepter seated on a stool, woman with a wreath.

CII.30. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16590, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 525-475.

CII.31. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Paolo Orsi 53263, black-figure skyphos, Theseus Painter [attributed by Libertini], c. 525-500. *Biblio – ABV* 520.20; *Para*. 256; BAPD 330701. *Decoration –* Herakles playing lyre on platform, no judges.

CII.32. Leiden, Rijksmuseum PC41, black-figure oinochoe, Class of Würzburg 351 [attributed by Vos], c. 525-475. *Biblio – LIMC* IV, PL.540, s.v. "Herakles" 1450 (A); BAPD 1716. *Decoration –* Herakles, seated, with kithara and oinoche, pouring a libation, Athena also seated.

CII.33. Athens, National Museum 18640, black-figure cup, [Manner of] Haimon Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510. *Biblio – ABV* 569.661; *Add.*² 137; BAPD 330929. *Decoration –* Struggle for the Tripod.

CII.34. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 07.286.76, black-figure column-krater, Lykomedes Painter [attributed by Bothmer], c. 500. *Biblio – LIMC* V, PL.462, s.v. "Iolaos" 42 (A); BAPD 310. *Decoration –* Side A: Struggle for the Tripod, Lykomedes, Artemis, Athena, Iolaos all present; Side B: Hermes, woman, Dionysos, Zeus[?], woman, man.

CII.35. Athens, Agora P24511, black-figure lekythos, Class of Athens 581 II [attributed by Beazley], c. 530. *Biblio – Para*. 237; BAPD 361187. *Decoration –* Struggle for the Tripod.

CII.36. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 66.11.4, black-figure lekythos, Diosphos Painter [unknown attributor], c. 500. *Biblio – Para*. 247; *LIMC* V, PL.131, s.v. "Herakles" 3016; BAPD 3930. *Decoration* –Struggle for the Tripod, Athena and two deer are present.

CII.37. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 67.11.22, black-figure Six technique lekythos, unattributed, c. 500. *Biblio – LIMC* V, PL.134, s.v. "Herakles" 3051; Cohen 2006, 98-

99, no. 23; BAPD 311. *Decoration* – Struggle for the Tripod, a deer is present in the center of the two figures. [*fig.* 12]

CII.38. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2159, red-figure amphora, Andokides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525. *Biblio – ARV* 253.1; *ARV* 1.1; *ARV*² 3.1, 1617; *Para*. 320; Boardman 2001, fig. 112; BAPD 200001. *Decoration –* Side A: Athena and Artemis frame the Struggle for the Tripod, Herakles and Athena on the left, Apollo and Artemis on the right; Side B: two wrestling matches. [*fig.* 13]

CII.39. Athens, National Museum, Acr. 2.703a-b, red-figure amphora fragment, Kleomelos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ARV* 85.2; *ARV*² 118.2, 1590; *Add.*² 174; BAPD 200995. *Decoration –* Herakles and Apollo, struggle for the Tripod. Zeus, woman (Athena?), deer. [*fig.* 14]

CII.40. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles de Ridder 573, red-figure kylix, unattributed, c. 500. *Biblio – ARV*² 417.1, 1652; BAPD 204546. *Decoration –* Sides A, B: Gigantomachy, Herakles nude but for lionskin pelt.

CII.41. Athens, National Museum, Acr. 2.761, red-figure krater fragment, Copenhagen Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ARV* 193.4; *ARV*² 256.4; BAPD 202923. *Decoration –*Struggle for the Tripod, Herakles is nude, tripod is upside-down.

CII.42. London, British Museum 1842,0822.1, red-figure Myson calyx-krater, Myson [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-460. *Biblio – ARV* 171.46; *ARV*² 239.16, 237, 238; *Para.* 349; *ARFV I* fig. 172; BAPD 202164. *Decoration –*Struggle for the Tripod, Herakles, nude, on the left, turns back to face Apollo, who is on the right, also nude, a small doe stands in the center of the two.

CII.43. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 63.11.6, red-figure amphora, Andokides Painter [attributed by Bothmer], c. 520. *Biblio – ARV*² 1617.2*bis*; *Para*. 320; *LIMC* V, PL.128, s.v. "Herakles" 2985 (A); BAPD 275000. *Decoration –*Side A: Struggle for Tripod, between Athena and Artemis; Side B: Dionysos with ivy and kantharos between satyr and maenad; Lip: Herakles and Nemean Lion.

CII.44. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16513, red-figure amphora, Troilos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-475. *Biblio – ARV* 190.1; *ARV*² 296.1; *LIMC* V, PL.132, s.v. "Herakles" 3025 (A); BAPD 203068. *Decoration –*Side A: Struggle for the Tripod, Athena in center; Side B: komos. [*fig.* 15]

CII.45. London, British Museum 1851,0416.19, black-figure pelike, unattributed, c. 500. *Biblio – CVA* 3 III.H.e PL.44, 4; Oakley 2013 20, fig. 10c; BAPD 11087. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles, running to the right but looking left, carrying off the Delphic tripod; Side B: Apollo, beardless, pursuing Herakles.

CII.46. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 13.233, red-figure amphora, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490. *Biblio – ARV* 122.11; *ARV*² 183.13, 1632; *Para*. 340; *LIMC* V, PL.126, s.v. "Herakles" 2958 (A, B); BAPD 201666. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles, nude, with lionskin cape and the Tripod; Side B: Apollo, with a bow, striding to the left.

CII.47. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3981, red-figure column-krater, Myson [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV* 169.11; *ARV*² 240.41; BAPD 202391. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles, nude, beardless, back to viewer, with tripod and club; Side B: Apollo, nude, running.

CII.48. London, British Museum 1836,0224.101, red-figure cup, Protopanaetian Group [attributed by Hartwig], c. 510-500. *Biblio* – ARV^2 316.8, 1645, BAPD 203248. *Decoration* – Ext.: Hippolyte (identified by inscription) in a scene of Herakles defeating Andromache; Int.: two Amazons running to the left, in step. [*fig.* 16]

CII.49. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1848, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 530-520. *Biblio – ABV* 671.2; BAPD 306454. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm raised above his head, Andromache is named; Side B: Theseus stabbing the Minotaur between two women. [*fig.* 17]

CII.50. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 21.88.92, black-figure amphora, Edinburgh Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ABV* 478.7; BAPD 303401. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles, without lionskin, striking an Amazon with his right sword-arm raised above his head; Side B: Theseus stabbing the Minotaur, a woman.

CII.51. Athens, National Museum 400, black-figure lekythos, Pholos Groud [attributed by Haspels], c. 530-520. *Biblio – ABL* 247.6; BAPD 390457. *Decoration –* Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm raised above his head.

CII.52. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 34554, black-figure amphora, c. 530. *Decoration* – Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm raised above his head. [*fig.* 18]

CII.53. Athens, National Museum 408, black-figure white-ground cup (lid), unattributed, c. 525-500. *Biblio – AWG* PL.25.3, 4 (cover, A); BAPD 4823. *Decoration –* Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm lowered behind him.

CII.54. Athens, National Museum 1087, black-figure white-ground lekythos, Emporion Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-500. *Biblio* –BAPD 9028602; Photograph(s) in the Beazley Archive: 4 (BD, SH). *Decoration* – Herakles fighting Amazons with Boeotian shields, Herakles' right sword-arm lowered behind him.

CII.55. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17829, black-figure amphora, Group E [attributed by Beazley], c. 540-530. *Biblio – ABV* 134.30; BAPD 301064. *Decoration –* Side A:

Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm lowered behind him; Side B: courting scene of men and a youth. [*fig.* 19]

CII.56. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 56.171.24, black-figure amphora, Class of Cabinet des Médailles de Ridder 218 [attributed by Beazley], c. 530-510. *Biblio – ABV* 319.7; *ARV*² 11; BAPD 200048. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm lowered behind him; Side B: Dionysos, with kantharos, and Ariadne.

CII.57. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 535, red-figure fragment, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV* 128.91; *ARV*² 191.103; BAPD 201751. *Decoration –* Sides A, B: Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm lowered behind him; I: warrior arming. [*fig.* 20]

CII.58. Munich, Antikensammlung Museum 2620, red-figure cup B, Euphronios [attributed by signature], c. 510. *Biblio – ARV* 17.14; *ARV*² 16.17, 1619; *Para*. 322, 379; *LIMC* V, PL.89, s.v. "Herakles" 2501; BAPD 200080. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Geryon, Orthros lies dead, Eurytion; Side B: warriors with cattle; Int.: horseman in petasos with Thracian spears and cloak. [*fig.* 21]

CII.59. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1896.1908 G270, V521, red-figure hydria, Painter of London E311 [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-475. *Biblio –ARV*² 216; *Add*. 98; BAPD 202323. *Decoration –* Herakles and Busiris, altar. [*fig.* 22]

CII.60. Athens, National Museum 9683, red-figure pelike, Pan Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-475. *Biblio – ARV*² 554.82; *Para*. 386, BAPD 206325. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles throwing Busiris over an altar; Side B: Busiris' men. [*fig.* 23]

CII.61. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1855, black-figure amphora, Antimenes Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510. *Biblio – ABV* 270.50; BAPD 320060. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles holding boar over Eurystheus in pithos, Iolaos (holds bow and club) and Athena present; Side B: Olive harvest.

CII.62. London, British Museum 1843,1103.64, black-figure amphora, Swing Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 540-520. *Biblio – ABV* 306.29; *LIMC* V, PL.63, Herakles 2122 (A); BAPD 301509. *Decoration –* Herakles holds boar over Eurystheus, who is in a pithos.

CII.63. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 06.1021.88, black-figure amphora, Group of Toronto 305 [attributed by Beazley], 525-500. *Biblio – ABV* 282.1; *LIMC* V, PL.461, s.v. "Iolaos" 31 (A); BAPD 320245. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles holds boar over Eurystheus (in a pithos), Iolaos and Athena are present; Side B: horsemen.

CII.64. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 39529, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 525-500. *Biblio* –BAPD 9022369. *Decoraiton* – Side A: Herakles holds boar over Eurystheus in pithos, Athena and a woman are present; Side B: Dionysos and kantharos and ivy between maenads. [*fig.* 24]

CII.65. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 665, black-figure lekythos, c. 525-500. *Decoration* – Herakles holds the Boar over Eurystheus in pithos, Athena is present.

CII.66. London, British Museum 1836,0224.93, black-figure oinochoe, Lysippides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-500. *Biblio – ABV* 256.19, 419; *ARV* 4.27; *ARV*² 1617; *Para*. 114; *LIMC* V, PL.62, Herakles 2103; BAPD 302229. *Decoration –* Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar, Athena. [*fig.* 25]

CII.67. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 39918, black-figure amphora, c. 525-500. *Decoration* –Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar. Athena and Hermes present.

CII.68. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum L20002.21, red-figure kylix fragment, Onesimos, c. 500-490.

CII.69. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 16.71, black-figure Panathenaic amphora, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490. *Biblio – ABV* 404.8, 696; *ARV*² 129.99; *Para*. 175; BAPD 303049. *Decoration –* Side A: Athena surrounded by columns surmounted by cocks; Side B: Pankratiasts, nude, a judge.

CII.70. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 39522, black-figure amphora, Acheloos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ABV* 383.4; *LIMC* V, PL.106, s.v. "Herakles" 2730 (B); BAPD 302397. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles with bow, pursuing boar, tree, bird; Side B: Herakles running with apples over sea, vine. [*fig.* 26]

CII.71. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.22, black-figure eye-cup, Manner of Lysippides Painter [attributed by Guy], c. 520. *Biblio* –Boardman 2001, fig. 221, BAPD 28084. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and Dionysos with ivy and kantharos; Side B: Herakles and Triton; Int.: Gorgoneion. [*fig.* 27]

CII.72. Athens, Agora P24514, black-figure lekythos, Class of Athens 581 II [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – Para.* 237; BAPD 361192. *Decoration –* Herakles and Triton, between Nereids.

CII.73. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1906, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 520. *Biblio – ABV* 675; *LIMC* VIII, PL.42, s.v. "Triton" 7; BAPD 306469. *Decoration –* Herakles and Triton (named).

CII.74. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 16.70, black-figure hydria, Diosphos Painter [attributed by Ahlberg-Cornell], c. 520. *Biblio* – Ahlberg-Cornell 1984: 151, no. XI 3; BAPD 14856. *Decoration* – Body: Herakles and Triton, Nereus; Shoulder: Dionysos mounting chariot, maenads.

CII.75. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 12.198.3, black-figure hydria, unattributed, c. 520-500. *Biblio* – Ahlberg-Cornell 1984: 146, no. X 9; *LIMC* I, PL.683, s.v.

"Antiope" II 6 (S); BAPD 7024. *Decoration* – Body: Herakles and Triton between Nereid and Nereus (old man with a staff); Shoulder: Theseus and Antiope in a chariot, Perithoos and a warrior present.

CII.76. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landsmuseum 65.45, black-figure Panathenaic amphora, Exekias [attributed by Bothmer], c. 540-530. *Biblio –Para*. 61.8*bis*; *Add*.² 39. *Decoration* – Side A: Athena between columns surmounted by cocks; Side B: athletes wrestling.

CII.77. Paris, Musée du Louvre G103, red-figure calyx-krater, Euphronios [attributed by Signature], c. 515-505. *Biblio – ARV* 15.1; *ARV*² 14.2, 1619, 1584; *Para*. 322; *ARFV* fig. 23; *LIMC* I, PL.651, Antaios I 24 (A); BAPD 200064. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles wrestles Antaios, women fleeing; Side B: youth in a chiton with pipes mounting a bema between seated youths. [*fig.* 28]

CII.78. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 3692, red-figure kylix, Triptolemos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ARV*² 364.50, *Add.*² 223, *LIMC* I s.v. "Antaios", no. 28, PL.652; BAPD 203842. Decoration – Side A: Herakles and Antaios; Side B: Theseus (with a club) and the Bull; Int.: warrior, nude and holding a helmet, at an altar. [*fig.* 29]

CII.79. Taranto, Museo Nazionale 20335, black-figure volute krater, Golvol Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 520. *Biblio – ABV* 195.4; *LIMC* V, PL.76, Herakles 2331; BAPD 302551. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Bull; Side B: warrior mounting a chariot.

CII.80, Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania 4863.1, black-figure kyathos fragment, Group of Vatican G57 [attributed by Beazley], c. 540-500. *Biblio – ABV* 613.43; BAPD 306170. *Decoration –* Herakles and the Bull, Left to right, part of the eye, rear half of the Bull, and Herakles striding to the right. Profile preserved from lower wall of rim.

CII.81. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum G2R23, black-figure amphora, c. 525-500. *Decoration* – Herakles and Nemean Lion, Athena present.

CII.82 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16449, black-figure hydria, Acheloos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-500. *Biblio – ABV* 384.26; *Para.* 168; BAPD 302871. *Decoration –* Shoulder: Iolaos (?) mounting chariot, Herakles (beardless) and Lion, Athena, bow and quiver suspended; Body: men and women in fountain house.

CII.83 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 20262, red-figure hydria, Gallatin Painter [attributed by Beazley] c. 510-500. *Biblio – ARV* 163.2; *ARV*² 247.2, 1639; BAPD 202476. *Decoration –* Herakles, nude and beardless, wrestles the Nemean Lion, Athena sits on a block to the left.

CII.84. Paris, Musée du Louvre F53, black-figure amphora, Group E [attributed by Beazley], Exekias as potter [signature], c. 540. *Biblio – ABV* 136.49, 686, 674; *Para*. 55; *LIMC* V PL.87, s.v. "Herakles" 2486 (A); BAPD 310309. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Geryon Eurytion and Pilos (all named); Side B: warrior in chariot, Siren (all named). [*fig.* 30]

THESEUS: CULT, MYTH, AND PANATHENAIC STRUGGLES

CIII.1. Athens, National Museum 18722, red-figure cup, Pithos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ARV*² 141.1; *ARV* 117.1; *Para*. 335; *LIMC* VII, PL.567, Sisyphos I 39 (I); BAPD 210231. *Decoration –* Theseus (or Sisyphos?) lifting the rock.

CIII.2. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 53.11.4, red-figure kylix, Briseis Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520. *Biblio – ARV*² 406.7; *Add.* 115; *LIMC* VII, Pl.660, Theseus 219 (A), PLS.660, Theseus 219, 666, Theseus 309 (A, B); Servadei 2005, 176, fig.75 (B); Shapiro 1994, 120-121, figs. 82-84 (I, A, B); BAPD 204406. *Decoration –* Side A: Triton and Theseus; Side B: Amphitrite and Theseus; Int.: Theseus and Athena shaking hands. [*figs.* 33a-c]

CIII.3. Lund, University 655, black-figure amphora fragment, Exekias [attributed by Beazley], c. 540-530. *Biblio – ABV* 145.17; *Para*. 60; *LIMC* VII, PL.622, s.v. "Theseus" 12; BAPD 310399. *Decoration –* a bearded, wreathed, and draped man stands in profile to the left, named "Theseus" by an inscription.

CIII.4. Paris, Musée du Louvre F62, black-figure lebes, unattributed, c. 550-500. *Biblio* – *CVA* Paris, Louvre 2, III.He.3, PLS. (73-74) 1.1-2, 2.1; BAPD 10095. *Decoration* – Rim Exterior: Herakles and the Lion, Athena (?), Theseus and the Minotaur, warriors fighting, warriors in chariots; Rim Interior: ships on water.

CIII.5. London, British Museum 1837,0609.49, black-figure hydria, Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ABV* 360.1, 355; *Add.*² 95; Carpenter 1991, fig. 225; *CVA* British Museum 6 III.H.e PL.79, 2; BAPD 301996. *Decoration –* Shoulder: Theseus and the Minotaur between women; Body: Herakles and Acheloos. [*fig.* 34]

CIII.6. Athens, National Museum 639, black-figure, skyphos, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio –Para.* 8839; BAPD 350907. *Decoration –* Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.7. Athens, National Museum 639, black-figure white-ground skyphos, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 88.39; BAPD 350907. *Decoration –* Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.8. Athens, National Museum 515, black-figure lekythos, Theseus Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 518; BAPD 330671. *Decoration –* Theseus, with doubles axe, and Prokrustes; Theseus and Sinis; Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.9. Athens, Kerameikos 21189, black-figure lekythos, Leagros Group [unknown attributor], c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 9022653. *Decoration* – Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.10. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 64.300, black-figure lekythos, Diosphos Painter, c. 500. Biblio – New York Metropolitan online catalogue (on display in Gallery 171). *Decoration* – Theseus and the Minotaur between two women.

CIII.11. Paris, Musée du Louvre G71, red-figure cup, Euergides Painter [attributed to Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ARV* 60.16; *ARV*² 89.21; *LIMC* VII, PL.647, s.v. "Theseus" 132 (PARTS OF A); BAPD 200739. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Lion between Theseus and the Minotaur, and Theseus and Prokrustes; Side B: komos; Int.: athlete jumping with halters. [*fig.* 41]

CIII.12. Copenhagen, National Museum 3877, red-figure cup, Oltos [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-500. *Biblio – ARV* 40.70; *ARV*² 63.87, 1600.21, 1573; *Para.* 327; BAPD 200523. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Kyknos, between horsemen and horses; Side B: Theseus and Minotaur, between horsemen and horses; Int.: naked woman with laver.

CIII.13. Florence, Museo Archeologico 3985, red-figure pelike, Berlin Painter [attributed by Robertson], c. 490. *Biblio – ARV* 28.2; *ARV*² 204.110; *LIMC* VII, PL.643, s.v. "Theseus" 102 (A, B); BAPD 201918. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and Skiron; Side B: Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.14. London, British Museum 1866,0805.2, red-figure stamnos, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV*² 187.57; *ARV* 125.49; *ARFV*, fig. 137; *LIMC* VII, Pl.648, Theseus 134 (A, B); *CVA* British Museum 3 III Ic PL.20, 2; BAPD 201709. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus about to stab a kneeling Minotaur; Side B: Theseus killing Prokrustes.

CIII.15. Athens, National Museum 1691, red-figure hydria, Pig Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ARV*² 566.43; BAPD 206473. *Decoration –* Shoulder: Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.16. Athens, National Museum 2262, red-figure lekythos, Sappho Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABL* 228.47, 106, PL.36.3; BAPD 46914. *Decoration –* Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.17. Athens, National Museum, Acr. 2.735, red-figure calyx-krater, Syriskos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ARV*² 259.1; *LIMC* VI, s.v. "Lykos" PL.155; BAPD 202955. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur, Minos with scepter, Ariadne with

wreath (all named); Side B: Pallas (seated), Orneus, Lykos and Nisos all with scepters (all named).

CIII.18. Athens, National Museum, Acr. 2.1493, red-figure skyphos fragments, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 9017044. *Decoration* – Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.19. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17892, red-figure pelike, Tyszkiewicz Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ARV* 187.32; *ARV*²292.39; BAPD 203013. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur, draped woman holding a flower; Side B: man, seated with staff, between youths, all draped.

CIII.20. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 20260, red-figure pelike, Syleus Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 480. *Biblio – ARV* 166.20; *ARV*² 250.23; *Para*. 350; BAPD 202500. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur; Side B: man, draped with a staff, and a youth.

CIII.21. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 634, red-figure amphora, Pig Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ARV*² 565.35; *Add*.² 260; *LIMC* VII, PL.661, Theseus 238 (A); BAPD 206465. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur; Side B: komos.

CIII.22. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1918.64, black-figure amphora, Painter of Berlin 1686 [attributed by Beazley], c. 540-530. *Biblio* – ABV 296.5; BAPD 320384. *Decoration* – Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur, youths with wreaths; Side B: Theseus and the Minotaur, between women and men. [*fig.* 35]

CIII.23. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1848, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 530-520. *Biblio – ABV* 671.2; BAPD 306454. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm raised above his head, Andromache is named; Side B: Theseus and the Minotaur between two women. [also CII.49]

CIII.24. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 21.88.92, black-figure amphora, Edinburgh Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ABV* 478.7; BAPD 303401. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles, without lionskin, striking an Amazon with his right sword-arm raised above his head; Side B: Theseus stabbing the Minotaur, a woman. [also CII.50]

CIII.25. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 424, black-figure hydria, Group of Vatican 424 [attributed by Beazley], Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-500. *Biblio – ABV* 363.43, 359; BAPD 302038. *Decoration –* Theseus and the Minotaur between women with branches.

CIII.26. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 09.221.39, red-figure eye-cup, unattributed, c. 525-500. *Biblio – CVA* Metropolitan Museum of Art 2, 16, PLS.(516,531) 26.40A-E, 41.40; BAPD 13329. *Decoration –* Sides A, B: Theseus and Minotaur between woman and youth between eyes.

CIII.27. Athens, National Museum 15184, red-figure cup fragment, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Decoration* – Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.28. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 47.11.5, black-figure amphora, Taleides Potter [by signature], c. 540-530. *Biblio – ARV* 174.1, 688, 669; *Para*. 72; BAPD 301120. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus stabbing the Minotaur; Side B: man and youths, seated, weighing goods on scales. [*fig.* 36]

CIII.29. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1896,1908 G261, red-figure kylix, Apollodorus [attributed by Beazley], c. 480. *Biblio – ARV*² 120.7; *ARV* 87.6; *ARFV I* fig. 118; Neils 1987, fig. 28; BAPD 201009. *Decoration –* Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII. 30. London, British Museum 1836,0224.114, red-figure cup, Epiktetos [attributed by signature], c. 520-510. *Biblio* – 46.16; *ARV*² 1584.2, 72.17, 1623; *Para*. 328; *LIMC* VI, PL.319, Minotauros 22 (A); Schefold 1992, fig. 202; BAPD 200461. *Decoration* – Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur between women; Side B: komos; Int.: symposium, man with lyre.

CIII.31. Athens, National Museum 1124, black-figure lekythos, Edinburgh Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ABL* 216.6, 82, 87, 89, PLS.27.6, 29.4A-B; BAPD 46905. *Decoration –*Body: Theseus stabbing the Bull, woman fleeing, between men with spears. [*fig.* 38]

CIII.32. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16591, black-figure, Group of Wurzburg 199 [attributed by Beazley], 520-510. *Biblio – ABV* 288.8; *Para*. 126; BAPD 320311. Decoration – Theseus (?) (bearded, nude) tying up the Bull.

CIII.33. Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania L64.185, red-figure stamnos, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV* 125.55; *ARV*² 187.62, 1632, *LIMC* VII, PL.656, s.v. "Theseus" 188 (B); BAPD 201712. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Lion; Side B: Theseus and the Bull. [*fig.* 39]

CIII.34. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano 39564, red-figure cup, Epeleios P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ARV* 111.31; *ARV*² 148.2; *LIMC*; BAPD 201327. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Nemean Lion; Side B: Theseus and the Marathonian Bull.

CIII.35. Florence, Museo Archeologico 3920, red-figure kylix, Antiphon Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV* 233.74; *ARV*² 341.88; *LIMC*; BAPD 203520. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus, with petasos and staff, and the Bull; Side B: komos.

CIII.36. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano 505, red-figure kylix, Bonn Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510. *Biblio – ARV* 225.3; *ARV*² 351.4, *LIMC* VII, PL.656, Theseus187 (A); BAPD 203669. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Bull between Athena and a youth with a horse; Side B: fight between warriors; Int.: centaur with a rock. [*fig.* 40]

CIII.37. Munich, Antikensammlung Museum SL513.9. red-figure cup frag., unattributed, c. 500. *Biblio – CVA* 16, 23, PL.(4674) 9.3; BAPD 9024459; *Decoration –*Theseus & Sow (or Bull?).

CIII.38. Rome, Villa Giulia 20760, red-figure cup, Skythes [attributed by signature], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV* 74.13; *ARV*² 1578.6, 83.14, 1624; *Para*. 329; *LIMC* VII, PLS. 641, s.v. "Theseus" 86, 649, 149 (A, B); BAPD 200674. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Sow; Side B: Theseus and Skiron; Int.: komos, youth with lyre. [*fig.* 41]

CIII.39. London, British Museum 1843,1103.13, red-figure cup, Douris [attributed by Beazley], c. 485-480. *Biblio – ARV*² 431.47, 1653; *LIMC* VII, PL.626, Theseus 39 (B); Neils 1987, figs. 43-45; BAPD 205091. *Decoration –* Int.: Theseus and Minotaur; Side A: Theseus and Sow, Theseus and Sinis; Side B: Theseus and Skiron, Theseus and Kerkyon. [*fig.* 43; *figs.* 46a-b]

CIII.40. Plovdiv, Regional Museum of Archaeology, 1544, black-figure amphora, Troilos Painter [attributed by Beazley], (pre-525). *Biblio – ABV* 191.18; *Para*. 175; *LIMC* VII, PL.647, Theseus 131; BAPD 303019. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus [with an axe] and Prokrustes; Side B: Dionysos with vine, satyr playing pipes, maenad.

CIII.41. London, British Museum 1836,0224.116, red-figure kylix, Painter of Louvre G36 [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ARV* 83.7, *LIMC* VII, PL.624, Theseus 34 (B); *ARV*² 115.3; BAPD 200974. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus hobbling the Bull; Theseus and the Krommyon Sow [shown here as a boar]; Side B: Theseus, with an axe, and Prokrustes; Theseus and Kerkyon; Theseus, with a sword, and the Minotaur.

CIII.42. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 321, red-figure bell-krater, Epidromos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 470. *Biblio – ARV* 85.7; *ARV*² 118.8, 1627, 1577; BAPD 200986. *Decoration –* Deeds of Theseus.

CIII.43. Athens, Agora P12561, black-figure pelike, Antimenes Painter [attributed by Bothmer], c. 510-500. *Biblio –LIMC* VII, PL.646, s.v. "Theseus" 126 (A); BAPD 31548. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus, with double axe, and Prokrustes; Side B: Dionysos with drinking horn between satyrs. [*fig.* 42]

CIII.44. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2288, red-figure kylix, Douris [attributed by Beazley], c. 480-470. *Biblio* – ARV^2 438.130, 1701; *LIMC* VII, PL.644, s.v. "Theseus" 106 (I); BAPD 205176. *Decoration* – Side A: fight, warriors; Side B: draped men and youths; Int.: Theseus and Skiron.

CIII.45. Florence, Museo Archeologico 19B5, red-figure pelike, Berlin Painter [attributed by Robertson], c. 490. *Biblio – ARV* 28.2; *ARV*² 204.110; *LIMC* VII, PL.643, s.v. "Theseus" 102 (A, B); BAPD 201918. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur; Side B: Theseus and Skiron.

CIII.46. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 41.162.101, red-figure amphora, Gallatin Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 480. *Biblio – ARV* 163.3; *ARV*² 247.3; *Para*. 350; *LIMC* VII, PL.643, s.v. "Theseus" 104 (A, B); BAPD 202468. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and Skiron on a rock; Side B: Theseus and the Minotaur.

CIII.47. Toledo, Museum of Art 1963.27, black-figure skyphos, Theseus Painter [attributed by Cahn], c. 500-490. *Biblio – Para*. 257; *LIMC* VII, PL.642, Theseus 97; PL.646, Theseus 127 (A,B); BAPD 351546. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and Prokrustes; Side B: Theseus and Skiron.

CIII.48. Paris, Musée du Louvre G104, red-figure Parade Cup, Onesimos [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV* 214.10; *ARV*² 318.1, 1645, 313; *Para*. 358; *ARFV I* fig. 223; *LIMC* VII, PLS.624-625, Theseus 36 (I, A, B); BAPD 203217. *Decoration –* Deeds of Theseus (Skiron, Prokrustes, Kerkyon, the Bull; Int.: Triton carrying Theseus, Athena with an owl, Amphitrite seated with a wreath (all named).

CIII.49. Florence, Museo Archeologico 91456, red-figure kylix, Kachrylion Potter [attributed by signature], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ARV* 82.4; *ARV*² 108.27; *LIMC* VII, PL.623, Theseus 33 (A,B); BAPD 200931. *Decoration –* Deeds of Theseus: Sinis at tree, Minotaur, Prokrustes on kline, Skiron on rock, Kerkyon, Bull; Int.: Eros flying over the sea with a flower. [*figs.* 44, 48a-b]

CIII.50. Munich, Antikensammlungen 8771, red-figure cup, Elpinikos Painter [attributed by Ohly-Dumm], c. 525-475. *Biblio –LIMC* VII, PL.638, s.v. "Theseus" 64 (I); *Para*. 506; BAPD 872. *Decoration –* Int.: Theseus and Sinis. [*fig*. 45]

CIII.51. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles de Ridder, black-figure, lekanis lid fragments,
Edinburgh Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABL* 219.61; *CVA* 2, 63, PL.(468)
82.17.18.23.26; BAPD 11321. *Decoration –* Deeds of Theseus (Sow, Skiron, Kerkyon, Minotaur).

CIII.52. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles de Ridder 535A, red-figure Parade Cup [c. 50cm diameter], Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Hartwig], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV*² 191.103, 104; *ARFV I* 93; *LIMC* VII, PL.625, Theseus 37; BAPD 201752. *Decoration –* Int: Theseus and Kerkyon; Side A: Theseus and Minotaur, Bull; Side B: Theseus and Sinis, Skiron, Prokrustes.

CIII.53. Paris, Musée du Louvre G195, red-figure skyphos fragments, Brygos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 475. *Biblio – ARV*² 381.174, 368; *Add*.² 227; *LIMC* VII, PL.626, Theseus 41; BAPD 204072. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and Aigeus, women with a wreath and phiale; Side B: Deeds of Theseus (Boar, Kerkyon).

CIII.54. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico PU270, G818, red-figure cup, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-470. *Biblio – ARV* 128.95; *ARV*² 192.107, 1632; *Add.*² 189; BAPD 201755. *Decoration –* Int.: Theseus and the Minotaur; Ext.: Deeds of Theseus (Prokrustes, Skiron, Kerkyon, Bull). CIII.55. Florence, Museo Archeologico 70800, red-figure cup, Dokimasia Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV*² 413.25, 1651; *Para*. 372; *Add*.² 233; *LIMC* VI, PL.320, Minotauros 29; Neils 1987, fig. 49; BAPD 204507. *Decoration –* Int.: Theseus and the Minotaur; Ext.: Deeds of Theseus (Prokrustes, Sinis, Skiron, Bull).

CIII.56. Rome, Villa Giulia, red-figure cup, Painter of Louvre G265 [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV*² 416.1; *Add.*² 234; *LIMC* VII, PLS. 626-627, Theseus 43; BAPD 204532. Decoration – Deeds of Theseus (Prokrustes, Bull, Sow, Sinis).

CIII.57. London, British Museum 1837,0609.58, red-figure cup, Euphronios [attributed by Roberston], c. 520-510. *Biblio* – *ARV* 37.41; *ARV*² 58.51, 1622; Servadei 2005, 112, fig. 47 (I); BAPD 200441. *Decoration* – Int.: Theseus with a lyre and a girl; Side A: Theseus and a girl; Side B: Theseus and Antiope. [*fig.* 49]

CIII.58. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 12.198.3, black-figure hydria, unattributed, c. 520-500. *Biblio* – Ahlberg-Cornell 1984: 146, No. X 9; *LIMC* I, PL.683, s.v. "Antiope" II 6 (S); BAPD 7024. *Decoration* – Body: Herakles and Triton between Nereid and Nereus (old man with a staff); Shoulder: Theseus and Antiope in a chariot, Perithoos and a warrior present. [CII.75]

CIII.59. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1927.4065, red-figure kylix, Oltos [attributed by Beazley], c. 520. *Biblio – ARV* 39.62; *ARV*² 62.77; *Para*. 327; BAPD 200513. *Decoration –* Theseus on foot carrying Antiope, just behind a quadriga.

CIII.60. Paris, Musée du Louvre G197, red-figure amphora, Myson, [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV*² 238.1, 1638; *Para*. 349; BAPD 202176. *Decoration –* Theseus capturing Antiope, Perithoos with shield (bull emblem).

AJAX: CULT, MYTH, AND EPIC STRUGGLES

CIV.1 Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Villa 86.AE.286, red-figure cup, Brygos Painter [attributed by Bareiss and Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV*; *Para*. 367.1*bis*; *Add*. ² 221; *ARFV I*, fig. 246 (I); 2001, 243, fig. 268 (I); *LIMC* I PLS.240, 243, 251, Aias I 72, I 83, and I 140 (I,A,B); BAPD 275946. *Decoration –* Int.: Tekmessa covers the body of Ajax; Ext. – Side A: Quarrel for the Armor of Achilles between Ajax and Odysseus, Agamemnon(?) in center; Side B: Vote for the arms of Achilles, Athena in center.

CIV.2. Munich, Antikensammlungen Museum 1470, black-figure amphora, Exekias [attributed by Beazley], c. 525. *Biblio* – Boardman 2001, fig. 203; *ABV* 144.6; *Add*.² 39; *CVA* 32, PLS. 351-52; BAPD 310388. *Decoration* – Ajax Carrying the body of Achilles, Boeotian Shields. [*fig.* 51]

CIV.3. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum 1718, black-figure neck-amphora, Exekias, c. 540-530. *Biblio – ABV* 144.5. *Decoration –*Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. [lost in World War II].

CIV.4. Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania 3442, black-figure amphora, Exekias [attributed by Furtwangler], c. 530. *Biblio – ABV* 145.14, *Para*. 60.14; *Add*.² 40; Technau 1936, PL.23 (A, B); BAPD 310396. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax with Boeotian shield, picking up the body of Achilles, Menelaos and black youth with club, named Amasos [names inscribed]; Side B: Death of Antilochos. [*fig.* 52]

CIV.5. Munich, Antikensammlungen Museum SL458, black-figure neck-amphora, Mastos Group, Manner of Lysippides P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 530. *Biblio – ABV* 259.18, 257; *Add.*² 67; *CVA* 7 359 [1573] I; BAPD 302250. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax with Boeotian shield carrying the body of Achilles, warrior present; Side B: Dionysos with kantharos and grapevine between Hermes and satyr.

CIV.6. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden: PC51, black-figure amphora, Leagros Group [attributed by Jongkees-Vos], c. 525. *Biblio – CVA* 1, 23, PLS. (122,145,146) 28.1-2, 51.6, 52.11; BAPD 619 *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles; Side B: warriors and archer.

CIV.7. Brussels, Mignot 9, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio – AJA* 84 (1980), PL.5, fig.11 (B); BAPD 3369. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles; Side B: warrior arming.

CIV.8. Munich, Antikensammlung Museum J380, 1415, black-figure amphora, Manner of Leagros Group [attributed by Lullies], c. 525-475. *Biblio – CVA* 1, 30-31, PLS. (139, 140, 141, 146) 45.2, 46.2, 47.3, 52.6; *LIMC* I, PL. 142, s.v. "Achilleus," 877, PL. 392; BAPD 4652. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles between warriors fighting; Side B: Peleus and Thetis between Chiron and Nereus.

CIV.9. Raleigh (NC), Museum of Fine Arts 75.1.6, black-figure amphora, Leagros Group [attributed by unknown], c. 525-475. *Biblio* – Shapiro 1981, 93, no. 35 (A, B); BAPD 7721. *Decoration* – Side A: Ajax with the body of Achilles, Thetis; Side B: fight.

CIV.10. Paris, Musée du Louvre F270, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio – CVA* 5, III.He.35, PL. (354) 56.8.11; BAPD 7827. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, Boeotian shield, woman; Side B: Apollo playing kithara between seated goddesses (Artemis and Leto?).

CIV.11. St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ST111, black-figure amphora, P. of Louvre F268 [attributed by Gorbunova], c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 8377. *Decoration* – Side A: Ajax with the body of Achilles; Side B: Dionysos with kantharos between satyr and maenad.

CIV.12. San Antonio (TX), Art Museum 86.134.48, black-figure olpe, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio – LIMC* Suppl. 1, PL. 14, s.v. "Achilleus,"; *Add*. 55; BAPD 13708. *Decoration –* Ajax with the body of Achilles.

CIV.13. London, British Museum 1836,2024.135, black-figure amphora, Red-Line P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 601.5; *Add*.² 141; *CVA* 4, III.He.10, PL.(214) 69.2A-B; BAPD 305994. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles; Side B: Maenad dancing, Dionysos seated on a stool.

CIV.14. Brussels, Musées Royaux R314, black-figure amphora, Red-Line P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 601.6; *CVA* 1, III.H.E.3, PL.(023) 10.2A.2B.2C; BAPD 305995. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles; Side B: Dionysos seated on a stool with kantharos and vine.

CIV.15. Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 52195, black-figure lekythos, unattributed, c 525-475. *Biblio – CVA* 2, III.H.E.6, PL.(879) 13.1; BAPD 13890. *Decoration –* Ajax carrying the body of Achilles.

CIV.16. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V512, black-figure white-ground lekythos, Cactus P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 212; Haspels 1936, 198.4, PL.18.3; BAPD 340767. *Decoration –* Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, nonsense inscriptions.

CIV.17. San Simeon (CA), Hearst Historical State Monument 9848, black-figure amphora, Long-Nose P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 145; *Add*.² 89; BAPD 351076. *Decoration –* Ajax carrying the body of Achilles with Boeotian shields.

CIV.18. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 26.60.20, black-figure amphora, P. of London B235 [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 152.2; *Add*.² 93; *CVA* 51-53, PL.(771) 43.5-8; BAPD 351139. *Decoration* – Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles with Boeotian shields; Side B: warriors departing, woman present.

CIV.19. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts 26.097, black-figure amphora, Group of London B250 [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 153; BAPD 351140. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles with Boeotian shield, between a man and a woman; Side B: Dionysos with kantharos and grape vine between satyr playing pipes and maenad dancing.

CIV.20. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 24509BIS, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio – CVA* 1, III.H.4, PL.(811) 6.1; BAPD 14232. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax with the body of Achilles with Boeotian shield between woman and man; Side B: warrior departing, archer, draped man.

CIV.21. Madrid, Muse Arqueológico Nacional, Coll., Varez Fisa 1999.99.79, black-figure lekythos, Edinburgh P. [attributed by unknown], c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 41554. *Decoration* – Warriors fighting, one (with Boeotian shield) carrying the body of Achilles(?).

CIV.22. Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum 234, black-figure white-ground amphora, Sappho P. [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 507; Haspels 1936, 112; BAPD 305506. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles: Side B: music contest, man playing kithara on platform.

CIV.23. Munich, Antikensammlungen Museum J97, 1512, black-figure amphora, Atalante Group [attributed by Kunze-Gotte], c. 525- 475. *Biblio – CVA* 14, 22-23, fig. 22.1, Beilage 4.1, PLS.(3955,3957,3960) 15.2, 17.1-2, 20.2; BAPD 45349. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax carrying the body of Achilles with Boeotian shields; Side B: warriors fighting.

CIV.24. Athens, National Museum 1052, black-figure lekythos, Class of Athens 581 [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 500.44; BAPD 305371. *Decoration –* Ajax carrying the body of Achilles.

CIV.25. Princeton (NJ), The Art Museum, Princeton Univ. 1997.488-A-B, red-figure calyx krater frag, Euphronios [attributed by Padgett], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Add*. 58; *LIMC*, Suppl. 1, PL. 14, "Achilleus", BAPD 29570. *Decoration –* Ajax carrying the body of Achilles with a Boeotian shield.

CIV.26. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 56.171.20, black-figure neck amphora, Antimenes Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520. *Biblio – ABV* 270.53; *Para*. 118; *Add*.² 20;

BAPD 320063. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar; Side B: Ajax carrying Achilles.

CIV.27. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16596, black-figure Little Masters lip cup, Phyrnos P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 530. *Biblio – ABV* 169.4; *Add*.² 40; BAPD 301072. *Decoration –* Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. [*fig.* 53]

CIV.28. London, British Museum 1836,0224.128, black-figure hydria, Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ABV* 362.33, 355; *Para*. 161; Boardman 2001, fig. 82; BAPD 302028. *Decoration –* Ajax carrying the body of Achilles. [*fig.* 54]

CIV.29. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 344, black-figure amphora, Exekias [attributed by signature], c. 540-530. *Biblio – ABV* 145,13, 686, 672.3; *Para.* 60; Boardman 2001, 62-63, figs. 80-81 (A, B); Hedreen 2001, fig. 21 (A); BAPD 310395. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame (names inscribed); Side B: Polydeukes and Kastor leading horses, Leda and Tyndareus present (names inscribed). [*fig.* 55]

CIV.30. London, British Museum 1893,0712.11, black-figure amphora, Eucharides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490. *Biblio – ABV* 397.28; *Para*. 174; *Add*.² 104; *CVA* 3 III.H.e PL. 34, 3; BAPD 302997. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Kerberos; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame.

CIV.31. Munich, Antikensammlungen Museum J3, black-figure amphora, Leagros Group [attributed by Lullies], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ABV* 367.86; BAPD 302081. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Antaios; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame.

CIV.32. Munich, Antikensammlungen Museum 1567, black-figure shape neck-amphora, Bareiss P. [attributed by Moore], c. 540-530. *Biblio – LIMC* I, PL.96, ACHILLEUS 394 (B); *CVA* 8, 15-18, BEILAGE A5, PLS. (1785-1787) 367.5-6, 368.1, 369.1-2; BAPD 1113. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame; Side B: Herakles and Amazons.

CIV.33. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3929, red-figure cup, Makron [attributed by Beazley], c. 480. *Biblio – ARV*² 460.15, 481; *Add.*² 244; *CVA* 3, III.I.12, PL. (1359) 95.1-5; Hedreen 2001, fig. 23 (A); BAPD 204696. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena present; Side B: Herakles and centaurs and Pegasos; Int.: winged goddess [Eos or Nike?].

CIV.34. London, British Museum 1851,0806.15, black-figure neck-amphora, Lysippides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 530. *Biblio – ABV* 256,14, 670; *ARV*² 1617; *ARV* 3.18; *Para*. 113,4; *Add*.² 66; *CVA* 4, III.He.4, PL.(194) 49.3A-C; BAPD 302224. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Athena in a chariot; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame. [*fig.* 56]

CIV.35. London, British Museum 1839,1109.2, "bilingual" amphora, Andokides Painter [attributed by Furtwangler], Lysippides P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-500. *Biblio* –

ABV 254.3, 691; *Para*. 113, 320; *ARV* 2.7; *ARV*² 4.8, 1617; *ARFV I*, fig. 10 (A), 16 Head Details 4; Cohen 1978 PLS.16.1, 34.2 (A,B); *LIMC* V, PL.46, s.v. "Herakles" 1883 (A); Poliakoff 1987 139, fig. 96 (A); BAPD 200008. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and the Nemean Lion; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame.

CIV.36. Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts 01.8037, red-figure amphora, Lysippides P. [attributed by Beazley]; Andokides P. [attributed by Norton and Furtwangler], c. 530. *Biblio – ABV* 254.2, 691; *ARV* 2.5; *ARV*² 4.7, 1617; *Para*. 113, 320; *ABFV* Fig.161.1,2 (A,B) ; *ARFV I* fig. 2 (A,B); *LIMC* I, PL.100, Achilleus 421 (A), PL.96, Achilleus 392 (B); BAPD 200007. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Boeotian shields; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Boeotian shields.

CIV.37. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1870, black-figure amphora, Madrid P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 530-500. *Biblio – ABV* 330; *Add.*² 89; *CVA* 5, 34-36, Beilage C6, PLS. (2166,2167) 21.1-3, 22.1-2; BAPD 301774. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame seated on rocks with Boeotian shields, palm tree in center; Side B: Athena mounting a chariot with Herakles, Apollo, Hermes, Dionysos, goddess present. [*fig.* 57]

CIV.38. Athens, National Museum CC870, black-figure lekythos, Beldam P. [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-475. *Biblio –ABL* 268.33; BAPD 390571. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in the center.

CIV.39. Athens, Kerameikos III2, black-figure lekythos, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 9022973. *Decoration* – Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in the center.

CIV.40. Athens, Agora Museum P24316, black-figure lekythos, Group P [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 231; *Add*.² 124; BAPD 361054. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.41. Athens, Agora Museum P24317, black-figure lekythos, Group P [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 231; BAPD 361056. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.42. Athens, Agora Museum P24318, black-figure white-ground lekythos, Group P [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 230; *Add*.² 124; BAPD 361051. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.43. Athens, Agora Museum P24319, black-figure lekythos, Class of Athens 581II [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 238; BAPD 361218. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.44. Athens, Agora Museum P24320, black-figure lekythos, Group P [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 230; BAPD 361052. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.45. Athens, Agora Museum P24321, black-figure lekythos, Group P [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 230; BAPD 361053. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.46. Athens, Agora Museum P24322, black-figure lekythos frag., Group P [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 231; BAPD 361055. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.47. London, British Museum 1852,0707.11, black-figure white-ground lekythos, Beldam P. [attributed by Haspels], c. 475. *Biblio –ABL* 268.34; BAPD 390572. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.48. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1885.653, black-figure oinochoe, Painter of Oxford 224 [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-500. *Biblio – ABV* 435.2; *Para*. 187; *Add*.² 112; BAPD 320461. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center.

CIV.49. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles de Ridder 232, black-figure neck amphora, Group of Copenhagen 114 [attributed by Beazley], c. 530-500. *Biblio – ABV* 359.9; *CVA* 1, 32, PLS. (327,328) 43.3-6, 44.1; BAPD 302963. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena in center; Side B: warriors in chariot, turning.

CIV.50. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 1B24, red-figure cup, Oltos [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-500. *Biblio – ARV* 39.53, 39.65; *ARV*² 60.67; *Para*. 327; *Add*.² 81; *CVA* 1, III.I.3, PL. (376) 1.24; Carpenter 1991, fig. 307 (B); BAPD 200503. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present; Side B: fight (Diomedes and Apollo?), Athena (?), Aphrodite (?).

CIV.51. Rome, Villa Giulia 24999, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio* – *CVA* 1, III.H.E.4, PL. (7) 3.4-5; BAPD 13021. *Decoration* – Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena present; Side B: Dionysos with drinking horn between satyr with cups and satyr playing pipes.

CIV.52. Rome, Villa Giulia 50620, black-figure oinochoe, Flat-Mouthed Oinochoai [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ABV* 443.14; BAPD 330072. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.53. Munich, Antikensammlungen Museum 1482, black-figure neck amphora, P. of Vatican G31 [attributed by Beazley], c. 530-500. *Biblio – ABV* 486.1; *Add.*² 122; *CVA* 9, 41-43, PLS. (2330,2332) 33.1-4, 35.1-2; BAPD 303495. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena present; Side B: fight between warriors.

CIV.54. Munich, Antikensammlungen Museum 2300, bilingual amphora, Sundry Early RF PS [attributed by Beazley], c. 530-520. *Biblio – ARV* 12; *ARV*² 11.1, 1618; *Para*. 321; *Add*.² 151; *CVA* 4, 10-11, PLS. (537-538,566) 159.1-2, 160.1-2, 188.3; *LIMC* I, PL. 98, Achilleus 404 (B); *ThesCRA* VIII, PL. 44, Cat.85 (A); BAPD 200000. *Decoration* – Side A (black-figure):

Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present; Side B (red-figure): Dionysos with kantharos and drinking horn between maenads.

CIV.55. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 94353, black-figure amphora fragment, Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 530-500. *Biblio – ABV* 368.99; BAPD 302094. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.56. Bryn Mawr (PA), Bryn Mawr College P976, red-figure amphora fragment, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio – CVA* 44, PL. (610) 30.2; BAPD 1616. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.57. Palermo, Mormino Coll. 136, black-figure lekythos, Class of Athens 581 [attributed by Geniere], c. 525-475. *Biblio – CVA* 1, III.H.8, III.H.9, PL. (2220) 10.6-8; BAPD 3057. *Decoration –* Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.58. Richmond (VA), Museum of Fine Art 60.10, black-figure neck-amphora, Leagros Group [unknown attributor], Acheloos P. [unknown attributor], c. 525-475. *Biblio* – Carpenter 1991, fig. 300; BAPD 5231. *Decoration* – Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena present; Side B: King (? Old man with scepter), archer, warrior.

CIV.59. Tubingen, Eberhard-Karls-Univ., ARh. Inst. 5330, black-figure hydria, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio -- CVA* 3, 25-26, fig. 12, PL. (2262) 17.5-6; BAPD 5905. *Decoration* – Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.60. Paris, Musée du Louvre CP11291, black-figure volute krater fragment, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio – CVA* 12, 139-140, PLS. (863,865) 190.2, 192.1-2; BAPD 12240. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present; Side B: symposium.

CIV.61. Columbia (MO), University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology 82.299, black-figure lekythos, Phanyllis Group [unknown attributor], c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 15560. *Decoration* –Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.62. Bremen, Zimmermann, black-figure lekythos, Edinburgh P. [attributed by Cahn], c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 19208. *Decoration* –Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.63. Vibo Valentia, Museo Statale Vito Capialbi C48, black-figure lekythos, Class of Athens 581 II [attributed by Cesare], c. 525-475. *Biblio – CVA* 1, 24, fig. 29, PL. (3022) 15.3-4; BAPD 21245. *Decoration –*Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.64. Nimes, Musée Archéologique 908.51.1667, black-figure hydria, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 30004. *Decoration* –Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.65. Nimes, Musée Archéologique 908.51.1245, black-figure lekythos, unattributed, c. 525-475. *Biblio* – BAPD 30005. *Decoration* –Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.66. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 62.11.2, black-figure lekythos, P. of Vatican G31 [attributed by Beazley], c. 530-500. *Biblio – ABV* 486.7; *Para*. 222; BAPD 303498. *Decoration –*Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present.

CIV.67. London, British Museum, 1836,0224.134, black-figure lekythos, Athena Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 500-480. *Biblio – ABL* 254.6; Oakley 2013, 21, fig. 11A; BAPD 390486. *Decoration –*Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present (as a statue?). [*fig.* 58]

CIV.68. Paris, Musée du Louvre F299, black-figure hydria, Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 550-500. *Biblio – ABV* 362.29, 355; *Add.*² 96; *CVA* 6, III.He.52, PL. (411) 72.1; BAPD 302024. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Erymanthian Board, Herakles and the Cretan Bull; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame.

CIV.69. Paris, Musée du Louvre F290, black-figure amphora, Euphiletos P. [attributed byBeazley], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ABV* 324.37; *CVA* 6, III.He.49, PL. (408) 69.6-7; BAPD 301723. *Decoration –*Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present (as a statue?).

CIV.70. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum 1962.28, black-figure amphora, Chiusi P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 510. *Biblio – Para*. 170.3; *Add*.² 102; *CVA* 5, 19-21, BEILAGE B4, PLS. (2152,2154,2155) 7.2.4, 9.1, 10.1-2; *LIMC* I, PL. 98, ACHILLEUS 402 (A); BAPD 351259. *Decoration* – Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a Boardgame, Athena present (as a statue?); Side B: Athena mounting a chariot, Dionysos with grape vine and drinking horn, youth.

CIV.71. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum 1927, black-figure "Chalcidian" amphora, Inscription Painter [unknown attributor], c. 540. *Biblio* – Lowenstam 2008, 39, fig. 16. *Decoration* – Ajax duel with Patroklos. [Once in the Hope Collection, now lost.]

CIV.72. Athens, Agora AP1044, black-figure kalyx krater, Exekias [attributed by Broneer], c. 540-530, *Biblio – ABV* 145.19, 62.4; *Para*. 60; *LIMC* "Aias" I, 48; BAPD 310401. *Decoration –* Side A: Fight for the body of Patroklos, Achilles, warriors; Side B:Chariot of Athena, Herakles, Apollo playing Kithara, Artemis, Poseidon, Hermes, goddess, woman seated. [*fig.* 59]

CIV.73. Athens, National Museum 26746, black-figure krater, Manner of Exekias [attributed by Verdheles]. *Biblio – ABV* 148.9; BAPD 310418. *Decoration –* Side A: Hektor and Achilles fighting over the body of Patroklos; Side B: frontal chariot. [*fig.* 60]

CIV.74. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2264, red-figure cup, Oltos [attributed by signature], c. 510. *Biblio – ARV* 38.48; *ARV*² 60.64; *Para.* 326; *Add.*² 164; BAPD 200457.

Decoration – Side A: Ajax and Aeneas and two others battle over the body of Patroklos; Side B: Achilles and Antiochos set out.

CIV.75. Munich, Antikensammlungen Museum J53, black-figure amphora, Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], Antiope Group [attributed by Lullies], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ABV* 368.106; *Para*. 162; *Add*.² 98; *CVA* 1, 26-27, PLS. (130,133) 36.4, 39.1-2; BAPD 302101. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Hektor fighting over the body of Patroklos, archer kneeling [figures named by inscriptions]; Side B: warriors and archers. [*fig.* 61]

CIV.76. London, British Museum 1892,0718.4, red-figure stamnos, Smikros [attributed by signature], c. 515-505. *Biblio – ARV* 20.3; *ARV*² 20.3, 1620; *Para*. 322; *Add*.² 154; *CVA* 3, III.Ic.7, PL. (184) 19.2A-C; BAPD 200104. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Hektor duel, Athena in center; Side B: warriors fighting over fallen warrior. [*fig*. 62]

CIV.77. Paris, Musée du Louvre G163, red-figure calyx krater, Eucharides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV* 154.11, *ARV*² 227.12, *Para*. 347; BAPD 202217. *Decoration –* Side A: Hypnos and Thanatos carrying the body of Sarpedon (all named by inscriptions); Side B: Mission to Achilles, Phoinix (?), Odysseus and Achilles seated, Ajax (?).

CIV.78. Paris, Musée du Louvre G374, red-figure pelike, Hermonax [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV*² 485.28; BAPD 205411. *Decoration –* Side A: Mission to Achilles, seated men (Ajax, Phoinix?), one with staff, man seated in chlamys and petasos; Side B: draped youths with staffs.

CIV.79. Paris, Musée du Louvre G146, red-figure skyphos, Hieron Potter [attributed by signature], c. 490-480. *Biblio* – ARV^2 458.2, 1654, 481; *Para*. 377; BAPD 204682. Decoration – Side A: Mission to Achilles, Ajax, Odyssues, Phoinix (all named); Side B: Agamemnon leading Briseis, Talthybios with Kerkykeion, Diomedes (all named).

CIV.80. London, British Museum 1843,1103.78, red-figure kylix,Kachrylion as potter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ARV*² 109, 1626; *Add*. 85; *LIMC* I, PL. 90, Achilleus 342 (B), PL. 242, Aias I 78 (A); Shapiro 1989, PL. 55C (I). BAPD 200935. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Odysseus quarreling, restrained by two Greek soldiers, Agamemnon in center; Side B: Achilles pursuing Troilos at fountainhouse, Polyxene present. [*fig*. 63]

CIV.81 Taranto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 4421, black-figure white-ground lekythos, Athena P. [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABL* 256.35; BAPD 25021. *Decoration –* Ajax and Odysseus quarreling, Athena in center.

CIV.82. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3695, red-figure kylix, Douris [attributed by signature], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV*² 1569, 429.26, 1653; *Para*. 374; *Add*.² 236; Albersmeier 2009, 113, fig. 66 (I); *CVA* 1, 15-16, PLS. (11,12,13) 11.1-2, 12.1-2, 13.1-2; Hedreen 2001, figs. 25A-B (A, B); BAPD 205070. *Decoration –* Int.: Odysseus giving the armor of Achilles to Neoptolemos; Ext – Side A: quarrel for the arms of Achilles, Athena present between draped men; Side B: voting block for arms of Achilles, Athena in center.

CIV.83. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Villa 90.AE.35, red-figure cup frag., Triptolemos P [unknown attributor], c. 475. *Biblio* – BAPD 43899. *Decoration* – Int.: Odysseus with sword and petasos and Dolon with a wolf skin; Ext – Side A: Ajax and Odysseus quarrelling; Side B: Vote for the arms of Achilles.

CIV.84. London, British Museum 1843,1103.11, red-figure kylix, Brygos P. [attributed by Klein], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV*² 369.2; *Para*. 365; *ARFV I* fig. 247 (A), 136, 3; *CVA* 9, 44; Carpenter 1991, fig. 330 (A, B); *LIMC* I, PL. 198, Agamemnon 53 (I), PL. 244, Aias I 84 (B); BAPD 203901. *Decoration –* Int.: draped man with petasos and spear leading a woman; Side A: Voting for the arms of Achilles, Athena between draped men and youths; Side B: Ajax and Odysseus quarrelling over the arms of Achilles. [*figs*. 64a-b]

CIV.85. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 1977.192.3, red-figure kylix fragments, Onesimos [unknown attributor], c. 490. *Biblio – ARV*² 327.97; *Add*.² 216; BAPD 5574. *Decoration –* Greeks looking at sheep slaughtered by Ajax.

CIV.86. Boulogne, Musée Communale 558, black-figure amphora, Exekias [attributed by Beazley], c. 530. *Biblio – ABV* 145.18; *Para*. 60; Boardman 2001, fig. 82; Shapiro 1994, fig. 107; BAPD 310400. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax planting his upright sword in the ground in preparation to throw himself upon it; Side B: youths, some draped, with a chariot. [*fig.* 65]

THE HEROIC VASE: JUXTAPOSITION

CV.1. London, British Museum 1863,0728.355, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 540-480. *Biblio – CVA* London 4, Great Britain 5 (1929), III H e, PL. 54,3a-b; BAPD 4750. *Decoration –* Side A: The Struggle for the Tripod; Side B: Herakles and the Nemean Lion.

CV.2. London, British Museum 1843,1103.73, black-figure hydria, Alkmene Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ABV* 282.2; *Para*. 124; *CVA* LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM 7, III.H.E.3, PLS. (333,334) 74.2, 75.2; BAPD 320244. *Decoration –* Shoulder: Herakles, nude, strangling the Nemean lion, Athena and Iolaos are both present; Body: Herakles, nude, reclining on a kline; to the right stand Athena and Hermes, to the left stands Alkmene. All figures identified by inscriptions. [CII.25]

CV.3. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3871, black-figure neck-amphora, Acheloos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ABV* 383.2; *Para*. 168; *Add*.² 101; *LIMC* V, PL. 67, Herakles 2178 (B); BAPD 302395. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Kerkopes; Side B: Herakles and the Stag.

CV.4. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 39522, black-figure amphora, Acheloos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ABV* 383.4; *LIMC* V, PL. 106, s.v. "Herakles" 2730 (B); BAPD 302397. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles with bow, pursuing boar, tree, bird; Side B: Herakles running with apples over sea, vine. [CII.70] [*figs.* 26, 68]

CV.5. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 63.11.6, red-figure amphora, Andokides Painter [attributed by Bothmer], c. 520. *Biblio – ARV*² 1617.2bis; *Para*. 320; *LIMC* V, PL. 128, s.v. "Herakles" 2985 (A); BAPD 275000. *Decoration –* Side A: Struggle for Tripod, between Athena and Artemis; Side B: Dionysos with ivy and kantharos between satyr and maenad; Lip: Herakles and Nemean Lion. [CII.43]

CV.6. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 68.11.1a-c, black-figure amphora fragments, unattributed, c. 540-530. *Biblio* – Gallery 171, on view. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar; Side B: Herakles and the Nemean Lion.

CV.7. London, British Museum 1843,1103.64, black-figure amphora, Swing Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 540-520. *Biblio – ABV* 306.29; *LIMC* V, PL. 63, Herakles 2122 (A); BAPD 301509. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar; Side B: Herakles and the Chimaera. [CII.62]

CV.8. Paris, Musée du Louvre F271, black-figure amphora, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio –ARV*² 194.3; *Para*. 162; *LIMC* VII, PL. 658, Theseus

199; BAPD 201804. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and the Cretan Bull; Side B: Herakles with two opponents.

CV.9. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Villa 85.AE.185, red-figure phiale fragments, Douris [attributed by signature], c. 500-475. *Biblio* – Buitron-Oliver 1995a, PLS. 19-20, No. 29; BAPD 15527. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and Eurytos; Side B: Herakles crouching.

CV.10. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Villa 84.AE.974, red-figure volute-krater, Kleophrades Painter [unknown attributor], c. 500-450. *Biblio* – Oakley 2013, 66, figs. 2-4; BAPD 16201. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and Deer; Herakles and Hydra; Side B: Herakles and the Nemean Lion.

CV.11. Athens, National Museum 644, black-figure cup, Manner of Haimon Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-450. *Biblio – ABV* 560.522; *Add.*² 136; BAPD 331618. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar; Side B: Herakles and the Cretan Bull.

CV.12. London, British Museum 1864,1007.1686, black-figure kylix, Theseus Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ABV* 520.32, *LIMC* IV, PL. 544, Herakles 1497 (B), BAPD 330714. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Dionysos reclining at outdoor symposion; Side B: Herakles and Hermes reclining at outdoor symposion; Int.: ithyphallic satyr straddles a doe, mock inscriptions. [CII.23] [*figs.* 7a-b]

CV.13. London, British Museum 1866,0805.2, red-figure stamnos, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV* 125.49; *ARV*² 187.57; *ARFV I*, fig. 137; *LIMC* VII, PL. 648, Theseus 134; BAPD 201709. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur; Side B: Theseus and Prokrustes.

CV.14. Paris, Musée de Louvre G71, red-figure cup, Euergides Painter [attributed to Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ARV* 60.16; *ARV*² 89.21; *LIMC* VII, PL. 647, s.v. "Theseus" 132 (PARTS OF A); BAPD 200739. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Lion between Theseus and the Minotaur, and Theseus and Prokrustes; Side B: komos; Int.: athlete jumping with halters. [CIII.11] [*figs.* 37a-b]

CV.15. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 19B5, red-figure pelike, Berlin Painter [attributed by Robertson], c. 490. *Biblio – ARV* 28.2; *ARV*² 204.110; *LIMC* VII, PL. 643, s.v. "Theseus" 102 (A, B); BAPD 201918. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Minotaur; Side B: Theseus and Skiron. [CIII.44]

CV.16. Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3985, red-figure pelike, Berlin Painter [attributed by Robertson], c. 490. *Biblio – ARV* 28.2; *ARV*² 204.110; *LIMC* VII, PL. 643, s.v. "Theseus" 102 (A, B); BAPD 201918. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and Skiron; Side B: Theseus and the Minotaur. [CIII.13]

CV.17. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 41.162.101, red-figure amphora, Gallatin Painter [attributed by Beazley], c.480. *Biblio – ARV* 163.3; *ARV*² 247.3; *Para.* 350; *LIMC* VII,

PL. 643, s.v. "Theseus" 104 (A, B); BAPD 202468. *Decoration* – Side A: Theseus and Skiron on a rock; Side B: Theseus and the Minotaur. [CIII.46]

CV.18. London, British Museum 1843,1103.58, red-figure stamnos, Copenhagen Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 480-460. *Biblio – ARV* 193.9; *ARV*² 257.9; *Add*.² 204; *ARFV I*, fig. 201; *LIMC* VII, PLS. 648, 657, Theseus 137, 191; BAPD 202927. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Marathonian Bull; Side B: Theseus and Prokrustes. [*figs.* 69a-b]

CV.19. London, British Museum 1837,0609.58, red-figure cup, Euphronios [attributed by Roberston], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ARV* 37.41; *ARV*² 58.51, 1622; Servadei 2005, 112, fig. 47 (I); BAPD 200441. *Decoration –* Int.: Theseus with a lyre and a girl; Side A: Theseus and a girl; Side B: Theseus and Antiope. [CIII.57] [*figs.* 49, 70]

CV.20. Athens, National Museum 515, black-figure lekythos, Theseus Painter [attributed by Haspels], c. 525-475. *Biblio – ABV* 518; BAPD 330671. *Decoration –* Theseus, with doubles axe, and Prokrustes; Theseus and Sinis; Theseus and the Minotaur. [CIII.8] [*figs.* 71a-b]

CV.21. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 53.11.4, red-figure kylix, Briseis Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 480. *Biblio – ARV*² 406.7; *LIMC* VII, PL. 660, Theseus 219; BAPD 204406. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus in Poseidon's Underwater Palace; Side B: Theseus' arrival in Athens. [*figs.* 33a-b]

CV.22. Rome, Villa Giulia 20760, red-figure cup, Skythes [attributed by signature], c. 500. *Biblio – ARV* 74.13; *ARV*² 1578.6, 83.14, 1624; *Para*. 329; *LIMC* VII, PLS. 641, s.v. "Theseus" 86, 649, 149 (A, B), BAPD 200674. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and the Sow; Side B: Theseus and Skiron; Int.: komos, youth with lyre. [CIII.38]

CV.23. Athens, National Museum Acr. 2.735, red-figure lekythos, Syriskos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-475. *Biblio – ARV* 195.1; *ARV*² 259.1; Servadei 2001, 102, fig. 42; BAPD 202955. *Decoration –* Side A: Theseus and Minotaur; Side B: Four Royal Heroes of Attica. [*figs.* 72a-b]

CV.24. Paris, Musée du Louvre F62, black-figure lebes, unattributed, c. 550-500. *Biblio* – CVA Paris, Louvre 2, III.He.3, PLS .(73-74) 1.1-2, 2.1; BAPD 10095. *Decoration* – Rim Exterior: Herakles and the Lion, Athena (?), Theseus and the Minotaur, warriors fighting, warriors in chariots; Rim Int.: ships on water. [CIII.4]

CV.25. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Villa S80.AE.322, black-figure pyxis, Painter of Munich 1842 [attributed by Clark], c. 550-500. *Biblio – CVA* 2, 18-20, fig. 13, PL.(1245) 71.1-4; BAPD 8113. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles, standing, and the Nemean Lion; Side B: Theseus stabbing the Minotaur.

CV.26. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 39564, red-figure cup, Epeleios Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ARV* 111.31; *ARV*² 148.2; BAPD 201327.

Decoration – Side A: Herakles and the Nemean Lion; Side B: Theseus and the Marathonian Bull. [CIII.34]

CV.27. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum, black-figure lekythos, unattributed, c. 520-475. *Biblio* –Brommer 1982, PL. 47A; BAPD 7543. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and the Nemean Lion; Side B: Theseus and the Marathonian Bull.

CV.28. Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania L64.185, red-figure stamnos, Kleophrades Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV* 125.55; *ARV*² 187.62, 1632; *LIMC* VII, PL. 656, Theseus 188 (B); BAPD 201712. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Nemean Lion; Side B: Theseus and the Marathonian Bull. [CIII.33] [*figs.* 38, 73]

CV.29. Naples, Museo Nazionale 81103, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c. 550-500. *Biblio – CVA* 1, III.H.E.7, PL. (955) 11.1-4; BAPD 13847. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar; Side B: Theseus and the Marathonian Bull.

CV.30. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum OEST322, red-figure cup, Triptolemos Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500-475. *Biblio – ARV* 243.7; *ARV*² 364.50; *LIMC* I, PL. 652, Antaios I 28; BAPD 203842. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Antaios; Side B: Theseus and the Marathonian Bull.

CV.31. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1848, black-figure amphora, unattributed, c.530-520. *Biblio – ABV* 671.2; BAPD 306454. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles fighting Amazons with his right sword-arm raised above his head, Andromache is named; Side B: Theseus and the Minotaur between two women. [CII.48; CIII.23]

CV.32. Athens, National Museum 1666, red-figure kylix, Proto-Panaetian Group, c. 500-490. *Biblio – ARV* 1567; *LIMC* I s.v. "Antaios", no. 25; *LIMC* VII s.v. "Theseus", no. 133, 229; *ThesCRA*: V, PL. 30.229 (I); BAPD 350911. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles wrestles Antaios; Side B: Theseus, holding an axe, attacks Prokrustes; Int.: youth pouring a libation. [CII.1]

CV.33. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 12.198.3, black-figure hydria, unattributed, c. 520-500. *Biblio* – Ahlberg-Cornell 1984: 146, no. X 9; *LIMC* I, PL. 683, s.v. "Antiope" II 6 (S); BAPD 7024. *Decoration* – Body: Herakles and Triton between Nereid and Nereus (old man with a staff); Shoulder: Theseus and Antiope in a chariot, Perithoos and a warrior present. [CII.74; CIII.58]

CV.34. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 21.88.92, black-figure amphora, Edinburgh Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 500. *Biblio – ABV* 478.7; BAPD 303401. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles, without lionskin, striking an Amazon with his right sword-arm raised above his head; Side B: Theseus stabbing the Minotaur, a woman. [CII.50; CIII.24]

CV.35. Copenhagen, National Museum 3877, red-figure cup, Oltos [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-500. *Biblio – ARV* 40.70; *ARV*² 63.87, 1600.21, 1573; *Para.* 327; BAPD

200523. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and Kyknos, between horsemen and horses; Side B: Theseus and Minotaur, between horsemen and horses; Int.: naked woman with laver. [CIII.12]

CV.36. Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Villa 86.AE.286, red-figure cup, Brygos Painter [attributed by Bareiss and Beazley], c. 490-480. *Biblio – ARV*; *Para*. 367.1*bis*; *Add*. ² 221; Boardman 1975, fig. 246 (I); 2001, 243, fig. 268 (I); *LIMC* I PLS. 240, 243, 251, Aias I 72, I 83, and I 140 (I,A,B); BAPD 275946. *Decoration –* Int.: Tekmessa covers the body of Ajax; Side A: Quarrel for the Armor of Achilles between Ajax and Odysseus; Side B: Vote for the Armor of Achilles. [CIV.1] [*figs*. 74a-b]

CV.37. London, British Museum 1843,1103.78, red-figure kylix, Kachrylion as potter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-510. *Biblio – ARV*² 109, 1626; *Add.*² 85; *LIMC* I, PL. 90, Achilleus 342 (B), PL. 242, Aias I 78 (A); Shapiro 1989, PL. 55C (I). BAPD 200935. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Odysseus quarreling, restrained by two Greek soldiers, Agamemnon in center; Side B: Achilles pursuing Troilos at fountainhouse, Polyxene present. [CIV.80] [*fig.* 63]

CV.38. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2264, red-figure cup, Oltos [attributed by signature], c. 510. *Biblio – ARV* 38.48; *ARV*² 60.64; *Para*. 326; *Add*.² 164; BAPD 200457. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Aeneas and two others battle over the body of Patroklos; Side B: Achilles and Antilochos set out. [CIV.74] [*figs*. 75a-b]

CV.39. London, British Museum 1839,1109.2, "bilingual" amphora, Andokides Painter [attributed by Furtwangler], Lysippides P. [attributed by Beazley], c. 520-500. *Biblio – ABV* 254.3, 691; *Para*. 113, 320; *ARV* 2.7; *ARV*² 4.8, 1617; Boardman 1975, fig. 10 (A), 16 Head Details 4; Cohen 1978 PLS.16.1, 34.2 (A,B); *LIMC* V, PL.46, s.v. "Herakles" 1883 (A); Poliakoff 1987 139, fig. 96 (A); BAPD 200008. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Nemean Lion; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame. [CIV.35] [*figs*. 76a-b]

CV.40. London, British Museum 1851,0806.15, black-figure neck-amphora, Lysippides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 530. *Biblio – ABV* 256,14, 670; *ARV*² 1617; *ARV* 3.18; *Para*. 113,4; *Add*.² 66; *CVA* 4, III.He.4, PL. (194) 49.3A-C; BAPD 302224. *Decoration* – Side A: Herakles and Athena in a chariot; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame. [CIV.34]

CV.41. London, British Museum 1893,0712.11, black-figure amphora, Eucharides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 490. *Biblio – ABV* 397.28; *Para*. 174; *Add*.² 104; *CVA* 3 III H e PL. 34, 3; BAPD 302997. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Kerberos; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame. [CIV.30]

CV.42. Munich, Antikensammlung Museum 1567, black-figure amphora, Bareiss Painter [attributed by Moore], c. 540-530. *Biblio – LIMC* I, PL. 96, Achilleus 394; BAPD 1113. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Amazons; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame.

CV.43. Munich, Antikensammlung Museum J3, black-figure amphora, Leagros Group [attributed by Lullies], c. 510-500. *Biblio – ABV* 367.86; BAPD 302081. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Antaios; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame. [CIV.31]

CV.44. Richmond (VA), Museum of Fine Arts, black-figure amphora, Group of Naples 2473 [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-475. *Biblio – Para*. 142.1; BAPD 351050. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and Centaurs; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame.

CV.45. Paris, Musée du Louvre F299, black-figure hydria, Leagros Group [attributed by Beazley], c. 550-500. *Biblio – ABV* 362.29, 355; *Add.*² 96; *CVA* 6, III.He.52, PL. (411) 72.1; BAPD 302024. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Erymanthian Board, Herakles and the Cretan Bull; Side B: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame. [CIV.68]

CV.46 Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3929, red-figure cup, Makron [attributed by Beazley], c. 480. *Biblio – ARV*² 460.15, 481; *Add.*² 244; *CVA* 3, III.I.12, PL. (1359) 95.1-5; Hedreen 2001, fig. 23 (A); BAPD 204696. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame, Athena present; Side B: Herakles and centaurs and Pegasos; Int.: winged goddess [Eos or Nike?]. [CIV.33]

CV.47. New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 56.171.20, black-figure neck amphora, Antimenes Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 520. *Biblio – ABV* 270.53; *Para*. 118; *Add*.² 20; BAPD 320063. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Erymanthian Boar; Side B: Ajax carrying Achilles. [CIV.26] [*figs*. 77a-b]

CV.48. London, British Museum 1842,0822.1, red-figure calyx-krater, Myson [attributed by Beazley], c. 480-460. *Biblio – ARV* 171.46; *ARV*² 239.16. 237, 238; *Para*. 349; *LIMC* V, PL. 126, Herakles 2965; *ARFV I*, fig. 172; BAPD 202164. *Decoration –* Side A: Struggle for the Tripod; Side B: Demophon and Akamas rescuing Aithra. [CII.61]

CV.49. Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1720, black-figure amphora, Exekias [attributed by signature], c. 540-530. *Biblio – ABV* 143.1, 686; *Para*. 59; *LIMC* V, PL. 36, Herakles 1792; BAPD 310383. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles and the Nemean Lion; Side B: Demophon and Akamas with horse.

CV.50. Rome, Villa Giulia 24998, black-figure amphora, Lysippides Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 525-510. *Biblio – ABV* 255.9; *ARV* 3.14; *LIMC* IV, PL. 539, s.v. "Herakles" 1442 (A); BAPD 302219. *Decoration –* Side A: Herakles with kithara mounting a pedestal between Hermes and Athena, both seated; Side B: Kastor[?] (a youth with chlamys, petasos and spears) leading horse, old man with scepter seated on a stool, woman with a wreath. [CII.29]

CV.51. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 344, black-figure amphora, Exekias [attributed by signature], c. 540-530. Biblio – *ABV* 145,13, 686, 672.3; *Para.* 60; Boardman 2001, 62-63, figs. 80-81 (A, B); Hedreen 2001, fig. 21 (A); BAPD 310395. *Decoration* – Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame (names inscribed); Side B: Polydeukes and Kastor leading horses, Leda and Tyndareus present (names inscribed). [CIV.29] [*figs.* 55, 78]

CV.52. Rome, Villa Giulia 121110, red-figure kylix, Euphronios [attributed by signature], c. 500-490. *Biblio – LIMC* VIII, PL. 400, Ilioupersis 7; Hedreen 2001, figs. 6A-C; BAPD 13363. *Decoration –* Side A: Ajax and Achilles playing a boardgame; Side B: Akamas and Demophon rescuing Aithra.

CV.53. London, British Museum 1848,0801.1, red-figure volute krater, Berlin Painter [attributed by Beazley], c. 480. *Biblio – ARV* 138.102; *ARV*² 206.122, 1633; *Para*. 343; *Add*.² 194; *LIMC* I, PL. 114, Achilleus 565; Robertson 1992, 74, figs. 60-61; BAPD 201941. *Decoration –* Side A: Duel: Achilles and Memnon; Side B: Duel: Achilles and Hektor. [*figs*. 79a-b]

CV.54. Athens, National Museum E13, red-figure skyphos fragments, Oltos [attributed by Beazley], c. 510. *Biblio – ARV* 42.109; *ARV*² 66.135; BAPD 200573. Decoration – Side A: Struggle for the Tripod; Side B: Triptolemos with Demeter and Persephone. [*fig.* 80]

-FIGURES-



Figure 1 Athens, National Museum 17170 (BAPD 206483) Photo by Author.



Figure 2a, *cat.* CII.3 Paris, Musée du Louvre G107 (BAPD 200088) *CVA* III.Ic.25, PL. (412) 33.4.

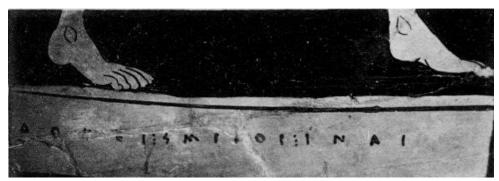


Figure 2b, *cat*. CII.3 [close-up of Figure 2a].

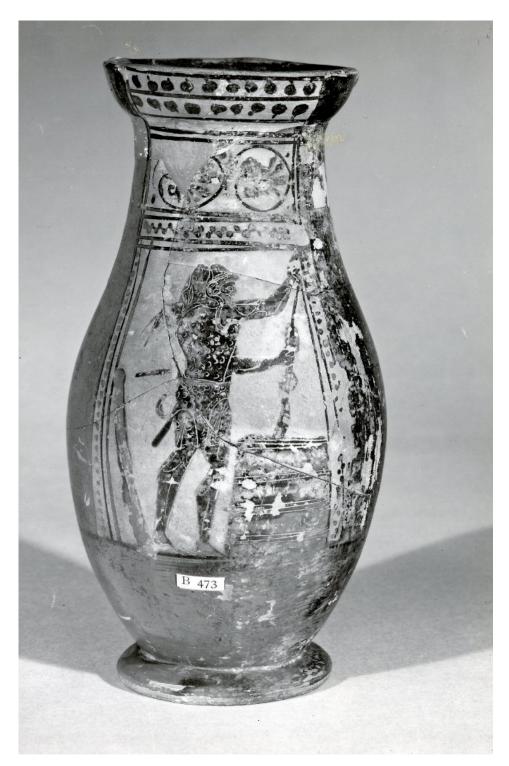


Figure 3, *cat*. CII.7 London, British Museum 1864,1007.221 (BAPD 305639) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 4, *cat*. CII.12 Athens, National Museum 15217 (Acr. 328) (BAPD 204700) Photo by Author.



Figure 5, *cat*. CII.19 Munich, Antikensammlung Museum 2648 (BAPD 205230) Simon 1985, PL. 60.



Figure 6, *cat*. CII.20 London, British Museum 1902,1218.3 (BAPD 466) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 7a, *cat.* CII.23 [Side A] London, British Museum 1864,1007.1686 (BAPD 330714) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 7b, *cat*. CII.23 [Side B] London, British Museum 1864,1007.1686 (BAPD 330714) © Trustees of the British Museum.

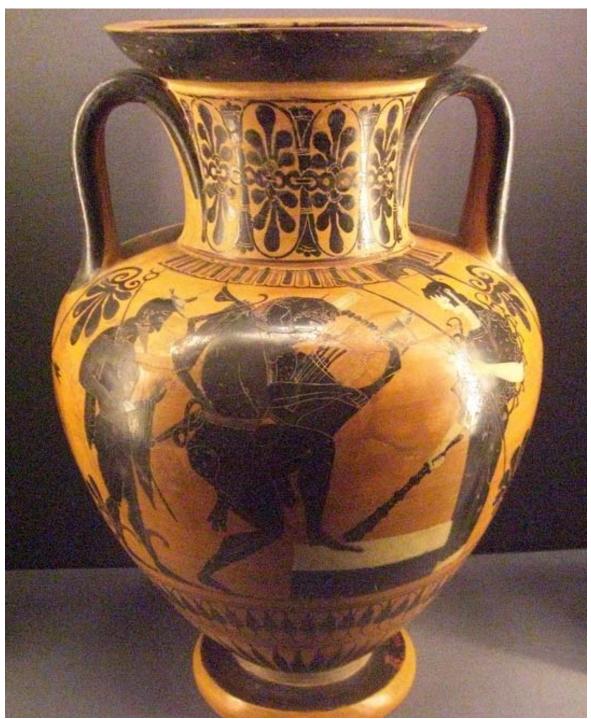


Figure 8, *cat*. CII.27 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1001 (BAPD 4430) Photo by Author.



Figure 9 Athens, National Museum 1002 (BAPD 300025) *LIMC* VI, PL. 553, s.v. "Nessos" 113.

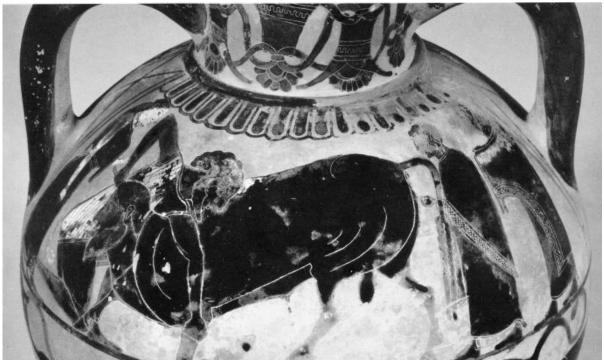


Figure 10 New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 59.64 (BAPD 350203) Stansbury-O'Donnell 2014, 193, fig. 62.



Figure 11 Delphi, Archaeological Museum. Siphnian Treasury, East Pediment. Ridgway 1965, PL. 1, fig. 2.



Figure 12, *cat*. CII.37 New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 67.11.22 (BAPD 311) Cohen 2006, 98-99, no. 23.

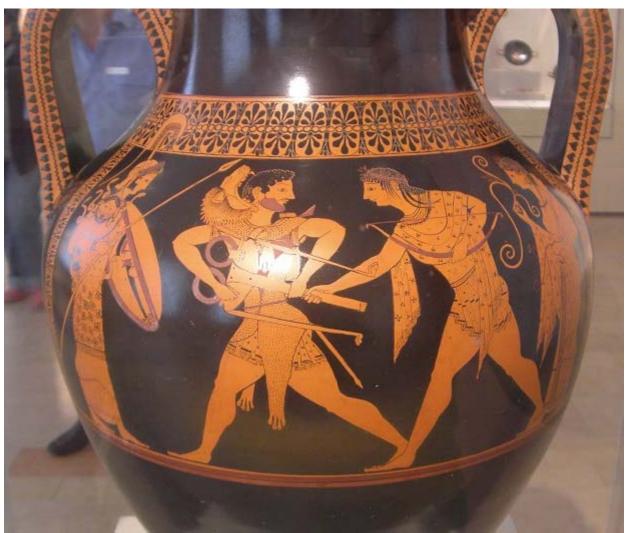


Figure 13, *cat*. CII.38 Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2159 (BAPD 200001) Photo by Author.



Figure 14, *cat*. CII.39 Athens, National Museum, Acr. 2.703a (BAPD 200995) Photo by Author.



Figure 15, *cat*. CII.44 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16513 (BAPD 203068) Photo from Beazley Archive Pottery Database (Drawing).



Figure 16, *cat*. CII.48 London, British Museum 1836,0224.101 (BAPD 203248) © Trustees of the British Museum.

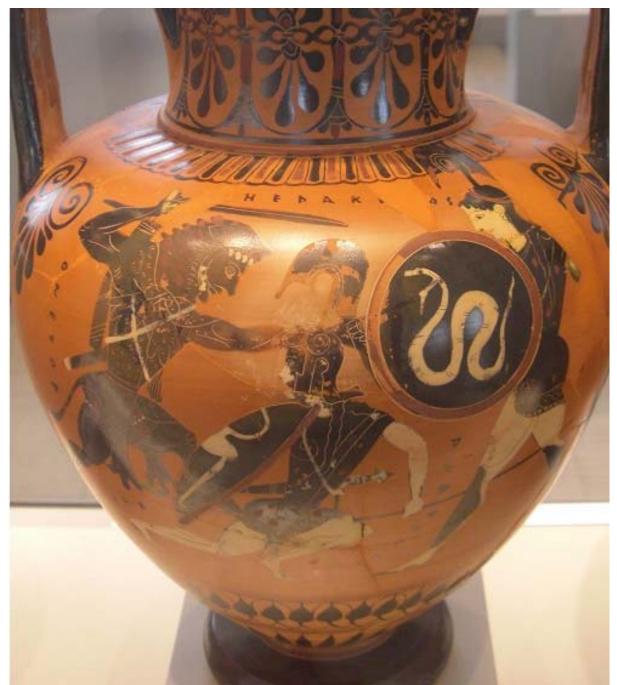


Figure 17, *cat*. CII.49 Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1848 (BAPD 306454) Photo by Author.



Figure 18, *cat*. CII.52 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 34554 Photo by Author.

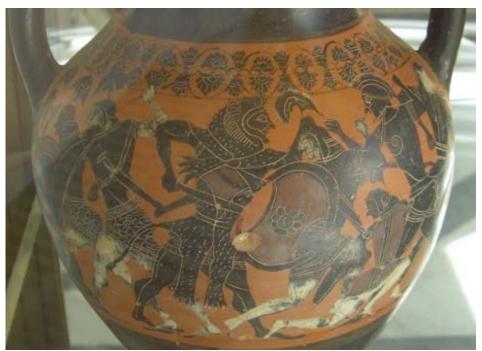


Figure 19, *cat*. CII.55 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17829 (BAPD 301064) Photo by Author.



Figure 20, *cat*. CII.57 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles de Ridder 535 (BAPD 201751) Photo by Author.

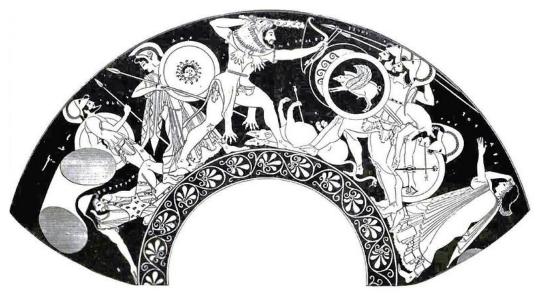


Figure 21, *cat*. CII.58 Munich, Antikensammlung Museum 2620 (BAPD 200080) Walters 1905, PL. 38.

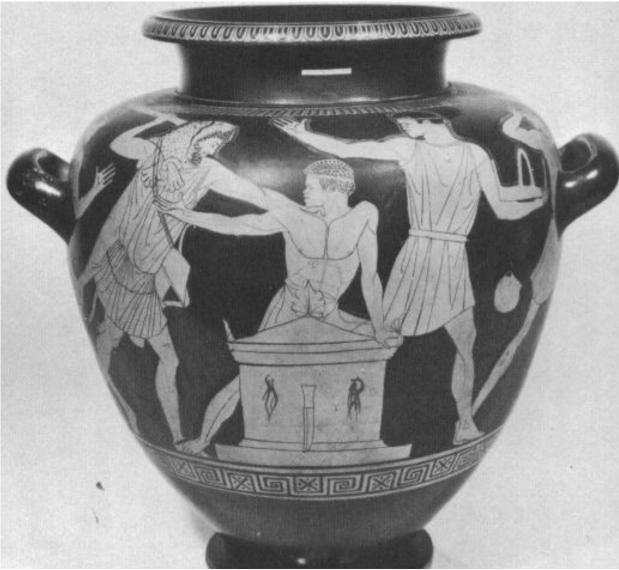


Figure 22, *cat*. CII.59 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1896.1908 G270, V521 (BAPD 202323) *CVA* 1, 22, PL. (118) 26.2.

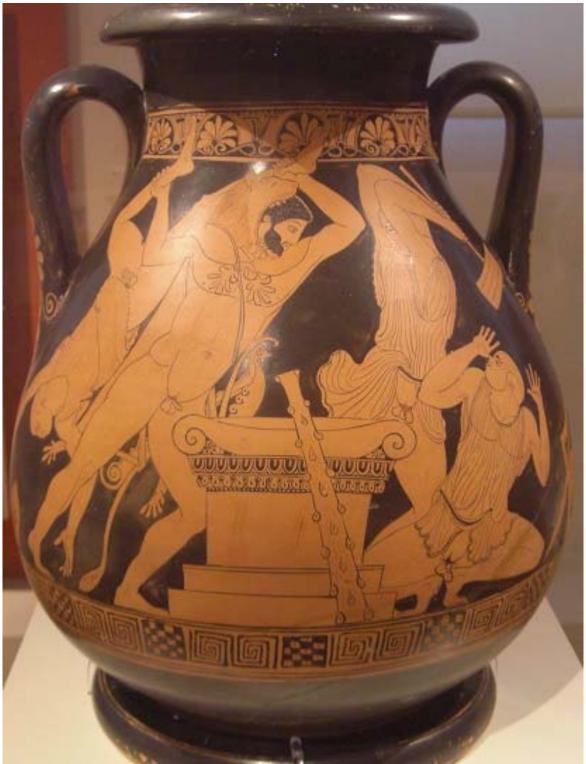


Figure 23, *cat*. CII.60 Athens, National Museum 9683 (BAPD 206325) Photo by Author.

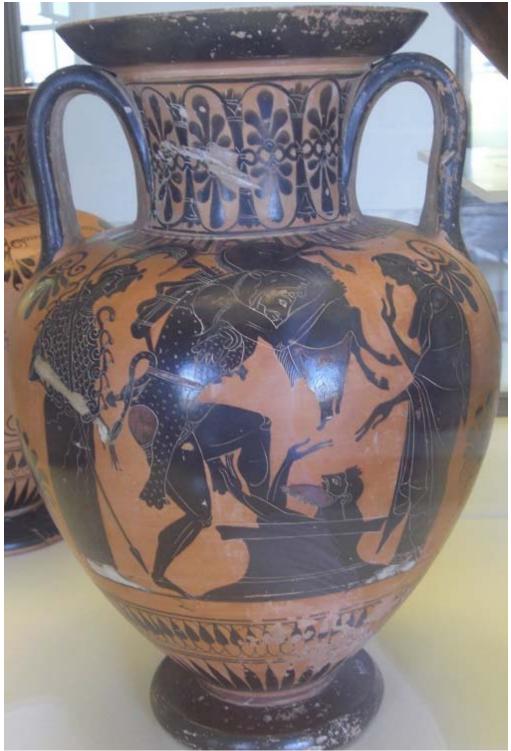


Figure 24, *cat*. CII.64 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 39529 (BAPD 9022369) Photo by Author.

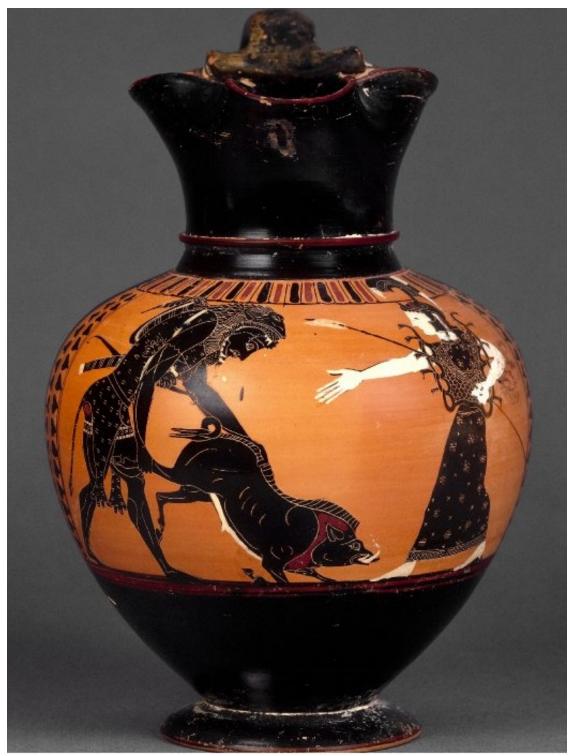


Figure 25, *cat*. CII.66 London, British Museum 1836,0224.93 (BAPD 302229) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 26, *cat*. CII.70 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 39522 (BAPD 302397) Photo by Author.



Figure 27, *cat.* CII.71 Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.22 (BAPD 28084) Boardman 2001, 205, fig. 221.



Figure 28, *cat*. CII.77 Paris, Musée du Louvre G103 (BAPD 200064) Schefold 1992, 142, no. 170.



Figure 29, *cat*. CII.78 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 3692 (BAPD 203842) Photo by Author.



Figure 30, *cat.* CII.84 Paris, Musée du Louvre F53 (BAPD 310309) *LIMC* V, PL. 87, s.v. "Herakles" 2486.



Figure 31 Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209 (BAPD 300000) Beazley 1986, PL. 27.2.

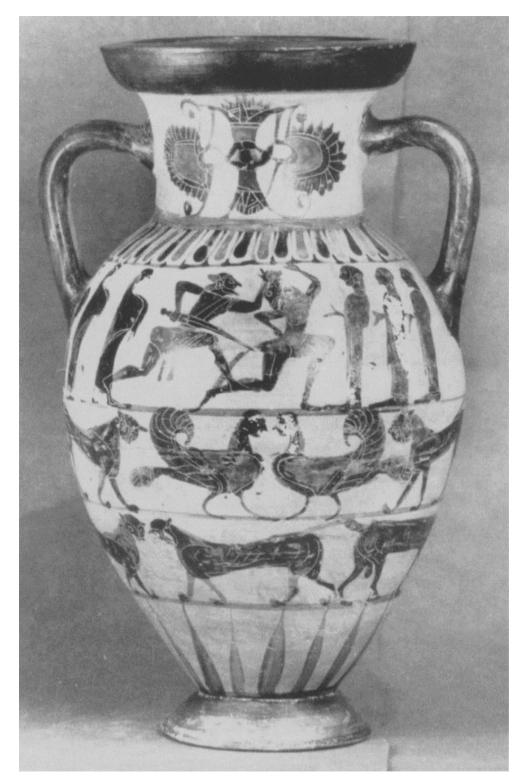


Figure 32 Paris, Musée du Louvre E850 (BAPD 310031) Kluiver, J. 2003. The Tyrrhenian Group of Black-Figure Vases. Amsterdam: Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society, fig. 97.



Figure 33a, *cat*. CIII.2 [Side A] New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 53.11.4 (BAPD 204406) *LIMC* VII, PLS. 660, s.v. "Theseus" 219.



Figure 33b, *cat*. CIII.2 [Side B] New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 53.11.4 (BAPD 204406) *LIMC* VII, PLS. 660, s.v. "Theseus" 666.



Figure 33c, *cat*. CIII.3 [Interior Tondo] New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 22.735 (BAPD 204406) *LIMC* VII, PLS. 660, s.v. "Theseus" 309.

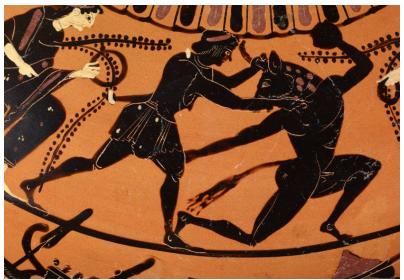


Figure 34, *cat*. CIII.5 London, British Museum 1837,0609.49 (BAPD 301996) © Trustees of the British Museum.

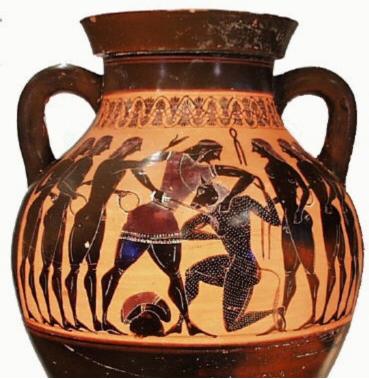


Figure 35, *cat.* CIII.22 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1918.64 (BAPD 320384) Vickers 1999, 23, no. 12.



Figure 36, *cat*. CIII.28 New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 47.11.5 (BAPD 301120) © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

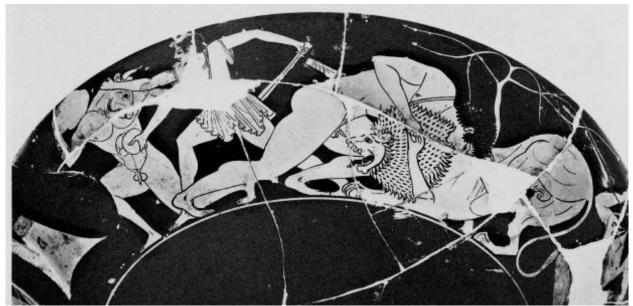


Figure 37a, *cat.* CIII.11 (Minotaur) Paris, Musée du Louvre G71 (BAPD 200739) *LIMC* VII, PL. 647, s.v. "Theseus" 132.



Figure 37b, *cat*. CIII.11 (Prokrustes) Paris, Musée du Louvre G71 (BAPD 200739) *LIMC* VII, PL. 647, s.v. "Theseus" 132.



Figure 38, *cat*. CIII.31 Athens, National Museum 1124 (BAPD 46905) Photo by Author.



Figure 39, *cat.* CIII.33 Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania L64.185 (BAPD 2201712) *LIMC* VII, PL. 656, s.v. "Theseus" 188.



Figure 40, *cat*. CIII.36 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 505 (BAPD 203669) *LIMC* VII, PL. 656, Theseus 187.



Figure 41, *cat*. CIII.38 Rome, Villa Giulia 20760 (BAPD 200674) Neils 1987, fig. 8

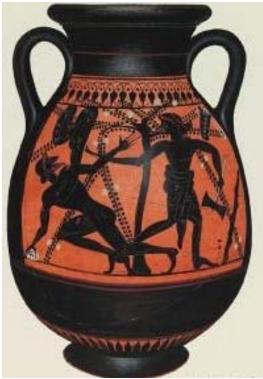


Figure 42, *cat*. CIII.43 Athens, Agora P12561 (BAPD 31548) Papadopoulos 2007, 193, fig. 166.

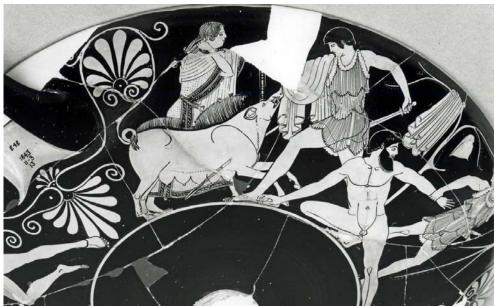


Figure 43, *cat*. CIII.39 London, British Museum 1843,1103.13 (BAPD 205091) © Trustees of the British Museum.

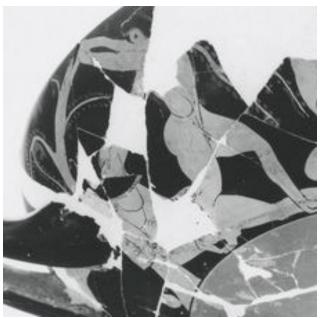


Figure 44, *cat*. CIII.49 Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 91456 (BAPD 200931) *LIMC* VII, PL. 623, s.v. "Theseus" 33.



Figure 45, *cat.* CIII.50 Munich, Antikensammlung Museum 8771 (BAPD 872) Böhr 2009, 19, fig. 1.



Figure 46a, *cat*. CIII.39 (side B) London, British Museum 1843,1103.13 (BAPD 205091) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 46b, *cat*. CIII.39 (tondo) London, British Museum 1843,1103.13 (BAPD 205091) © Trustees of the British Museum.

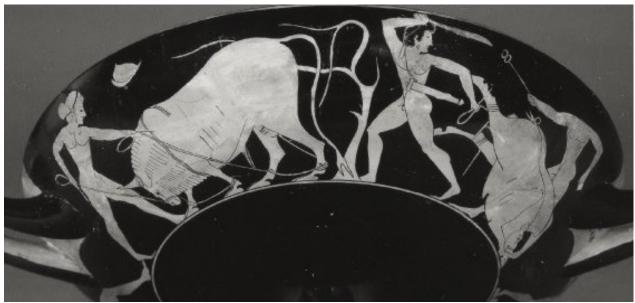


Figure 47a, *cat*. CIII.41 London, British Museum 1836,0224.116 (BAPD 2200974) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 47b, *cat.* CIII.41 London, British Museum 1836,0224.116 (BAPD 2200974) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 48a, *cat*. CIII.49 Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 91456 (BAPD 200931) *CVA* 3, III.I.5, PL. (1343) 79.1.



Figure 48b, *cat.* CIII.49 Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 91456 (BAPD 200931) *CVA* 3, III.I.5, PL. (1343) 79.2.



Figure 49, *cat*. CIII.57 London, British Museum 1837,0609.58 (BAPD 200441) © Trustees of the British Museum.

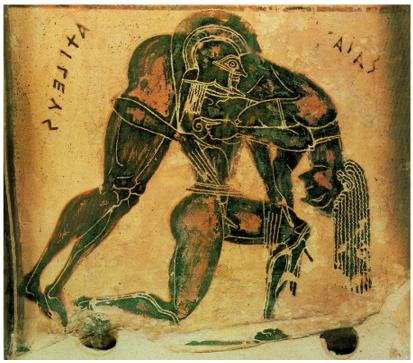


Figure 50 Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209 (BAPD 300000) Marconi 2004, fig. 3.11.

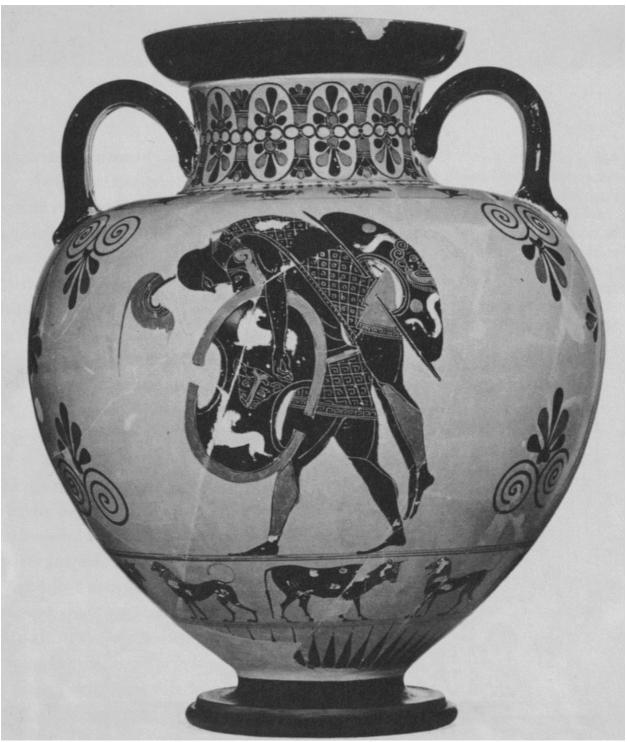


Figure 51, *cat*. CIV.2 Munich, Antikensammlung Museum 1470 (BAPD 310388) Boardman 2001, 182, fig. 203.



Figure 52, *cat*. CIV.4 Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania 3442 (BAPD 310396) Photo by Author.



Figure 53, *cat.* CIV.27 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16596 (BAPD 301072) Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 290, fig. 49.

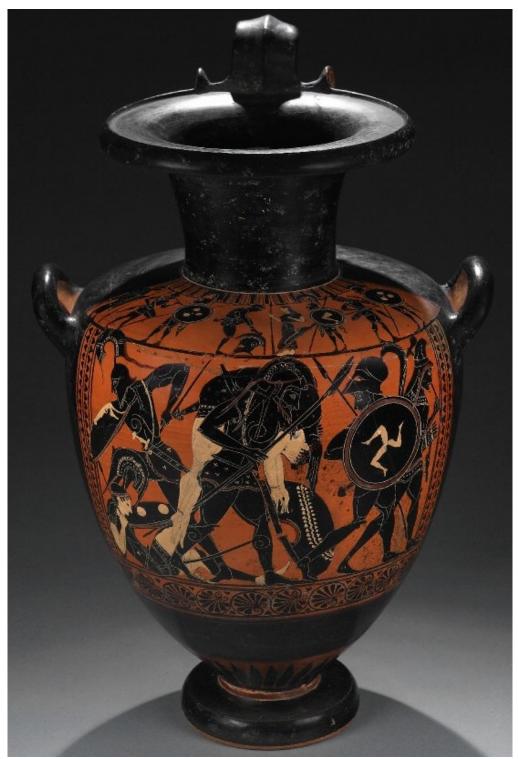


Figure 54, *cat.* CIV.28 London, British Museum 1836,0224.128 (BAPD 302028) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 55, *cat*. CIV.29 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 344 (BAPD 310395) Photo by Author.



Figure 56, *cat*. CIV.34 London, British Museum 1851,0806.15 (BAPD 302224) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 57, *cat*. CIV.37 Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F1870 (BAPD 301774) *CVA* 5, 34-36, Beilage C6, PL. (2167) 22.2.



Figure 58, *cat.* CIV.67 London, British Museum, 1836,0224.134 (BAPD 390486) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 59, *cat*. CIV.72 Athens, Agora AP1044 (BAPD 310401) Mackay 2010, PL. 81.

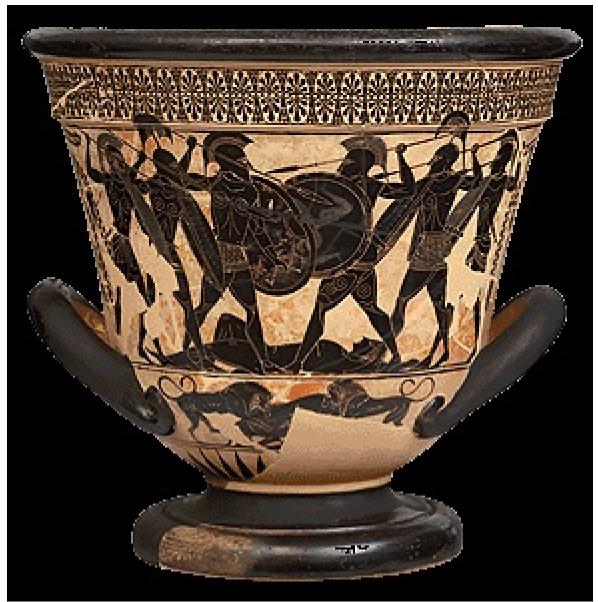


Figure 60, *cat.* CIV.73 Athens, National Museum 26746 (BAPD 310418) Brouwers 2013, 6.

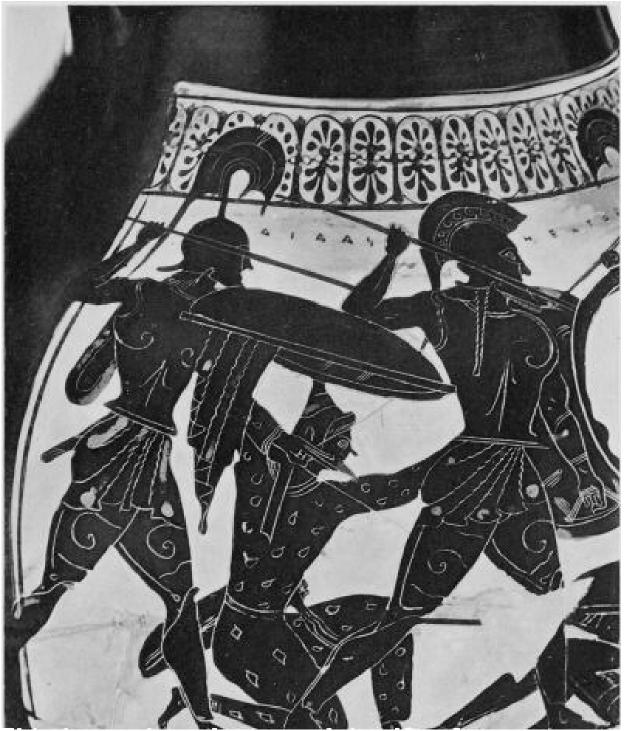


Figure 61, *cat*. CIV.75 Munich, Antikensammlung Museum J53 (BAPD 302101) *CVA* 1, 27, PL. 39.1.

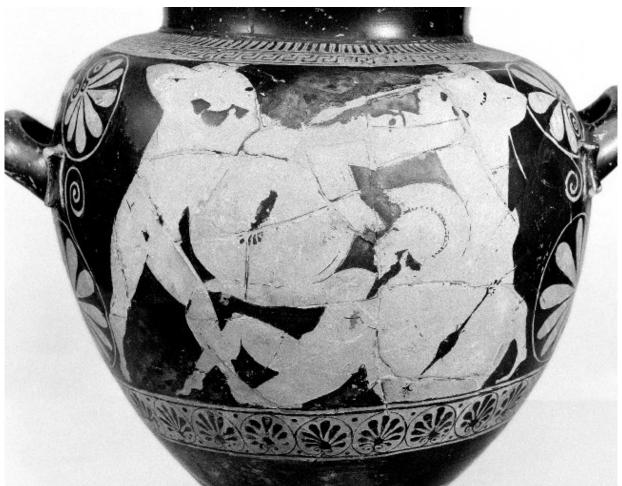


Figure 62, *cat*. CIV.76 London, British Museum 1892,0718.4 (BAPD 200104) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 63, *cat*. CIV.80 London, British Museum 1843,1103.78 (BAPD 200935) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 64a, *cat*. CIV.84 (Vote for the Armor) London, British Museum 1843,1103.11 (BAPD 203901) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 64b, *cat.* CIV.84 (Quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus) London, British Museum 1843,1103.11 (BAPD 203901) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 65, *cat.* CIV.86 Boulogne, Musée Communale 558 (BAPD 310400) Shapiro 1994, fig. 107.

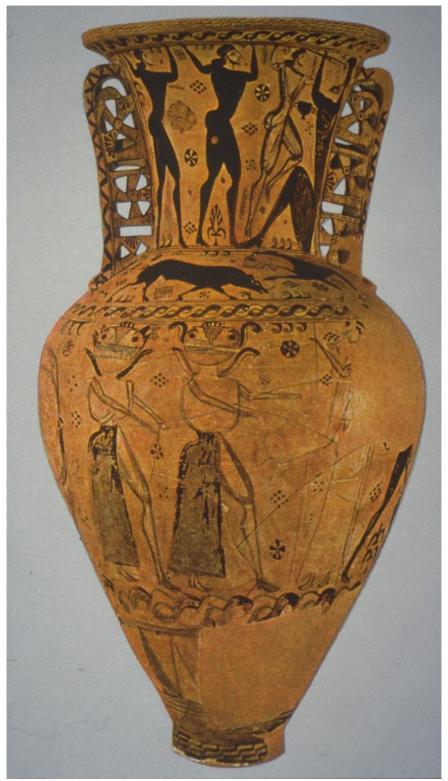


Figure 66 Eleusis Archaeological Museum, Inv. 2630. Digital Library Federation Academic Image Cooperative.



Figure 67 Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209 (300000) Photo from Beazley Archive Pottery Database.

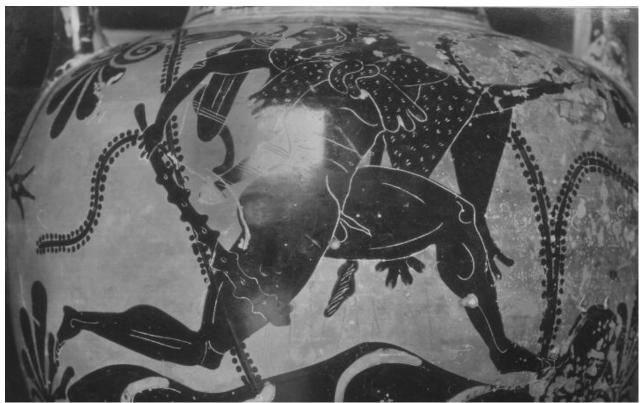


Figure 68, *cat*. CV.4 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 39522 (BAPD 302397) *LIMC* V, PL. 106, s.v. "Herakles" 2730.



Figure 69a, *cat*. CV.18 London, British Museum 1843,1103.58 (BAPD 202927) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 69b, *cat*. CV.18 London, British Museum 1843,1103.58 (BAPD 202927) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 70, *cat*. CV.19 London, British Museum 1837,0609.58 (BAPD 200441) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 71a, *cat*. CV.20 Athens, National Museum 515 (BAPD 33061) Photo by Author.



Figure 71b, *cat*. CV.20 Athens, National Museum 515 (BAPD 33061) Photo by Author.

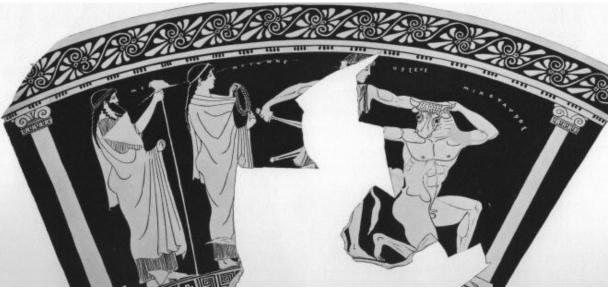


Figure 72a, *cat.* CV.23 Athens, National Museum Acr. 2.735 (BAPD 202955) Servadei 2001, 102, fig.42.



Figure 72b, *cat*. CV.23 Athens, National Museum Acr. 2.735 (BAPD 202955) *LIMC* VI, PL. 155, s.v. "Lykos" III 1.



Figure 73, *cat*. CV.38 Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania L64.185 (BAPD 2201712) Quick 2004, 123, fig. 111.



Figure 74a, *cat.* CV.36 Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.286 (BAPD 275946) Boardman 2001, 243, fig. 268.



Figure 74b, *cat.* CV.36 Malibu (CA), The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.286 (BAPD 275946) Hedreen 2001, fig. 28A.

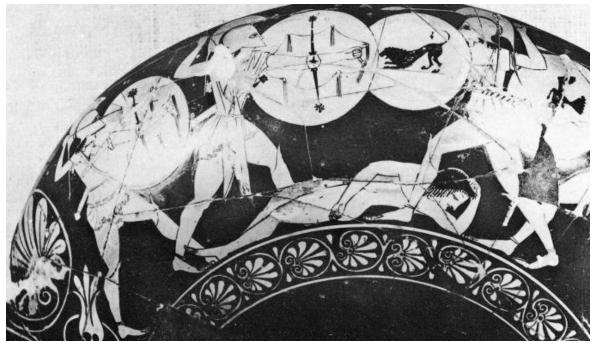


Figure 75a, *cat.* CV.38 Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2264 (BAPD 200457) *LIMC* I, s.v. "Aias I" 23.

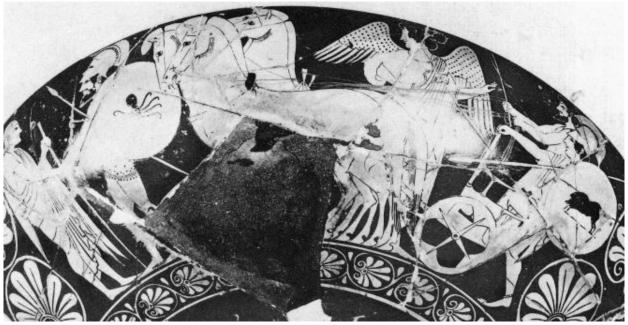


Figure 75b, *cat.* CV.38 Berlin, Antikensammlung Museum F2264 (BAPD 200457) *LIMC* I, PL. 663, s.v. "Antilochos I" 4.



Figure 76a, *cat*. CV.39 London, British Museum 1839,1109.2 (BAPD 200008) © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 76b, *cat*. CV.39 London, British Museum 1839,1109.2 (BAPD 200008) © Trustees of the British Museum.

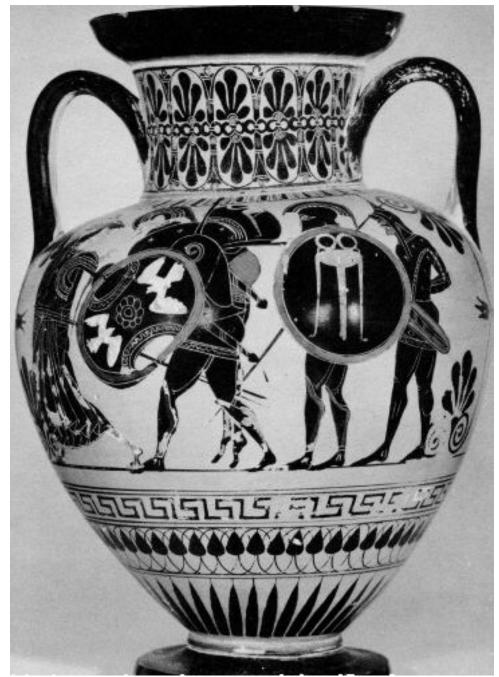


Figure 77a, *cat.* CV.47 New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 56.171.20 (BAPD 320063) *CVA* 4, 20-22, PL. 751, 23.2.

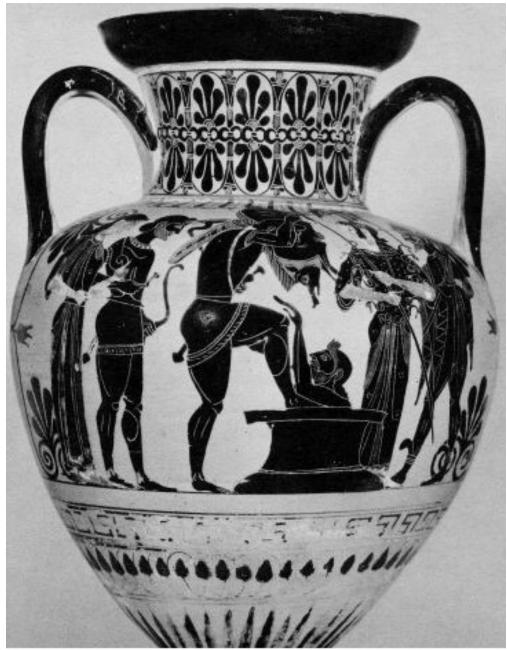


Figure 77b, *cat.* CV.47 New York (NY), Metropolitan Museum 56.171.20 (BAPD 320063) *CVA* 4, 20-22, PL. 751, 23.4.

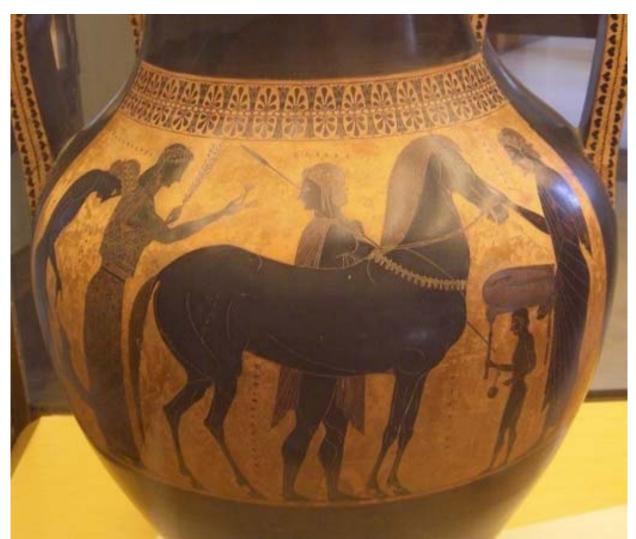


Figure 78, *cat.* CV.51 Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 344 (BAPD 310395) Photo by Author.



Figure 79a, *cat.* CV.53 London, British Museum 1848,0801.1 (BAPD 201941) © Trustees of the British Museum.

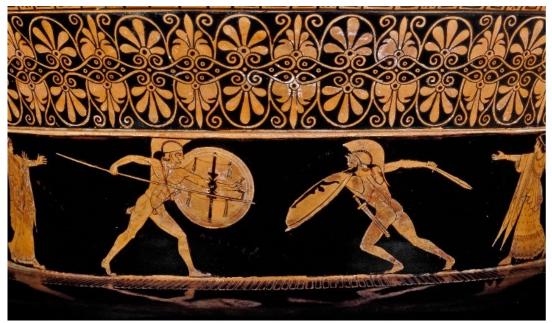


Figure 79b, *cat.* CV.53 London, British Museum 1848,0801.1 (BAPD 201941) © Trustees of the British Museum.

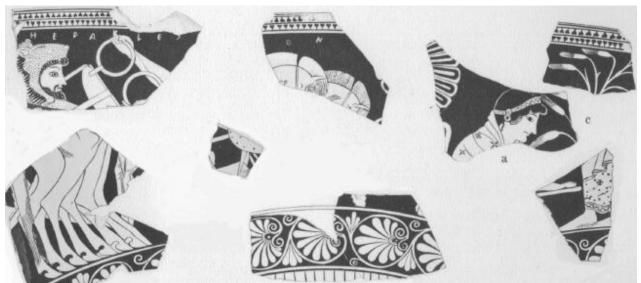


Figure 80, *cat*. CV.54 Athens, National Museum E13 (BAPD 200573) Graef–Langlotz 1933, PL. 39.

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