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**THE EVOCATION OF CULT IN
ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE
VASE-PAINTING**

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in Ancient History,
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how festivals and ritual activity are evoked in black-figure vase-painting. Three gods, Apollo, Dionysos, and Poseidon, were analysed with the aim of ascertaining to what extent and in what ways the cults of the archaic period may have influenced the vase-painters and their construction of the deities. The vases were obtained mostly from the BAPD and the *LIMC*, grouped in scene-types and evaluated to establish the trends arising in the representation of divinities. The change in the depiction of Apollo from an archer to a kithara player, c.540 BC, prompted a study of the scenes in which the god is represented as a kithara player framed by Leto and Artemis. This particular scene-type arguably encapsulates the most memorable aspects of the Delia festival, and thus can be interpreted as evoking that festival. Scenes which include the god of wine, Dionysos, number in the thousands and the activities surrounding the drinking of wine, often a part of festivals, are frequently represented. Thus the analysis of Dionysian vases encompasses scenes which include the god, satyrs, maenads, komasts, mortal worshippers, or any combination of these. The common factor among these diverse followers of the god is performance, which is often humorous, and so the chapter on Dionysos brings together the evidence from the vases to highlight the elements of humour and performative worship of the god. Poseidon functions as a comparative deity, since despite his position as brother to Zeus in the mythological hierarchy, his festivals are all but non-existent in the city of Athens as far as can be determined from the remaining evidence. This is reflected in his rarity in vase-painting when compared with the gods for whom lavish and spectacular festivals are held. Nevertheless, Poseidon's position in Athens can be ascertained in part from the vases: he is considered a protector of Attica alongside Athena and his role as safeguarding those at sea is a crucial one. Most importantly, it seems the visual nature of the festivities (processions, performance, and competition) played the most influential role in the vase-painters' construction of the deities.

For Anne

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ABL* Haspels, C.H.E. (1936). *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*. Paris: Boccard.
- ABV* Beazley, J. D. (1956). *Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Add.*² Carpenter, T. H., Mannack, T. and Mendonça, M. (1989). *Beazley Addenda*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- ARV*² Beazley, J. D. (1963). *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BAPD* Beazley Archive Database at <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/>.
- CVA* *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
- FGrH* Jacoby, F. (1950-1999). *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden and New York: Brill.
- LIMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. (1981-). Zürich: Artemis.
- LSJ* Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., Jones, H. S. and McKenzie, R. (1889). *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*. 7th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- OCD*³ Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A., ed. (2009). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Para.* Beazley, J. D. (1971). *Paralipomena*. London: Oxford University Press.
- POxy* Grenfell, B. P. and Hunt, A. S., ed. (1898-). *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- ThesCRA* *Thesaurus Cultus Et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA): Processions, Sacrifices, Libations, Fumigations, Dedications*. 2004. Vol. 1. Los Angeles and Basel: J. Paul Getty Museum and Fondation pour le lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae.
- TLG* *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* at <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>.

CHECKLIST OF VASES CITED IN THE THESIS

This list of vases includes all of those cited in full in this thesis; for a complete list of all the vases consulted in this research, see the accompanying compact disc which provides a spreadsheet of all the vases inserted into the database prepared for this study. The vases presented in the list below are placed in the order in which they are discussed in the thesis; those that are illustrated are followed by figure number in bold type and include illustration credits. BAPD catalogue numbers are included if the vase is in the database and are followed by an asterisk if an illustration of the vase is available there. Where the vase is not illustrated in the BAPD, another reference which does contain an illustration is provided if at all possible. *LIMC* references are included if there is an illustration there relevant to the subject under discussion.

Münster 24; Bérard (1989b: fig.151).
Athens 804; BAPD 1010917*.
Florence 91456; *ARV*² 108.27; *Add.*² 173; BAPD 200931*.
Hannover 1965.30; *Para.* 119.27*ter*; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 340472*; after Burow (1989: pl.91b-c); **see fig.1.**
Basel LU20; *Para.* 65; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 350465*; after Bothmer (1985: 89, no.8); **see fig.2.**
Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2298; BAPD 32454; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.10a); **see fig.3.**
Louvre S1257; BAPD 11294*; Gebauer (2002: p.683, pl.2).
Munich 1441; *ABV* 243.44, 238, 242; *Add.*² 62; BAPD 301332*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.43c-e); **see fig.4.**
London 1905.7-11.1; *ABV* 443.3, 475.29; *Add.*² 120, 215; BAPD 330075*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 109*.
Paris, Stavros S. Niarchos A031; BAPD 11106; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.9a-b); **see fig.5.**
Athens, Agora P24673; *ABV* 714.31*bis*; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 306983*.
Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.1281; *ABL* 250.29; BAPD 465*; after Hedreen (1992: pl.2); **see fig.6.**
Munich 8729; *ABV* 146.21; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAPD 310403*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.104); **see fig.7.**
Taranto 4319; BAPD 13829*.
London 1971.11-1.1; *Para.* 19.16*bis*; *Add.*² 10; BAPD 350099*; *LIMC* 4 Hephaistos 185*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 120*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 182*.
Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 876*; Artemis 33*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 567*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 121*; *LIMC* 7 Theseus 276*.
Villa Giulia 50626 (M487); *ABV* 270.63; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320073*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 749*; **see fig.8.**
Palermo, Mormino Coll. 131; BAPD 3185*.
Thebes 2120; BAPD 7830; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 625*.
Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 2406; BAPD 7931; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 1067*.
Leipzig T4225; *Para.* 40.35; BAPD 350226*; *LIMC* 6 Niobidai 2*.
Hamburg 1960.1; *Para.* 40.35; BAPD 350268*.
Louvre F58; *ABV* 312.1; BAPD 301610*; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1317*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.30e); **see fig.9.**
London, Sotheby's 9.7.1990, no.180; *ABV* 328.11; BAPD 301757*.
London 1851.8-6.15; *ABV* 256.14, 670; BAPD 302224*.
Lost; BAPD 9804; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1116•; **see fig.10.**
Narbonne 04.1.1.1-8; *ABV* 144.2; BAPD 310384*; photo EAM (04.1.1.3 illustrated); **see fig.11.**

Berlin F1717; *ABV* 141.7, 686; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 310367*; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 27b*; **see fig.12.**

Berlin F1845; *ABV* 370.136, 357, 369; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 90; BAPD 302131*.

Oxford 211 (G240); *ABV* 484.9, 700; *Add.*² 122; BAPD 303468*; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1447*.

Vienna 1001; BAPD 4430; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1445*; afer <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>; **see fig.13.**

Louvre CP10619; *ABV* 685.8; *Para.* 53; *Add.*² 35; BAPD 306550*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 381* and Shapiro (1989a: pl.29a); **see fig.14.**

Hannover 753; BAPD 3254*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.28a) and *LIMC* 2 Apollon 634b*; **see fig.15.**

Louvre F210; BAPD 10713*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 133*.

New York, Market, Royal Athena; BAPD 17010.

Tarquinia RC3029; *ABV* 331.10; BAPD 301788*.

Berkeley 8.3376; *ABV* 391.2, *Para.* 172, *Add.*² 103, BAPD 302910*; after Smith (1936: pl.21.2c); **see fig.16.**

Naples SA135; *ABL* 258.106bis; BAPD 390516.

London, Embiricos; BAPD 1434; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 67*.

London 1836.2-24.174 (B169); *ABV* 306.37; *Add.*² 81; BAPD 301517*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 1046*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.17.**

London 1843.11-3.80 (B231); *ABV* 139.10, *Para.* 57, *Add.*² 37, BAPD 310342*.

Oxford 1934.333; *ABV* 115.4; *Add.*² 32; BAPD 310237*; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1315*.

Kyoto 10; BAPD 18568*.

Louvre F294; *ABV* 256.18; *Add.*² 66; BAPD 302228*.

London 1843.11-3.73; *ABV* 282.2; *Para.* 124; *Add.*² 74; BAPD 320244*.

Boulogne 558; *ABV* 145.18; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 40; BAPD 310400*.

Villa Giulia 50622 (M484); *ABV* 288.14; BAPD 320317.

Athens CC901 (1046); *ABV* 492.74; BAPD 303589.

Göttingen J12, BAPD 6901; *LIMC* 1 Achilles 219*.

Munich 1473 (J1153); BAPD 743*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.27d); **see fig.18.**

Louvre F252; BAPD 7860*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 640*; **see fig.19.**

London 1873.8-20.299 (B548); *ABL* pl.6.1a-c; *ABV* 154.58; *Add.*² 45; BAPD 310486*; after Bothmer (1985: 188, no.49); **see fig.20.**

Orvieto, Duomo 333; BAPD 43331; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.27c); **see fig.21.**

Basel, A. Wilhelm; *Para.* 119.27bis; BAPD 340471*; after Burow (1989: pl.72); **see fig.22.**

Würzburg L220; *ABV* 328.1, 672; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301758*; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1107*; **see fig.23.**

Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.825; *ABV* 330.1; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301775*; after Graef and Langlotz (1925-1933: pl.55.825); **see fig.24.**

Malibu 86.AE.120; BAPD 30531*; after Clark (1988: pl.56.2); **see fig.25.**

Berlin A32; BAPD 1001732*.

London B680; BAPD 20510; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1117*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.26.**

Switzerland, private; *Para.* 120.92ter; BAPD 340482*; after Burow (1989: pl.6); **see fig.27.**

Orvieto 1006; BAPD 46552.

New York 24.97.96; *ARV*² 619.17; *Add.*² 270; BAPD 207169*.

Basel LU49; *Para.* 399.48bis; *Add.*² 270 ; BAPD 275769.

Vulci, Necropoli dell'Osteria, Carpenter (1991: fig.233).

New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Coll.; BAPD 43277; after Bothmer (1990: 143, no.109); **see fig.28.**

Louvre CA482; *ARV*² 774.2, 1669; *Para.* 416; *Add.*² 287; BAPD 209555*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 1*.

London 1848.6-19.3 (B261); *ABV* 373.176; *Para.* 163; *Add.*² 99; BAPD 302171*; after *LIMC* Mousa, Mousai 28b*; **see fig.29.**

Paris, Cab. Méd. 231; BAPD 7840*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 779*; **see fig.30.**

Toronto 916.3.15 (C.326; 311); *ABV* 484.12; *Add.*² 122; BAPD 303471*.

St Petersburg, Mus. of Fine Arts; BAPD 5881; Shapiro (1981: 17, no.2).

London 1873.8-20.267 (E785), BAPD 7870*; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1165*.
 St Petersburg 4498; *Para.* 257; BAPD 351547; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 702*; **see fig.31**.
 Berlin F1905; *ABV* 332.23; *Para.* 146; *Add.*² 90; BAPD 301801*; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1102*; **see fig.32**.
 St Petersburg B264 (ST62, 164); BAPD 8328.
 Madrid 10930; *ABL* 252.73; BAPD 7832*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 700*; **see fig.33**.
 Würzburg L154 (L325); *ABV* 398.5, *Add.*² 104, BAPD 303010*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 630n*.
 Naples SA10; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 124*; **see fig.34**.
 Geneva Loan 14648; BAPD 14648; after Queyrel (1985: pl.38.1-2); **see fig.35**.
 Karlsruhe 61.24; *Para.* 171.8; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 351263*; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1114*; **see fig.36**.
 Würzburg L218; *ABV* 316.2; *Add.*² 85, BAPD 301643*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 631d*; **see fig.37**.
 Würzburg L212; *ABV* 371.150; BAPD 302145*; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 30c*; **see fig.38**.
 Melbourne 1729.4; *Para.* 58.4bis; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 350445*.
 Würzburg L264; BAPD 23003*.
 Tokyo, Mus. of Ancient Mediterranean Cult; BAPD 8037*.
 Charlottesville (VA), Univ. of Virginia, Bayly Art Mus. 1988.62 (prev. Northampton, Castle Ashby 20); BAPD 2415*.
 Beverly Hills (CA), Summa Galleries; BAPD 6429*.
 Louvre F218; *ABV* 139.9, 665; *Para.* 57; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310341*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 630b*; **see fig.39**.
 Orvieto 2679 (72A); *ABV* 371.142, 600, 604.65; BAPD 302137.
 Eleusis 837 (471); *ABV* 309.97; *Para.* 133; *Add.*² 83; BAPD 301576.
 Berlin F1814 and F1823; *ABV* 146.22-23; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAPD 350493.
 Louvre N3378 (LP2313, F325); *ABV* 448.2; BAPD 330141.
 Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery 33.135 (G479); *ABL* 256.34; *ABV* 522; BAPD 330737.
 Athens 313; Boardman (1998: fig.188, p.98-99).
 Louvre CA2985; Boardman (1998: fig.189, p.98).
 Athens 12129; Boardman (1998: fig.226, p.121).
 Syracuse 50820; *ABV* 328.3; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301760*.
 Paris, Cab. Méd. 306; *ABV* 572.7; *Para.* 294; *Add.*² 137; BAPD 330984*; *LIMC* 7 Python 3*.
 Bergen VK62.115; *Para.* 294; BAPD 352169*.
 New York 06.1021.47; *ABV* 667; *Add.*² 148; BAPD 306435; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 31b*; after <http://www.metmuseum.org>; **see fig.40**.
 Boston 68.46; BAPD 753*; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1154*; **see fig.41**.
 London B262; *ABV* 321.3; *Add.*² 87; BAPD 301684*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.42**.
 London 1867.5-8.952 (B255); *ABV* 331.14; *Add.*² 90; BAPD 301792*; after Walters (1929: pl.36.1a); **see fig.43**.
 Texas, McCoy (once Castle Ashby 7); BAPD 29*; after Boardman and Robertson (1979: pl.13.1); **see fig.44**.
 Louvre MNB910; *ABL* 226.7, pl. 32.2A-B; BAPD 7974; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 701a*; **see fig.45**.
 Copenhagen 3241; BAPD 8570*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 137*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>; **see fig.46**.
 Berlin F1697; *ABV* 297.17; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 78; BAPD 320396*; after Hedreen (1992: pl.39); **see fig.47**.
 Amsterdam 3356; *ABV* 66.57; *Para.* 27; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300600*; after Brijder (1996: 28, fig.13); **see fig.48**.
 New York 1988.11.3; BAPD 12278; after Moore (2006: pl.2); **see fig.49**.
 Rome, Museo Artistico; BAPD 11358; after Bieber (1961: 43, fig.182); **see fig.50**.
 Louvre CA1924; *Para.* 259; *Add.*² 130; BAPD 351585*; after Green (1985: fig.19a-c); **see fig.51**.
 Taranto 6250; *ABL* 208.56; *Para.* 215; BAPD 340818*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 125*; Trendall and Webster (1971: 25-26, fig.1.18); **see fig.52**.
 Budapest 54.230; BAPD 14998.

Bologna 16516 (130); *ABL* 253.15; BAPD 4321*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 829*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 81*; after Roccas (1995: fig.10) and Schone (1987: pl.30.1 drawing); **see fig.53.**

Athens 18435; BAPD 9018340*.

New York 56.11.1; *Para.* 66; *Add.*² 45; BAPD 350478*.

Agrigento R138; BAPD 15752*; after Calderone (1985: pl.23.1); **see fig.54.**

Villa Giulia 760; *ABV* 372.156; BAPD 302151*; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 28a* and Giglioli (1925: pl.7.5); **see fig.55.**

Basel BS415; BAPD 260*.

Orvieto, Faina Coll.; *ABV* 372.162; BAPD 302157*; after Wójcik (1989: 217, fig.103.2); **see fig.56.**

Louvre F256; *ABV* 371.152, BAPD 302147*; after Pottier (1926: pl.52.7); **see fig.57.**

Geneva 12048; *ABV* 475; *Para.* 214.9; *Add.*² 120; BAPD 303363*; after Dunant and Kahil (1980: pl.73.14-16); **see fig.58.**

Dublin 1917.36; BAPD 7839; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 779b*; **see fig.59.**

Louvre CA1915; *Para.* 294; *Add.*² 139; BAPD 352170; Carpenter (1991: fig.103).

Basel BS435 (previously Arlesheim, S. Schweizer); *ABV* 269.41; *Para.* 118; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320051*; after Burow (1985: pl.129c, 130b); **see fig.60.**

Compiègne, Musée Vivienel 974; BAPD 7611*; after Kunze-Götte (1992a: pl.45.1); **see fig.61.**

Boston 01.8027; *ABV* 152.27, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310454*; *LIMC* 5 Hermes 538*; after <http://www.mfa.org/collections>; **see fig.62.**

Oxford 1948.236; *ABV* 360.9; *Para.* 161; *Add.*² 95; BAPD 302004*; *LIMC* 5 Hermes 539b*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>; **see fig.63.**

London 1836.2-24.108 (B316); *ABV* 268.24, 666; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320034*; after Burow (1989: pl.146); **see fig.64.**

Brussels A1903; *ABL* 214.182; *ABV* 473; BAPD 330553*; after *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2977*; **see fig.65.**

Stuttgart 84.1; BAPD 14872.

Berlin F1853; BAPD 6095*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2964*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>; **see fig.66.**

Berlin F2212; *ARV*² 730.8; BAPD 208984.

Villa Giulia; *ABV* 121.6; *Para.* 49; BAPD 300872*; *LIMC* 4 Ge 12*.

Armonk (NY), Pinney, (prev. Scarsdale (NY), private); *ABV* 518.1; *Para.* 256; BAPD 330666*; *LIMC* 8 Tityos 5*.

Tarquinia RC1043 (T2); *ABV* 97.32; *Para.* 37; BAPD 310032*; *LIMC* 8 Tityos 3*.

Tel Aviv Museum Ha'arezt; *Para.* 262; BAPD 351627.

London E468; *ARV*² 206.132, 1633; *Para.* 343; *Add.*² 194; BAPD 201941*.

Basel BS498; *Para.* 119.35bis; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 340473*.

Florence 3871; *ABV* 383.2; *Para.* 168; *Add.*² 101; BAPD 302395*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2178*.

Berlin F1704; *ABV* 96.14, 683; *Para.* 36; *Add.*² 25; BAPD 310014*; *LIMC* 5 Hermes 681*.

New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Coll. 105; BAPD 43278; *LIMC* Supplementum 1 Zeus Add. 177*.

Orvieto 2748 (78); *ABV* 144.9; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310391*.

Vatican 16568; *ARV*² 209.166, 1634; *Para.* 343; *Add.*² 195; BAPD 201984*.

Lucerne, Market, Ars Antiqua; after BAPD 24051*; **see fig.67.**

Tarquinia RC2421; *ABV* 306.45; *Para.* 132; *Add.*² 81; BAPD 301525*.

Bonn 589; *ABV* 86.7; BAPD 300796*.

Munich 1395; *ABV* 305.24; *Add.*² 80; BAPD 301504*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.29e); **see fig.68.**

London 1836.2-24.100 (B217); *ABV* 394.2; *Add.*² 103; BAPD 302952*.

Tampa (FL), Mus. of Art 1986.024; BAPD 16557.

London, Market, Christie's; BAPD 20318.

Bremen, Zimmermann (previously Utica (NY), Manson-Williams-Proctor Institute 66.8); *Para.* 164.9bis; BAPD 351197*.

London, Market, Christie's 30.4-1.5.1974, pl.16.279; BAPD 3657.

London, Market, Christie's 16.7.1985, 89, no.397; BAPD 12979.

Düsseldorf 1954.8; BAPD 7189*.

Berlin A41; Morris (1984: fig. 8, p.46).
 Villa Giulia 22679; BAPD 9004217*.
 Louvre MNE1005 (prev. Texas, Hunt Coll. 10); BAPD 8798; Shapiro (1992a: fig.37); **see fig.69**.
 St Petersburg 17295 (17794); *ABV* 410.2; *Add.*² 107; BAPD 303118*; after Bentz (1998: pl.81); **see fig.70**.
 London 1849.11-22.2 (B139); *ABV* 139.12; *Para.* 57; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310344*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.71**.
 Reggio Calabria 4224; BAPD 44136.
 Louvre ELE84; BAPD 43392.
 Louvre F282 (Campana Collection 176); BAPD 10730*; after Pottier (1928: pl.2.4-5); **see fig.72**.
 Baltimore 48.2107; BAPD 15205; after Hill (1959: pl.47.3-4); **see fig.73**.
 Berlin F1873; *ABV* 407; *Add.*² 106; BAPD 303074*; after Mommsen (1980: pl.344, 38.1); **see fig.74**.
 Malibu 81.AE.204.2; after BAPD 23877*; **see fig.75**.
 Toronto 919X25.2; BAPD 23118*; after Hayes (1981: pl.16.1); **see fig.76**.
 Vienna 3607; *ABV* 319.10; *Para.* 140; *ARV.*² 11, 1618; *Add.*² 86; BAPD 200049*; after Kurtz (1975: pl.55.2); **see fig.77**.
 Würzburg L222; *ABV* 405.20; *Add.*² 105; BAPD 303061*; after Kunze-Götte (1992a: Cat. I 21, pl.11.1); **see fig.78**.
 Boulogne-sur-Mer, Chateau Mus. 9; BAPD 43388; after Kunze-Götte (1992a: Cat. III 5, pl.50.1); **see fig.79**.
 New York L1982.102.3; *ABV* 408.1; *Add.*² 106; BAPD 303085*.
 New York 07.286.80; *ABV* 369.114; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302109*.
 Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale; BAPD 30408; after Fiammenghi (1985: fig.8); **see fig.80**.
 Vienna 234; *ABL* 112; *ABV* 507; BAPD 305506.
 Salerno, Museo Nazionale; BAPD 42030.
 London 1926.6-28.7; *ABV* 375.211; BAPD 302206*; after Maas and Snyder (1989: 75 fig.11); **see fig.81**.
 Bologna 1431 (PU199); *ABV* 393.13; BAPD 302930*; after Laurinsich (1931: pl.25.4); **see fig.82**.
 Samothrace 57.565; *ARV.*² 232.1; *Para.* 174.23bis; BAPD 202274*; after Price (1971: pl.94.6-7); **see fig.83**.
 Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus. 1977.216.2397 (2397); BAPD 13412*.
 New York 07.286.72; BAPD 4093; Shapiro (1992a: 52, 71, no.19); after <http://www.met-museum.org>; **see fig.84**.
 Syracuse 2367; *ABL* 209.74; BAPD 390108.
 Collection unknown; *ABL* 209.75; BAPD 390109.
 Villa Giulia 20839-20840; *ABV* 673; BAPD 306460.
 Louvre G103; *ARV.*² 14.2, 1584, 1619; *Para.* 322; *Add.*² 152; BAPD 200064*.
 Philadelphia 4841; *ABV* 148.1; after BAPD 310421*; **see fig.85**.
 London B460; *ABV* 212.1; *Add.*² 57; BAPD 302683*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.86**.
 Bristol H802; BAPD 14549; after Vermeule and Bothmer (1956: pl.113.36); **see fig.87**.
 Orvieto, Museo Civico; after BAPD 24089*; **see fig.88**.
 Kassel T675; *Para.* 167.233bis; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 351233*; after Maas and Snyder (1989: 73, fig.5); **see fig.89**.
 Louvre F389; *ABL* 239.134; after BAPD 390402*; **see fig.90**.
 New York, Market, Sotheby's; BAPD 7102.
 Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2455; BAPD 8534; Callipolitis-Feytmans (1974: 396.6, pl.87.6).
 Palermo; *ABV* 300.15; BAPD 320439.
 Malibu 86.AE.184; BAPD 44511*; after Clark (1990: pl.119.2); **see fig.91**.
 New York, Market, Emmerich; BAPD 12323.
 Louvre F264 (S1268); *ABV* 401.2; BAPD 303023*; after Pottier (1928: pl.55.3, 55.6); **see fig.92**.
 Geneva HR84; BAPD 7475 (repeated in the BAPD as 31865); after Chamay and Bothmer (1987: pl.7.2, 8.2); **see fig.93**.

Como 23; BAPD 1792*; after Palange (1970: pl.1.2); **see fig.94.**
London 1856.3-12.10 (B49); *ABV* 326, 715; *Add.*² 88; BAPD 301738*.
Rouen 9820032; BAPD 7597; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 723*; **see fig.95.**
London, Market, Sotheby's 9.13.1974, no.114; BAPD 3485.
New York, Market, Royal Athena 1985, 26, no.76; BAPD 17011.
Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2456; BAPD 7946; after Callipolitis-Feytmans (1974: pl.89.14); **see fig.96.**
Vatican 366; *ABV* 224.3, 318.5; after BAPD 302820*; **see fig.97.**
New York, Market, Royal Athena 17, 2006, no.95; BAPD 9019226.
London B260; BAPD 7848*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 668a*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.98.**
Lucerne Market; BAPD 24052*.
Basel, Cahn HC855; BAPD 43112; *LIMC* 7 Sphinx 184*.
Oxford 1927.4455; *ABL* 264.29; BAPD 30372*.
Berlin 4950; BAPD 512*; *LIMC* 2 Athena 152*.
San Antonio 86.134.40; BAPD 45350; after Shapiro (1992a: 65, no.20); **see fig.99.**
Tarquinia RC2800; BAPD 14106*.
Louvre CP12683; BAPD 41416.
Athens E1297; *ABV* 496.169; BAPD 305289.
Basel, Market *MuM* 1975, pl.32/145; BAPD 188; Brijder (2008: 38, fig.4).
Munich SL459; *ABV* 369.121; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302116*; after Kunze-Götte (1982: pl.19.1-2); **see fig.100.**
Würzburg L265; *ABV* 151.22; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310451*; after *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 415* and 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 38*; **see fig.101.**
Florence 3897; BAPD 547; after *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 120*; **see fig.102.**
Oxford 1974.344; BAPD 396*; after True (2006: 258-259, fig.74.1-74.3); **see fig.103.**
Athens, Agora P24945; *Para.* 8.1bis; *Add.*² 3; BAPD 350312*.
London 1964.4-15.1; *Para.* 10; *Add.*² 6; BAPD 350019*.
Munich 6010 (419); *ABV* 29, 30.6, 680; *Para.* 15; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300338 and 1004759*.
Berlin 3366; *ABV* 680; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 306501 and 1005032*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.26); **see fig.104.**
Cleveland 1974.10; *ABV* 219.24; *ARV*² 122.4; *Para.* 104; *Add.*² 58; BAPD 201945*; after Neils and Walberg (2000: pl.60.2, 62.1); **see fig.105.**
Athens, Agora P334; *ABV* 23; *Add.*² 7; BAPD 300278*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.33-34); **see fig.106.**
Melos; Isler-Kerényi (2007a: figs.1-2).
Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.621; BAPD 16762; Graef and Langlotz (1925: no.621, pl.37).
Göttingen 549A (previously J11); *ABV* 35.4; BAPD 305023*; after Isler-Kerényi (1999: fig.6-7); **see fig.107.**
Munich 1431; *ABV* 102.99; *Add.*² 27; BAPD 310098*; Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.86-87); **see fig.108.**
Louvre E865; *ABV* 100.66; *Para.* 35, 38; BAPD 310065*; after Smith (2010: pl.15a); **see fig.109.**
Los Angeles A5933.50.8; *ABV* 343.1; *Para.* 156; *Add.*² 93; BAPD 301903*.
Berkeley 8.3379; *ABV* 436.2, 445.11; *Para.* 188; *Add.*² 112; BAPD 320471*; after Smith (1936: pl.25.1a); **see fig.110.**
Louvre E742; *ABV* 32.9, 680; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300356*; after Smith (2010: 308, fig.8a-b); **see fig.111.**
Athens 498 (CC1001); *ABL* 251.44, 142; BAPD 4318*; photo MLB; **see fig.112.**
Louvre F131; *ABV* 206.3; *Para.* 94; *Add.*² 55; BAPD 302636*; after Villard (1929: pl.99.7-8, 100.3); **see fig.113.**
London B266; *ABV* 273.118, 275.1; BAPD 320129*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.114.**
Berlin F3997; *ABV* 275.8; *Para.* 121; *Add.*² 72; BAPD 320154*; after Mommsen (1980: pl.23.1, 24.3-4); **see fig.115.**
New York 06.1021.101; BAPD 9587; Bell (1977: pl.12.1-2).

Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.1290; *ABL* 253.13; BAPD 32107; Graef and Langlotz (1925: pl.72.1290a-d).

Louvre S1257; BAPD 11294*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 119*; after Gebauer (2002: 683, fig.2); **see fig.116.**

Delphi; BAPD 21207; Gebauer (2002: 760, fig.241).

Thebes R50.265; *ABV* 30.8; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300340; after Kilinski (1978: figs.16-17); **see fig.117.**

Berlin 1966.17; BAPD 4637*; after <http://www.smb-digital.de>; **see fig.118.**

Villa Giulia 772; BAPD 13019*.

Athens 640 (CC631); *ABV* 26.21; *Add.*² 7; BAPD 300299*; after Kaltsas (2006: 112. no.36); **see fig.119.**

Rhodes; *ABV* 90.1; *Add.*² 54; BAPD 350968; Brijder (1988: fig.6); **see fig.120.**

London 1842.7-28.787 (B509); *ABL* 214.187; *ABV* 473; *Para.* 214; BAPD 330555; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.121.**

Berlin F1830; BAPD 2698*; Green (1985: 105, cat.11, fig.14); after <http://www.smb-digital.de>; **see fig.122.**

Boston 20.18; BAPD 4090; Green (1985: cat.17, fig. 20a-b); after <http://www.mfa.org/collections>; **see fig.123.**

Villa Giulia 64608; BAPD 505; after *LIMC* Supplementum Monstra 89*; **see fig.124.**

London, Hamilton-Smith; *Para.* 185.23.5; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 351345*; after Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 187, fig.37); **see fig.125.**

Christchurch Univ. 41/57; *Para.* 134.31bis; BAPD 340567*; after Green (2009: 61); **see fig.126.**

Pulsano, Dr. Guarini; BAPD 15467; after Castaldo (2009: fig.9); **see fig.127.**

Los Angeles A5933.50.10; BAPD 4644*; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 32*; **see fig.128.**

London B206; *ABV* 369.120; *Para.* 162; BAPD 302115*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.129.**

Oxford 1965.116; *ABV* 273.111; *Para.* 119; *Add.*² 71; BAPD 320122*; after Burow (1989: pl.41); **see fig.130.**

Geneva MF236; *ABL* 201; BAPD 5694*; after Dunant and Kahil (1980: pl.51.2-3); **see fig.131.**

Bologna 288; *ABV* 400.1; *ARV*² 1056.86, 1680; *Add.*² 104; BAPD 303016*; after Laurinsich (1931: pl.8.5); **see fig.132.**

Louvre F220; BAPD 10773*; after Pottier (1926: pl.40.7); **see fig.133.**

Edinburgh 1956.435; BAPD 31446*.

Malibu 86.AE.84; *Para.* 166.189bis; BAPD 351229*; after Clark (1988: pl.31.3); **see fig.134.**

Athens 664; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.13); **see fig.135.**

Louvre F29; *ABV* 109.21, 685; *Para.* 44; *Add.*² 30; BAPD 310167*; after Mangold (2000: 20, fig.9); **see fig.136.**

Munich 2309; *ARV*² 27.4, 1620; *Para.* 323; *Add.*² 156; BAPD 200157*; after Lullies (1956: pl.162.1); **see fig.137.**

Leipzig T3324; *ABV* 98.36; *Para.* 37; *Add.*² 26; BAPD 310035*; after Paul (1982: fig.25); **see fig.138.**

Malibu 86.AE.122; BAPD 16778*; after *LIMC* 7 Peleus 80*; **see fig.139.**

Leiden PC48 (XVE29); BAPD 627*; *LIMC* 7 Peleus 162*.

Munich 1415; BAPD 4652*; *LIMC* 7 Peleus 163*.

London B310; *ABV* 361.12, 355, 695; *Add.*² 95; BAPD 302007*; *LIMC* 4 Helene 30*; after Walters (1931: pl.80.2); **see fig.140.**

Boston 76.40; *Para.* 144.1; *Add.*² 88; BAPD 351068*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.58); **see fig.141.**

Philadelphia 2462; *Para.* 147; after BAPD 351086*; **see fig.142.**

Basel BS409; *Para.* 149.16bis; *Add.*² 92; BAPD 351098*; after Descoedres (1981: pl.41.5, 45.1); **see fig.143.**

Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Mus. 31; *ABV* 422.4; BAPD 303214*; after Melander (1999: pl.35.24); **see fig.144.**

London B265; *Para.* 142.1; BAPD 351052*; after Walters (1929: pl.66.1a-1b); **see fig.145.**

Munich 1470; *ABV* 144.6; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310388*.

Athens 1037; *ABL* 92, 106, 145, 163; *ABV* 393.18; *ARV*² 1598.5; *Para.* 507; *Add.*² 390; BAPD 302934*; after Rhomaios and Papaspyridi (1930: pl.14.1-2); **see fig.146.**

Baltimore 48.18; *ABV* 288.13; *Add.*² 75; BAPD 320316*.

Wellington 1957.1; *Para.* 221; *Add.*² 122; BAPD 360902*; after Green (1979: pl.12.5, 12.7); **see fig.147.**

Athens 15372; BAPD 15285*; photo MLB; **see fig.148.**

Tarquiniia 670; BAPD 13825*; after Drago (1942: pl.35.1); **see fig.149.**

Munich 1547; *ABV* 385.3; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 302880*; after Kunze-Götte (1982: pl.16.2); **see fig.150.**

New York, Royal Athena 1997, 21 no.91; *ABV* 383.10; *Para.* 168; *Add.*² 101; BAPD 302403*; after Kunze-Götte (1992b: pl.28.1); **see fig.151.**

Villa Giulia 50619; *ABV* 374.193; after BAPD 302188* (obverse only); **see fig.152.**

New York, Market; after BAPD 24084*; **see fig.153.**

Malibu 85.AE.462; BAPD 41328*; after Clark (1990: pl.115.4); **see fig.154.**

Louvre E861; *Para.* 33.1; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 350214*; after Maas and Snyder (1989: 51, fig.15c) and Pottier (1923: pl.6.5); **see fig.155.**

Berlin F1686; *ABV* 296.4; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 77; BAPD 320383*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 106*; after <http://www.smb-digital.de> and BAPD 320383*; **see fig.156.**

London B347; *ABV* 334.3; BAPD 301813*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.157.**

Munich 1416; *ABV* 367.90, 391; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302085*; after Maas and Snyder (1989: 156, fig.2); **see fig.158.**

Copenhagen H572; *ABV* 322.14; *Para.* 143; *Add.*² 87; BAPD 301700*.

New York 96.18.51; *ABV* 388.5; *Para.* 170; BAPD 302904*; after Philippaki (1967: pl.6.1); **see fig.159.**

Louvre CP10513; *Para.* 42; after BAPD 350332*; **see fig.160.**

Thebes, Rhitsona 31.187; Boardman (1998: fig. 444).

Vatican 424; *ABV* 359, 363.43; after BAPD 302038*; **see fig.161.**

Paris, Musée Rodin 232.247; *ABL* 260.138; *ABV* 530.85; *Add.*² 132; BAPD 330874*.

London 1849.6-20.11 (B300); *ABV* 324.39, 694; *Add.*² 88; BAPD 301725*; Maas and Snyder (1989: 75, fig.12).

Taranto 18.12.1959 (115474); BAPD 8795; Bentz (1998: pl.53).

Athens 559; *ABV* 85.1; *Add.*² 23; BAPD 300788*; after Shapiro (1992a: 64, fig.41); **see fig.162.**

Paris, Cab. Méd. 243; BAPD 1047*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.12c-d); **see fig.163.**

Athens, Kerameikos 5671; *ABV* 518.2; *Add.*² 129; BAPD 330667; after Förtsch (1997: 63, fig.20); **see fig.164.**

Brauron 526; *Para.* 33.5bis; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 350213*.

Berlin 1684; BAPD 16901*.

Louvre CA1778; *ABV* 201, 689; *Add.*² 54; BAPD 302599*; after Villard (1929: pl.97.12); **see fig.165.**

London, Market, Sotheby's 12.6.1967, p.60; *Para.* 257; after BAPD 351534*; **see fig.166.**

London 1836.2-24.62 (B79); *ABL* 250.30; BAPD 4319*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 828*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 149a*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.167.**

Copenhagen 727; BAPD 1013070*; Boardman (1998: fig.65.1-2).

Tübingen 2657; Maas and Snyder (1989: 20, fig.7a).

Eretria 3275; Boardman (1998: fig.84).

Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Mus. 76; BAPD 9933*; after Smith (2010: pl.19b); **see fig.168.**

Berlin (lost) 3210; *ABV* 151.21, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310449*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.69); **see fig.169.**

Louvre E876; *ABV* 90.1, 683; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300837*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 44*; after Korshak (1987: ill.17) and BAPD 300837*; **see fig.170.**

Berlin (lost) F1718; *ABV* 144.5; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310387*.

Munich 2100 (J468); *ABV* 208.1, 206.15, 689; *Para.* 95; *Add.*² 56; BAPD 302659* (interior only); *LIMC* Supplementum Monstra 19*; see Kaeser (1990: 328-329, fig.56.6).

Brussels R283; *ABV* 627.2; BAPD 306384*.

Paris, Market; *ABV* 374.199; after BAPD 302194*; **see fig.171.**

Villa Giulia 773; *ABV* 381.298, 381, 696; *Para.* 164; *Add.*² 101; BAPD 302379*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.114-115); **see fig.172.**

Oxford 511 (G271); *ABV* 282.20; *Para.* 123; *Add.*² 73; BAPD 320240*; *LIMC* 4 Hephaistos 174*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>; **see fig.173.**

Berlin F1846; BAPD 6096*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 500*.

Los Angeles A5933.50.26; BAPD 4643*; after Packard and Clement (1977: pl.10.2-3); **see fig.174.**

Uppsala 352; *ABV* 519.15; *Add.*² 129; BAPD 330696*; *LIMC* 2 Athena 581*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>; **see fig.175.**

Unknown, once Canino Coll.; *ABV* 716; BAPD 307016.

London 1836.2-24.42 (B168); *ABV* 142.3; *Add.*² 38; after BAPD 310371* and <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.176.**

Basel, Cahn HC986; BAPD 22969; Kreuzer (1992: 97-98); **see fig.177.**

Copenhagen VIII457 (106); *ABL* 252.77; *ABV* 207; *Para.* 98; *Add.*² 56; BAPD 302650*; after Blinkenberg and Friis Johansen (1924: pl.115.1a-b); **see fig.178.**

Würzburg L194 (HA146); BAPD 405 and 41014; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 160*; for the obverse: after Cremer (1988: pl.19.2); **see fig.179**; for the reverse: after Simon (1998: 74, fig.82); **see fig.235.**

Princeton 2007.39 (once Buffalo G600); *ABL* 1 note 4; *ABV* 12.22; *Para.* 8; *Add.*² 3; BAPD 300105*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.35-36); **see fig.180.**

Istanbul 4514; *ABV* 42.37; *Add.*² 42.37; Moraw (1998: pl.1.2); *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Nymphai 42*.

Villa Giulia M616; *ABV* 208; *Para.* 96.2; BAPD 302661.

Louvre CA944; *ARV*² 207.142, 1633; *Add.*² 194; BAPD 201961*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 438*.

Oxford 1965.122; *ABV* 154.45, 687; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310472*; after Bothmer (1985: 160); **see fig.181.**

Würzburg 333; *ABV* 153.36, 687; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310463*; after Bothmer (1985: 153); **see fig.182.**

Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.607; *ABV* 107.1, 684; *Add.*² 29; BAPD 310147*; after Moore (1979: ill.2) and Gebauer (2002: 684, fig.4); **see fig.183.**

St Petersburg 1403 (ST151); *ABV* 98.34; *Para.* 37; *Add.*² 26; BAPD 310034; after Oakley and Sinos (1993: fig.99); **see fig.184.**

Brussels R278; BAPD 4246*; after *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 419*; **see fig.185.**

Boston 01.8052; *ABV* 242.35, 257, 259.26; *Para.* 110, 114; *Add.*² 67; BAPD 302258*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.85) and <http://www.mfa.org/collections>; **see fig.186.**

Paris, Cab. Méd. 1785; *ABV* 389; *Para.* 171; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 302907*; after Lissarrague (2001: 203-205); **see fig.187.**

Athens; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.9); **see fig.188.**

Munich 1383; *ABV* 150.7, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 42; BAPD 310434*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.41e); **see fig.189.**

London 1836.2-24.127 (B210); *ABV* 144.7, 672.2, 686; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310389*; *LIMC* 7 Oinopion 3*.

Louvre F36; *ABV* 150.6, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 42; BAPD 310433*; after *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 811*; **see fig.190.**

Villa Giulia 3550; *ABV* 375.201; *Add.*² 99; BAPD 302196*; after Giglioli (1925: pl.8.5); **see fig.191.**

Hildesheim PM4681; *ABV* 289.24; *Para.* 126; after BAPD 320327*; **see fig.192.**

London B250; *ABV* 341.2; BAPD 301884*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.193.**

Munich J692, on loan to Erlangen (M31); BAPD 1268*; after Kunze-Götte (1973: pl.384.2); **see fig.194.**

Tarquiniia 638; BAPD 13850*; after Iacopi (1955: pl.2.1); **see fig.195.**

Madrid 10903; BAPD 14472*; after Mélida (1930: pl.15.2); **see fig.196.**

London E768; *ARV*² 446.262, 1566; *Para.* 375; *Add.*² 241; BAPD 205309*.

Boston 80.621; BAPD 597*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 118*; after <http://www.mfa.org/collections>; **see fig.197.**

Louvre F227; *ABV* 309.86; *Add.*² 83; BAPD 301565*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.78-79); **see fig.198.**

Cambridge GR27.1864 (G48); *ABV* 259.17; *Add.*² 67; BAPD 302249*.

Barcelona 1484; *ABV* 428.4; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 303283*; after Bosch i Gimpera and Serra i Ràfols (1951-1957: pl.11.1); **see fig.199.**

Tarquinia 637; *Para.* 259; BAPD 351583*; after Iacopi (1955: pl.18.1, 18.3); **see fig.200.**

Athens 14935; Camp (2001: 306, fig.267).

Heidelberg S5 (VI29A, 55A); *ABV* 63.1; *Add.*² 17; BAPD 300545*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 264*; after Brijder (1991: pl.120a); **see fig.201.**

London 1867.5-8.1007 (B425); *ABV* 184; *Para.* 76; *Add.*² 51; BAPD 302436*; *LIMC* 4 Hades 14*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.202.**

Switzerland, private; *Para.* 164.45bis; after BAPD 351202*; **see fig.203.**

Boston 34.212; *ABV* 87.18; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300807*; *LIMC* 6 Meleagros 12*; after True (1978: pl.64.1); **see fig.204.**

Malibu: 86.AE.156.1-2 and S80.AE.17.1-2; BAPD 9018036; and New York and Taranto: *ABV* 227.13; *Para.* 107; BAPD 302850*; after Clark (1990: pl.85); **see fig.205.**

Germany, private, 11 (prev. Basel, Market; Helgoland, Kropatscheck); BAPD 6359; after Hornbostel (1980: 69); **see fig.206.**

Paris, Cab. Méd. 314; *ABV* 65.41; *Add.*² 17; BAPD 300584*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.52a); **see fig.207.**

Syracuse 7.268; *Para.* 27.10bis; BAPD 350188; after Brijder (1991: pl.127d); **see fig.208.**

Paris, private; BAPD 25843.

Oxford V262 (G249); BAPD 680002*.

Berlin 4774; BAPD 41337; *LIMC* 5 Hippalektryon 45*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>; **see fig.209.**

Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2575; BAPD 32207; after Graef and Langlotz (1925: pl.108.2575); **see fig.210.**

Berlin F1915; *ABV* 377.247; *Para.* 163; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 302328*; after Mommsen (1991: pl.36.2); **see fig.211.**

Louvre F257 (MN36, N3197); BAPD 4802*; after Pottier (1928: pl.53.4, 53.7); **see fig.212.**

Louvre F19; *ABV* 241.28; *Add.*² 61; BAPD 301316*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.26); **see fig.213.**

Leiden PC1 (prev. Canino Coll. 767); *Para.* 154.1bis; BAPD 351144*; after Jongkees-Vox (1972: pl.9); **see fig.214.**

Louvre CA577; *ABV* 30.13; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300345; *LIMC* 6 Nereus 3*; after Kilinski (1978: fig.14); **see fig.215.**

Bloomington 74.10.1; *Para.* 10; *Add.*² 6; after BAPD 350026*; **see fig.216.**

Athens 1002 (CC657); *ABV* 4.1, 679; *Para.* 2.6; *Add.*² 1; BAPD 300025*.

Kassel T663; *Para.* 25; *Add.*² 16; BAPD 350180*; after Lullies (1972: pl.30.2); **see fig.217.**

Cologne, Univ. 306; *Para.* 25.109bis; *Add.*² 15; BAPD 350176*; after Brijder (1983: pl.36l, 37b); **see fig.218.**

Paris, Petit Palais 430; *ABV* 70; BAPD 300640*.

Karlsruhe 65.45; *Para.* 61.8bis; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 350447*.

London 1842.7-28.834; *ABV* 89.1; *Para.* 33; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300828*.

Louvre CA2988; BAPD 8656*; after Villard (1958: pl.193.1); **see fig.219.**

Vatican G66; *ABV* 209.1; BAPD 302667*.

New York 25.78.6; *ABV* 116.9, 685; *Add.*² 32; BAPD 310242*; after Richter (1953: pl.38c-e); **see fig.220.**

Louvre F145 (S1259); BAPD 4390*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.111-112); **see fig.221.**

Berlin 4604; *ABV* 78.13; *Add.*² 22; BAPD 300736*.

Würzburg L263; *ABV* 142.6; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 310374*; after Ahlberg-Cornell (1984: 121 no.V 1); **see fig.222.**

Como 19; BAPD 1789*; after Palange (1970: pl.3.2b-2c); **see fig.223.**

Berlin F1869; BAPD 6094*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 225a*; after Mommsen (1980: pl.36.1); **see fig.224.**

Tarquinius 625; *ABV* 245.65; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301358*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.15); **see fig.225.**

New York 1989.281.62 (prev. Kings Point, Schimmel 24); *Para.* 67; *Add.*² 46; BAPD 350483*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 261*; after <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections>; **see fig.226.**

Princeton 1992.1; BAPD 61; after *Acquisitions of the Art Museum 1992* (1993: 70); **see fig.227.**

Syracuse 49635; BAPD 8204; after Brijder (1983: pl.18d); **see fig.228.**

Oxford 1889.1011; *ABL* 255.19; BAPD 519*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>; **see fig.229.**

New York 17.230.9; *ABL* 250.22; *ABV* 703; BAPD 306783*; after *LIMC* Nereus 15*; **see fig.230.**

Lugano, Private; *MuM Auktion* 18, 1958, no.101, pl.31; BAPD 11675; after *LIMC* 5 Hippalektryon 44*; **see fig.231.**

Athens 357 (CC1108); *ABV* 561.541; *Add.*² 136; BAPD 331635; after *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 163*; **see fig.232.**

Bucharest 03327; *Para.* 279; BAPD 351907*; after Dimitriu and Alexandrescu (1965: pl.29.5-6); **see fig.233.**

Villa Giulia M553; *ABV* 450.2; BAPD 330163.

Cambridge GR28.1864 (G49); *ABV* 316.1; *Add.*² 85; BAPD 301642*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 175*; after Lamb (1930: pl.11.1a); **see fig.234.**

Unknown location, once Sir William Peek Coll.; *ABV* 341.3; *Para.* 153; BAPD 301890*.

Boston 99.519; *ABV* 69.1; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300620*; after <http://www.mfa.org/collections>; **see fig.236.**

Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.585A; *ABV* 40.17; *Para.* 18; *Add.*² 11; BAPD 305076*; *LIMC* 1 Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos 4*; after Sourvinou-Inwood (2008: pl.8a); **see fig.237.**

Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.585B; *ABV* 40.18; *Para.* 18; *Add.*² 11; BAPD 305077*; after Sourvinou-Inwood (2008: pl.8b); **see fig.238.**

Pella 80.514; BAPD 17333*; *LIMC* 6 Poseidon 241*.

St. Petersburg P1872.130; BAPD 6988; Marx (2011: pl.6.1-2).

Paris, Cab. Méd. 222; *ABV* 152.25, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310452*; after Arias et al (1962: pl.56); **see fig.239.**

Boston 01.8026; *ABV* 152.26, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310453*; after <http://www.mfa.org/collections> and BAPD 310453*; **see fig.240.**

Malibu 86.AE.67 (86.AE.113); BAPD 79*; after Clark (1988: pl.52.1); **see fig.241.**

Louvre MNB2056 (F30); *ABV* 152.29, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310456*; after Bothmer (1985: 140-141); **see fig.242.**

Louvre F224; *ABV* 320.5, 672, 694; *Para.* 140; *Add.*² 86; BAPD 301676*.

Athens, Akr. 2578; *LIMC* 2 Athena 343*.

Malibu 86.AE.143 and 86.AE.46 (L.88.AE.46 in the BAPD); BAPD 10148*; after Clark (1990: pl.72.1); **see fig.243.**

Rome, American Academy; BAPD 41650; after *LIMC* 4 Gigantes 185*; **see fig.244.**

Leipzig T368; *ABV* 376.222; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 302303*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch> and BAPD 302303*; **see fig.245.**

Copenhagen 3672; *ABV* 307.58; *Add.*² 82; BAPD 301538*; after *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 174*; **see fig.246.**

Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2211; BAPD 3363; after Moore (1979a: pl.15); **see fig.247.**

New York, Daniel Abraham; *ABV* 265.1; *Para.* 117; *Add.*² 69; BAPD 320002*; after Malagardis (2009: 284, pl.8.1-2); **see fig.248.**

Munich 1576; BAPD 1158*; after Kunze-Götte (1973: pl.390.2); **see fig.249.**

Capua, Campano 145; *ABV* 694.3; *Para.* 153; BAPD 306612*; after Mingazzini (1954: pl.2.1); **see fig.250.**

Vatican 386; *ABV* 694; *Para.* 153; after BAPD 306614*; **see fig.251.**

Berlin (lost) F1699; *ABV* 136.53; *Para.* 55; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310313*; after Vollkommer (2000: fig.2); **see fig.252.**

Berlin F1827; *Para.* 170.5; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 351260*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2884*; after Mommsen (1980: pl.8.1); **see fig.253.**

Agora AP1044; *ABV* 145.19; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 40; BAPD 310401*; photo EAM; **see fig.254.**

Florence 73127; *ARV*² 173.4, 1631; BAPD 201568*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 172*; after Magi (1959: pl.75.3); **see fig.255**.

Delos Museum; *ABV* 65.30; BAPD 300574*; after Brijder (1991: pl.129f); **see fig.256**.

Charlecote, Fairfax-Lucy; after BAPD 24353*; **see fig.257**.

Athens 15165 (prev. Akr. Coll. 1.587); *ABV* 39.15, 681; *Add.*² 10; BAPD 305074*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 182a*; after Graef and Langlotz (1925-1933: pl.26c); **see fig.258**.

Binghamton, University Art Gallery 1968.124; *ABV* 247.91; *Add.*² 64; BAPD 301384*; Mommsen (1975: no.68, pl.74).

Cambridge 2244; *ABV* 245.64; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301357*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.16); **see fig.259**.

Jena, Friedrich-Schiller University 183 (prev. Campana Coll.); BAPD 15515*; after Ahlberg-Cornell (1984: 114, no.III 6); **see fig.260**.

Athens, Kerameikos III2; BAPD 9022941.

Karlsruhe B1815 (184); *ABL* 226.12; *ABV* 507.12; BAPD 305501*; after Hafner (1951: pl.13.3-4); **see fig.261**.

Louvre F234 (N3211, MN42); *ABL* 240.160; BAPD 2693*; *LIMC* 6 Nereus 122*; after Ahlberg-Cornell (1984: 152, no.XI 6); **see fig.262**.

Amsterdam 9599; BAPD 8743*; after Brijder (1996: pl.76.4, pl.77.1); **see fig.263**.

London 1867.5-8.964 (B508); *ABV* 426.10; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 303254*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.264**.

Berlin (lost) 4860; *Para.* 150.4; *Add.*² 92; after BAPD 351108*; **see fig.265**.

Louvre F24; *ABV* 247.88; *Para.* 111; *Add.*² 64; BAPD 301381*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.19); **see fig.266**.

Louvre F23; *ABV* 247.86; *Para.* 110; *Add.*² 64; BAPD 301379*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.18, no.6); **see fig.267**.

Geneva I499; *ABV* 246.71; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301364*; *LIMC* Supplementum Zeus add.191*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.21, no.11); **see fig.268**.

Munich 8772; *Para.* 111.5bis; *Add.*² 60; BAPD 340426*; *LIMC* Supplementum Zeus add. 181*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.30); **see fig.269**.

Malibu 83.AE.285; BAPD 13369; after Frel (1983: 148, fig.10.1a-c); **see fig.270**.

Limenas Museum; *Para.* 262; BAPD 351625.

Thasos 199; BAPD 9024324; after Gebauer (2002: 744, fig.194); **see fig.271**.

Paris, Dutch Institute (Fondation Custodia) 3650; BAPD 7509; after Gebauer (2002: 737, fig.170); **see fig.272**.

London B362; BAPD 30320; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>; **see fig.273**.

INTRODUCTION

The depiction of deities in Athenian black-figure has been extensively studied, but the aim of this thesis is to re-interpret these numerous familiar scenes of gods in the light of what is now known of festival practice in order to present some suggestions as to how the Athenians worshipped and viewed their divinities.¹ Rather than starting with the vast amount of literature that focuses on festivals, this study began with the vases, using the BAPD to extract as many examples as possible containing Apollo, Dionysos, or Poseidon for examination and analysis. These scenes obtained from the BAPD were inserted into a new database created to assemble large numbers of similar scenes together in order to reveal the overall trends on the vases.² It quickly became apparent from investigating the trends arising from this exploration that in fact the vase-painters evoke festivals more frequently than previously argued,³ albeit through the mythological filter that was central to the reception process of the archaic Athenians.⁴ As festivals were a crucial component of life in Athens during the sixth century,⁵ another intention of this study is to demonstrate that vase-painters were influenced by these celebrations (and other events)

¹ The field of study for this thesis encompasses the technique of black-figure and the Athenian fabric, chosen because of the large number of examples available for study through the BAPD.

² The total number of vases in the database came to 4976; these are provided as an excel spreadsheet on the accompanying compact disc. On the methodology used in this study, see chapter one.

³ Mackay (2010: 2-3) has suggested this, particularly with scenes of Dionysos.

⁴ Boardman (1989: 159) describes how the Greeks used mythology: 'That Greeks used their myth-history as a mirror to their life, and one which they could readily distort to suit their needs and circumstances, is a commonplace.' See also Nilsson (1951: 12); Stewart (2008: 33). On the reconstruction of the viewing process of the ancient Athenian, see Methodology (section 1.1, p.8) and Representations of festivals (section 1.3, p.39) in chapter one where the issues relating to the validity of attempting to recreate the ancient process of reception will be discussed.

⁵ As Bérard (1989b: 109) puts it: 'The year is thus punctuated by all sorts of festivals. The Athenians go from festival to festival.' Even many of the items created by the artists of ancient Athens were for religious purposes: Lissarrague (2012: 564-565).

and the black-figure vase scenes reflect this. The public and performative nature of ancient Athenian festivals allowed those attending a view of the ‘deity’ as the statue was processed through the streets,⁶ or the priest or priestess was dressed up as the god.⁷ In addition, during some of these festivals, professionals (sometimes in contests) recited or performed hymns or songs of mythological events in honour of the god,⁸ reinforcing the established construction of the divinity. The preferences of the most prominent and dominant citizen(s) of the polis are also a consideration in this study, since the lavish display of the procession, for example, could be enhanced through the support of the leading citizen(s), who might choose to favour one festival over another; this action would likely have an effect on which festival scenes were selected by the painters and their clients.

This thesis focuses on three of the Olympian deities commonly depicted on black-figure vases: Apollo, Dionysos, and Poseidon; a separate chapter is devoted to each of these three gods (chapters two to four). The reason for choosing these three gods was to provide something of an overview of how the vase-painters portray divinities in a festival context, but at the same time to investigate these deities in their own right. Apollo and Dionysos were selected because of their frequency in black-figure⁹ and the relatively substantial amount of evidence that remains for cult practice within Athens and further afield in places visited regularly by Athenians (for Apollo, on Delos for instance). Poseidon, on the

⁶ McNiven (2009) explores the question of whether the Greeks believed that their images (including statues) contained the god. He comes to the conclusion that ‘any image could be the object of worship if someone believed it to contain a deity’ (324). The idea of processing the deity through the streets would become much more ‘real’ in this case, but it is not central to this thesis to prove that the statue contained the divinity since the image of the god remains a representation of the deity regardless. Bremmer (1994: 13-14) lists the ways an ancient Greek may have come into contact with representations of their deities, including painting, sculptures, and cultic activities. For a discussion of the *xoanon* and statues of the gods see Vernant (1991: 151-159) who concludes that ‘the statue is “representation” in a really new sense’ and can be ‘transformed into an “image” of the god’ (159). Graf (1996: 56) discusses the term *pompe*, concluding that it related particularly to the escorting of *something*, another clear indicator that the deity may have been carried along in the procession.

⁷ That impersonating a deity was acceptable is outlined by Boardman (1989: 159) and this phenomenon is discussed in detail by Connelly (2007: 104-115). Bérard (1989b: 110) gives the example of the priestess of Athena dressed up as the goddess on a lekythos: Münster 24; Bérard (1989b: fig.151). The figure in the scene is holding a phiale and so can be interpreted as a priestess emulating the goddess while at the same time libating to her as Connelly (2007: 108-109) also concludes.

⁸ Connelly (2007: 104) describes the aetiological nature of the stories recounted during cult activity and Nilsson (1951: 11) explains that myths were the main content of songs sung at festivals. That the ancient Greeks were able to interpret their vase-paintings using poetry is established by Stansbury-O’Donnell (1999: 10).

⁹ Although the god Hermes is frequent in black-figure, he was excluded from this study, since after a preliminary investigation, the number of scenes was too great for a comprehensive and inclusive study, and additionally do not seem to be associated with certain narratives or situations; as god of journeys he appears to be inserted in scenes of widely diverse types.

other hand, is much rarer on the extant vases. An in-depth analysis of the Attic depictions of this god provides a contrast to the other two deities and thus a way of testing the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the more frequently depicted divinities. Were the ideas generated about the representation of festivals from Apollo and Dionysos corroborated by the research into Poseidon, a seldom chosen deity?

The focus on *male* divinities was a result of preliminary searches into corresponding female deities; Demeter as a counterpoint to Dionysos, for instance. It soon became apparent that identifying female deities (aside from Athena and to a certain extent Artemis)¹⁰ was problematic because their iconographic attributes are obscure (at least to us) in many cases. Often we can distinguish a specific female deity only through context, such as the Judgement of Paris. Demeter, in particular, is impossible to tell apart from other female deities unless the context is the Eleusinian Mysteries. This difficulty with identification diminished the number of verifiable instances of the deity, reducing the validity of any possible conclusions.

Limits of the thesis

The material used as evidence for this study was restricted to black-figure vases from Athens in order to provide some outer limits for the investigation.¹¹ The scenes were collected mainly through the extensive BAPD with some additions from the *LIMC*. In order to collate the large number of vases which included Apollo, Dionysos, or Poseidon, the search ‘decoration field’ function of the BAPD was utilised and the results added into a new database capable of generating lists of scenes which all included two or three of the relevant items. For example, this database created for the research supplied a list of all scenes which were identified as including Apollo, the kithara, and the deer. Therefore the

¹⁰ Athena is readily identifiable in art because of her many iconographic attributes, but she has been thoroughly researched, and more importantly, her association with the Panathenaia and those vases already clearly shows a festival connection. Artemis, too, has in some cases clear identifying attributes such as the bow.

¹¹ However, when an example from another area or time period was of particular relevance, it was included and discussed.

description provided in each BAPD entry was a crucial means of distinguishing the scenes required for this study.¹²

In addition, the three deities chosen for study were analysed with a view to festival practice, rather than as a complete study of the god. Therefore not all texts relating to the divinity have been consulted; rather the focus remained as much as possible on the vase-paintings. These vase-paintings were analysed with a view to identifying festival aspects within the scenes, and therefore the festivals discussed in detail in this study are chosen for their relevance.¹³ Working from the vase scenes, certain elements were identified which correlated to an aspect of a festival frequented by Athenians. The vase-painting was then further examined to assess how closely it may reflect or evoke the festival.¹⁴ It was these festivals that were chosen to be summarised and discussed in this study, thus a complete list of festivals was not provided for each deity, but rather only those under discussion within the chapter.¹⁵ Scenes of sacrificial activity are frequently discussed throughout the thesis since they provide the basis for identifying some of the elements related to cult; however, the sacrifice scenes which do not include the three deities under discussion are not the focus here and so are not fully examined.¹⁶

Inevitably, the evidence for festivals and the Athenian views of deities is gathered from later authors and scholia, given the scarcity of literary evidence from the archaic period. This is not ideal and there is always the possibility that descriptions of festivals found in classical (and sometimes Hellenistic and Roman period) sources present a quite different experience of the festival.¹⁷ Despite this, often these later writers provide the only or the most complete version of events and so to ignore them because of their distance from the

¹² The BAPD descriptions of the scenes are, for the most part, a clear and concise account of the decoration on the vase, but very rarely some information is omitted or incorrect; therefore occasionally some scenes may have been missed. Regardless, given the large numbers of scenes involved in this study such occasional potential omission should not be statistically significant.

¹³ This selection of festivals was unavoidable in a study aimed at a comparison between gods rather than a focus on just one deity; in future research, a more complete analysis of these deities and others may provide further evidence in support of the hypotheses outlined in this work.

¹⁴ For instance, the palm tree found in some scenes of Apollo kitharoidos flanked by two women suggests the setting is Delos and so this scene-type may be evoking the Delia. For this discussion see chapter two, section 2.2, p.59.

¹⁵ Chapter three on Dionysos is the exception since festivals held in his honour share several common elements that can be found on the vases.

¹⁶ For recent and comprehensive work on sacrifice scenes see especially Gebauer (2002), Lissarrague (2012), and Straten (1995). For further references, see chapter one, subsection 1.2.2, p.35.

¹⁷ Some of the late lexica, such as the *Souda*, do provide useful additions to the earlier sources, although caution must be used when they are consulted given their date. The entries found in these types of texts are utilised in this thesis, but alongside other evidence.

archaic period would be unwise. Therefore, in this thesis classical (and later) sources are used to augment our knowledge of the archaic festivals, keeping in mind the usual conservatism associated with religion.¹⁸ Various genres (such as tragedy) are also utilised, even though they are usually aimed at a particular audience and present specific messages, since the basic premise regarding the festival or deity is useful despite the differences in medium and date.

How to navigate this thesis

This thesis is separated into four large chapters, the first providing some introductory remarks and an explanation of the methodology, followed by the three devoted to the deities Apollo, Dionysos, and Poseidon. For ease of use, these four chapters have been separated into smaller sections. In some instances, the sections have been further divided, so a numbering system is utilised to ensure all related sections are easily discernible. For example, in the first chapter the second section (1.2) presents an overview of festival practice, but within this, processions, sacrifice, and competitions are discussed; thus these subsections are labelled 1.2.1 Processions, 1.2.2 Sacrifice, and 1.2.3 Contests.

In analysing the vase-paintings, conventional date ranges have been used based on the dates provided in the *LIMC* or entries in the fascicules of the *CVA*.¹⁹ The BAPD provides very broad dates suggestive more of periods than particular decades, so in some cases the vases are referred to as from the early period (600-550 BC), middle period (550-525 BC), or late period (525-480 BC).²⁰ Obviously exact dates for any of these objects are almost impossible to determine, so using periods and date ranges allows for this uncertainty. The study of vases is one that has many facets, including that of attribution, shape, context, iconography, and distribution.²¹ In this research, the focus has remained on the scenes themselves and while the provenance and shape of some vases has been taken into

¹⁸ As Girard (1977: 39) points out.

¹⁹ On the differences of opinion on the dating of vases, see chapter one, p.12n18.

²⁰ These date ranges are different from those in the BAPD, but fall roughly into the same categories. The early vases are those found in the date range 625-575 BC and 600-550 BC in the BAPD, the middle vases are those mostly in the 575-525 BC period (although some in the 550-500 BC are also included here), and the late vases are those in the 525-475 BC bracket as well as the later vases from the 550-500 BC period.

²¹ For a discussion on the studies relating to these areas, see chapter one, subsections 1.1.1, p.9 and 1.1.4.3, p.23.

account in the interpretation, on the whole this study centres on the decoration of the vase. Partly this was due to the large number of examples available on the BAPD, which enabled a broad study but made a detailed study of all the vases individually difficult and time-consuming; but equally the information regarding findspot is usually missing, thus vital data about the context of the vase is unavailable. With regard to the shape of the vessel, it is of course relevant that many of the vases were probably intended to be used in the symposion, especially since the third chapter of this thesis investigates Dionysian subjects. A detailed discussion of the significance of the shape beyond the observation that, for example, the subject matter is Dionysian and they are on sympotic vessels, however, is outside the parameters of this research. Studies of shape and decoration, such as Scheibler's discussion of belly-amphorae, and Shapiro's work on the pelike, tend to gather their evidence based on a common shape rather than a common scene-type and rely on larger numbers of vases.²²

When referencing vases in the footnotes of this thesis, full *ABL*, *ABV*, *ARV*², *Para.*, and *Add.*² citations are provided where appropriate. The vase's identification number from the BAPD is also given, and this number is followed by an asterisk if the vase is illustrated in the database. *LIMC* details are also supplied, but only if there is an illustration there of the relevant part of the vase; again these references are followed by an asterisk to indicate the presence of a picture (or a dark circle if the image is placed in the text of the *LIMC*). A catalogue of all citations of each vase in secondary sources has not been included in the footnotes of this thesis, however, as the BAPD entries list this information. Occasionally, several BAPD numbers may be recorded one after the other; in this case the vases are provided for the convenience of the reader but are not considered central to the argument and any information can be obtained from viewing the entries in the BAPD.

All secondary sources are identified by author's last name and date of publication with all other details recorded in the bibliography. Information obtained from the *CVA* is cited as above with author's name, date, and page, but references to scholars in the *LIMC* are indicated through *LIMC* volume and page number, as well as catalogue entry number where applicable.²³ Abbreviations which are used are listed on page ix, and follow the

²² Scheibler (1987); Shapiro (1997). The significance of shape with regard to decoration may well prove a fruitful avenue for future research.

²³ For example: Queyrel in *LIMC* 6, p.673 (Mousa, Mousai).

*OCD*³ listings, while major museums are identified in accordance with Beazley's practice as described on p.ix of *ABV* (smaller museums are named in full). Italics are not used for vase names (for example, oinochoe) and instrument names (for example, kithara), nor for those words now common in English usage (such as polis), but they do mark other Greek terms. Greek spelling of names has been adopted in this thesis, except in such cases where the name is confusing or uncommon, such as Here for Hera and Platon for Plato.

The images are bound in a separate volume for ease of use in viewing the images that accompany this thesis. In addition a compact disc accompanies this thesis which contains a spreadsheet of the vases included in the database; to provide a printed copy of this would have been unsuitable because of the large number of vases in the database. This compact disc has been included to enable the reader to view, if desired, the vases that were a part of this research, although not all vases in the database have been mentioned in the thesis and, in the same way, some vases used for comparative purposes are not found in the database.

CHAPTER ONE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will include four sections: methodology, festival practice, the representation of festivals, and finally a section on some of the issues raised by the research. The first, section 1.1, provides a step by step explanation of the methodology used in this research, with a focus on the approach exercised here in the viewing and interpretation of the vases, as well as a discussion of some of the problems facing those in the field today. The section on festival practice, section 1.2, is a generalised description of festival practice with particular reference to Attica. The discussion on the representation of festivals, section 1.3, combines the first two parts of the introduction to outline the process employed in this thesis for interpreting some black-figure scenes as evocative of festival practice. Finally, section 1.4 brings together some of the issues that have arisen in this study with explanations and possible solutions.

1.1 Methodology

This research began with a broad topic: to investigate depictions of deities and their potential reference to festival practice.¹ In this study the hypotheses were developed as much as possible from the trends that emerged from the categorising of the hundreds of

¹ Placing these two areas of research in proximity while beginning this thesis might seem to suggest a bias towards a certain conclusion before even beginning to look at the vases. However, the large number of vases examined and the well-supported view that Greeks were frequently immersed in festival practice will help to show that this combination is not alien to the ancient Athenian. For further discussion on this point, see section 1.3, p.39.

scenes which included the deities. These scenes were obtained through the BAPD and the *LIMC*, with the initial investigation centred on the god Apollo. Having found common compositional scene-types which included the god and repeated elements within each scene-type, a combination of iconography, semiotics, post-structuralism, and viewer response were utilised to uncover what interpretations could be made of the scenes.² As the investigation for this study is restricted to the black-figure tradition, the discussion of the methodology of this thesis will be prefaced with a brief overview of some of the recent approaches advocated in the study of vases (subsection 1.1.1), followed by an analysis of the problems facing those researching vases (subsection 1.1.2), and a list of some of the information taken for granted in this study (subsection 1.1.3). The final subsection (1.1.4) will provide a step-by-step explanation of the interpretation of the vases including a discussion of some of the theories used for the analysis in this thesis.

1.1.1 Recent approaches to the study of vase-painting

One of the major developments in the study of vase-painting in the last 30 years has been the use of a wide variety of theoretical frameworks and methodologies (often from other disciplines such as economics) in order to assess as many aspects of the painter, viewer, purchaser, seller, and the vase itself in order to obtain a much more complex and complete set of data to provide the basis for the interpretation of the vase. The holistic approach within classical archaeology has been advocated since as early as the 1970s by Isler-Kerényi,³ but has gathered momentum in the last ten to fifteen years.⁴ The focus is now much more on what Leeuw labels the “dynamic” view of ceramics, a view which sees the pottery in interaction with people.⁵

² Such a combination of approaches will enable a more complex interpretation based on a wider range of evidence providing more convincing support for the conclusions put forward in this work. As Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 8) explains in relation to his study on narrative on vases, despite the occasional theoretical opposition of these approaches, they all add in some way to the ‘reading’ of the scene.

³ In her opening address at the meeting in 1978 for a symposium on vase-painting in Tübingen, Isler-Kerényi (1979: esp. 9-11) advocated a wider approach to vases using Beazley’s lists as a starting point for such exploration.

⁴ An overview of recent ideas on this is handled by Smith and Plantzos (2012: 7-8 with references). Brijder (2003: 13) argues that the time has passed for the vases to be interpreted solely from an ‘artistic point of view’ and the context of their use and the way the vessels fit into that context must be examined as well. Dyson (1993: 199) provides a summary of the theoretical thrusts in classical archaeology during the 1990s: the interest in ‘symbolism, power, and social conflict’ and hermeneutics with a focus on how the past shapes society today. See also Oakley (2009); Osborne (2004a: 94-95); Schmidt (2009).

⁵ Leeuw (1999: 117, 131) argues that the progress of the interpretation of vases will be stalled unless scholars start to engage with the whole process of making, selling, buying, responding to, and using the vases from all angles and not as a means to another end. He maintains that a holistic approach to the study

Another avenue of research is to study the influence of modern society on the interpretations provided by scholars, despite the vase's construction within a society very different from ours today.⁶ The study of hermeneutics follows the differences in interpretation between each time period and culture.⁷ This kind of study of the effect of modern views on ancient works is not a central feature here, but an awareness of such an inclination reduces its impact in one's own understanding of the object. Scholars through the centuries have indeed interpreted the scenes in various ways depending on the trends within the scholarship of the discipline at the time. Certainly the view of archaic vases as beautiful and expensive works of art in their simplicity stems from the 1770s onwards when this concept was popular, and was reinforced by Beazley's work in the field.⁸ Today, research tends to be concentrated on the insight to be gained from exploring how the ceramics were traded and used, particularly in the symposium. We know that the vases were meant to be used as well as viewed,⁹ and this shifts the attention onto the potter's clientele: who they were and how they responded to the clay vessels.¹⁰ Nevertheless, one must not forget that we cannot totally recreate the context within which an ancient Athenian viewed a vase¹¹ and so there are times when we are not even able to recognise a mythological narrative¹² let alone some of the more complex connotations of a scene.¹³ Nevertheless, the recent drive to broaden the methodologies used in the study of vases and the desire for a holistic approach is encouraging a more varied range of hypotheses.

of vases is the best way to proceed. Brijder (2003: 20) agrees, suggesting that in the future the 'study of Greek pottery needs...to focus more on the people themselves who produced, traded, transported and bought the pottery, especially how it was used and regarded by its owners.'

⁶ As Vernant (1989b: 8) suggests.

⁷ For a discussion of hermeneutics see Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 93) and within art history more generally, see D'Alleva (2005: 122-31). Sourvinou-Inwood (1991: 4) points out the worrying propensity for scholars to fall back on 'common-sense' interpretations of vases, which make sense to them within the confines of their own cultural experience.

⁸ Vickers and Gill (1994: 6, 27-32); Mertens (2010: 23-24).

⁹ As Smith and Plantzos (2012: 5) point out, the Greeks did not have the idea of 'art for art's sake' and yet Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 11-12) makes a case for the ancient Greeks enjoying looking at vases.

¹⁰ As Pritchard (1999: 1) points out, this will help in the interpretation of the scenes. The focus is frequently on the symposium, but women, too, are presented on vases, and also used the vases. For the view of women on vases see Bérard (1989a); Connelly (2007); Lissarrague (1992); Parisinou (2000).

¹¹ Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 70) lists the elements that make up the viewing context.

¹² Lissarrague (2009: 18) points out that some images on vases evoke stories, but if we do not know the story or think of the right narrative, we have no hope of understanding the image in front of us.

¹³ Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 128-129) draws attention to the lack of literary evidence from the ancient world that explains the way the ancient Greeks connected images on a paradigmatic level. This means we have to turn to minute analysis of the scenes in order to try to recreate this process.

1.1.2 Problems facing researchers in the field of black-figure vase-painting

We are extremely fortunate to have such a large number of vases available for analysis, but such bias towards one medium can cause problems, and we still have only a tiny percentage of all the vases produced in Athens. Current estimates of the number of vases remaining extant for us today usually fall somewhere between 0.25 and 1% of the total output of the vases from the archaic and classical period¹⁴ which makes it problematic to propose any hypotheses based on overall trends, let alone draw any conclusions. However, there does seem to be enough evidence from the vases left to us to suggest that the vases showing, for instance Herakles and the Lion, were numerous, which makes it easier to make a claim based on trends of a similar sort. If we have a large proportion of vases showing one particular scene, then there is some reason at least to see that scene as having been of interest to the Athenians. In a similar way, then, this research aims to engage with the images to try to work within the trends arising from many examples, concentrating on scenes or phenomena that seem to be frequently depicted in the tradition, as these images or elements within scenes are more likely to be representative of what was in favour at the time.

Through the work of Beazley and others, many hands and groups of hands have been identified in the black-figure technique. These attributions provide an insight into the choices each painter or workshop¹⁵ made. Painter preference, therefore, is another facet to the study of black-figure ceramics that can cause complications in interpretation. Although each painter was painting within the confines of a tradition, some aspects of the painting were left up to the painter's choice. It is probably true that the vase-painters included all the elements required for an understanding of the picture on their vases,¹⁶ but some were more inclined than others to add extra attributes or inscriptions. From analysis of the use of ivy and grape-vine in some Dionysian scenes, for instance, it appears that

¹⁴ Brijder (2003: 18) estimates that we only have about half a percent of the vases remaining from the total output, while Johnston (1991: 208) suggests it is between ¼ and ½ of a percent, or even less.

¹⁵ Rudolf (1988) presents a discussion of the use of the word 'workshop', concluding that it is ambiguous and should rather be replaced with either 'studio' or 'school'. While this distinction would remove the confusion between the term workshop as a group of painters and workshop as the physical location, this is not a significant issue here as it has become common usage to mean several potters and painters operating together. For this study the word workshop has the meaning of a group of painters working together in one place and thus influencing one another's ideas and scene-types.

¹⁶ In this particular case, I argue that the vase-painters were not aiming for obscurity in their works. This is in contrast to the idea of ambiguity in vase-painting, which is, in fact, a feature of black-figure painting. The painters produced an image that could be 'read' in several ways, although one (frequently mythological) interpretation is clearly rendered. For further discussion on this see below, p.23 and n.74.

even something as seemingly crucial (to us) as the identity of the god's signature plant was left up to the painter.¹⁷ Thus when analysing the objects within a scene, or even the scene as a whole, care must be taken to recognise the impact a certain painter or workshop may have on the results. Some vase-painters seem to have had a 'favourite' scene, deity, or item which can lead to a large number of examples within a given category coming from one hand or group.

1.1.3 Some essential assumptions

The problems just summarised in the study of vase-painting are on the one hand insurmountable, since we can never hope to show, with complete evidence, how an ancient Athenian thought or viewed a scene on a vase, and we have such a tiny proportion of the vases. However, there are hypotheses that can be put forward that seem likely to be close to what may have been the case and researching these is still a worthwhile goal. In this thesis several areas of the study of vase-painting have been taken for granted, based on the work of previous scholars in the field: for instance, the attributions and chronology already established were utilised.¹⁸

The first key assumption is that vase-painters were painting vases in order to make a living; in a nutshell, they wished to sell their products.¹⁹ With this in mind, any image on a vase would need to be largely socially acceptable and appealing to the target Athenian or Etruscan²⁰ (or other purchaser). In this, it follows that the image must be understandable or relevant in some way, if not to us, then definitely to the purchaser. To a

¹⁷ See chapter three, subsection 3.3.3, p.200.

¹⁸ On the importance of attribution, see Williams (1996: 250), who points out the need for work on attributions so that other research can be conducted. The attributions I have used in this work are based mostly on those of Beazley in *ABV* and *Para.* or specified in the BAPD or in a *CVA* fascicule. The value of the work done on attributions, iconography, and dating is pointed out by Stissi (1999: 83), who explains that we need these frameworks before we can begin to look further at areas such as distribution and other important questions. There are, of course, some disagreements over the dates and general chronology as Smith and Plantzos (2012: 4) explain. On the difficulty of dating ancient art, see Waugh (2012) and for pottery in particular see Waugh (2012: 20). The most relevant divergence from the widely-accepted version of chronology pertains to the down-dating of the end of the archaic period to as much as 60 years later than the usual date of 480/79 BC advanced by Neer, Vickers and Gill. For a discussion of this, see Waugh (2012: 23-25). Oakley (2003: 509-510) argues that Neer's down-dating of the pioneer red-figure painters to the 470s is unconvincing. For a discussion of the issues surrounding Vickers' and Gill's dating of the arrival of red-figure to 480 BC see Williams (1996: 240, and note 50 [given as note 48 in error in note 67], 245-251). In this study I follow the usual chronology.

¹⁹ Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 114-115) describes the pottery workshops as getting income mostly from over-the-counter sales or from commissions.

²⁰ For a discussion of the issue of Etruscan tastes and the trade to the west see subsection 1.4.1, p.43.

modern viewer, searching the scenes for a mythological narrative or depictions of what the Athenians themselves may have done on a day-to-day basis is an almost unconscious response, but this stems from our tendency to separate myth from reality. In fact, for the ancient Greeks, mythology *was* history²¹ and mortals going into battle were compared without hesitation to heroes from the Trojan War. As Ferrari, among others, has convincingly argued, the distinction between ‘myth’ and ‘reality’ (or the ‘everyday’) is misleading in interpreting black-figure in particular.²² Rather there was much more fluidity in interpretation. If an Athenian male was to look at a scene of two warriors fighting, the interpretation might potentially include seeing the figures as heroes from the Trojan War, as heroes from a recent battle, as the viewer himself, or as generic warriors. It is more likely, in fact, that he would see a combination of these, such as seeing himself on the battlefield just as the Greeks fought against the Trojans.²³ It is this ability to see the figures as representing several different but related characters that has led to the need to rethink and discard the terms ‘myth’ and ‘reality’.

In addition, the painters did not produce their images in a vacuum. The Athenians embraced repetition as the large numbers of scenes of Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion will testify.²⁴ Black-figure was steeped in tradition and change was slow and measured.²⁵ For the purposes of interpretation, the repetition and tradition creates a body of work within which the scene should be ‘read’. In analysing the scenes in this thesis, often scenes from an earlier period will be referenced in order to try to analyse the scene within the context of the tradition. In addition, the very early geometric vases tend to communicate their message via the use of sometimes quite abstract symbols – that a chequerboard pattern is understood as the pall placed over the body in a prothesis scene is a case in point.²⁶ Equally, the vase-painters were adept at creating scenes that were

²¹ See Introduction, p.1n4.

²² Ferrari (2003). See also Touchefeu (1983: 21). Neils (1996b: 193-194) argues that in discussions of processions in festivals the distinction between ‘myth’ and ‘reality’ should not be used.

²³ See Stansbury-O’Donnell (2011: 83). Small (2009: 85) in her discussion on the lack of narrative in some scenes, suggests that the ambiguity in scenes such as that of two warriors fighting is in fact a deliberate strategy to allow the viewer to interpret the scene as he wishes.

²⁴ Steiner’s work has focused on repetition and its impact on the interpretation of vases; see Steiner (2007), (2004), (1997), and (1993).

²⁵ Even the seemingly sudden change from black-figure to red-figure has a long history of the art form moving towards the new method by increments as tracked by Mertens (1988). For a discussion of the development of the technique of black-figure see Beazley (1986).

²⁶ The well-known Dipylon amphora by the Dipylon Painter is a good example of such a phenomenon: Attic LGIa belly-handled amphora: Athens 804; BAPD 1010917*. There are, of course, many others.

evocative of a narrative rather than representing the story exactly,²⁷ since narrative depictions in a form that can be likened to ‘cartoon strips’ were extremely seldom used in any form on Attic pots.²⁸ With these two points in mind – that symbols were a part of the vase-painting tradition from an early period and that each scene was painted by artists who were used to evoking elements of a story rather than retelling it – seeing the vase-paintings as evoking the ‘story’ of a festival becomes a likely solution.²⁹

There are two other theoretical propositions that remain inconclusive: that the shape, function and decoration of the vase are related; and that the various picture fields on a given vase are connected. The first, the association of shape and decoration, does seem supportable for some shapes, and the pots created by the best black-figure artists do use shape and decoration to complement the function of the vessel.³⁰ Nevertheless, this correlation between shape, function and decoration is not universally accepted.³¹ Scheibler’s work on belly amphorae, in which she suggested that this shape was associated with coming of age rituals for young men,³² has encouraged further explorations into the correlation of the meaning of the scene and the shape of the vessel. Shapiro has analysed the pelike and observes that the pelikai have many scenes relating to the Panathenaia compared with the very few found on belly-amphorae.³³ This suggests that the vase-painters did not, as a rule, mix and match their imagery, which in turn makes it likely that there is a correlation between shape and imagery. The function of the vessel too, may have a bearing on the interpretation of the scene. Drinking cups, for instance, used in the symposion, when understood within this Dionysian context gain further levels of meaning based on their association with wine and as containers for wine.³⁴ This view of wine-cups as in use at a symposion raises a further question. Were the vases used in a symposion context or just for burial and how valuable were they when in use? The

²⁷ This kind of representation of narrative is labelled ‘synoptic’ or, as Steiner (1993: 205-206) prefers, ‘narrative compression’. For a discussion of this kind of scene see Stansbury-O’Donnell (1999: 1-8 with bibliography, esp. 1-3); Himmelmann (1998: 74); Shapiro (1994: 8-9); Snodgrass (1982: 5).

²⁸ One such example can be found on an Athenian red-figure cup showing the deeds of Theseus (signed by Kachrylion as potter: Florence 91456; ARV² 108.27; *Add.*² 173; BAPD 200931*), and as Snodgrass (1982: 5) points out, the deeds of Theseus especially are shown in this form, known as the ‘cyclic’ method. On this system of representation see also Stansbury-O’Donnell (1999: chapter 1, esp. 4).

²⁹ For further discussion, see section 1.3, p.39.

³⁰ Mertens (2010: 30). See also subsection 1.4.1, p.43.

³¹ Johnston (1991: 216) argues that it is only sometimes that shape determines the decoration, and possibly the best one can hope to achieve is an observation of trends.

³² Scheibler (1987).

³³ Shapiro (1997: 68).

³⁴ As an example see Mackay’s analysis (2010: esp. 225, 232) of Exekias’ eye-cup.

answers to these questions are keenly debated, but recent work has shown that the vases were used at symposia and were valuable,³⁵ a conclusion that concurs with the amount of effort that went into the decoration of some of the exceptional pots.

The second theory, that the two sides of a vase are connected, was advocated by Hoffmann who argues, ‘if we fail to see the connection between Greek images – such as between the two sides of an amphora – it is, I suggest, because we are too ignorant of ancient culture. The connection is there, I insist, because culture is always connected.’³⁶ That the two picture fields are on the same vessel certainly argues for a unified whole, and as Barringer argues, each figure and each scene is a choice made by the vase-painter of one scene over another.³⁷ Nonetheless, at this stage many vases seem to us to have totally unrelated sides³⁸ and it remains to be seen whether further careful analysis and research can change this state of affairs. Hoffmann does not provide a level of connectedness – it might be that the most tenuous of links connects the two sides, hence our inability to discover it. There are methods to assess how likely a connection might be: for instance, if a vessel has an open composition then a relationship is more likely, but images confined

³⁵ That most of the vases we have today come from graves is incontestable. Hoffmann (1988: 153) argues vehemently that vases were copies of metal vessels and therefore were intended as offerings rather than for use in the symposion. He writes, ‘Not a shred of literary evidence supports this notion’ that vases were used for banqueting. That the strength of his objection relies on literary evidence is an indicator of the hold literature has had over the study of vases. However, as Paspalas (2012: 63 with bibliography) explains, a large number of vases have been found in ‘other settlement-related contexts: refuse dumps, well shafts, and construction fills’ and more graves than dwelling places have been excavated. The archaeological evidence and the vases themselves show that in fact many vases were in use in the symposion as Lynch’s (2011) work clearly shows. In fact, according to the excavations of a late archaic house well in Athens, of the pottery discovered about half was sympotic, and therefore used in the symposion (Lynch [2011: 79]). The issue of trade with Etruria and its impact on the images on vases will be discussed in detail in subsection 1.4.1, p.43. The issue of the value of the vases is one of those at the heart of the arguments of Vickers and Gill (1994: 1-2, 4); see also Gill (1988). It has been quite convincingly shown that their premise that the *images* on vases were copies of metal decoration (see Vickers [1983] and Vickers and Gill [1994]) is incorrect (see Neer [2004: 207 with bibliography]), but the idea of the vases as cheaper alternatives to metal vessels has been accepted by some (see for instance Pritchard [1999: 6-7 with bibliography]). However, it is clear that the aristocracy purchased and used fine painted ware and it did hold more value than has been suggested by Vickers and Gill: Neer (2004: 211-212); Stissi (1999: 90, 96); Williams (1996: 228-230). Barringer (2001: 46) picks up on Vickers’ and Gill’s (1994: 81) concession that metals adversely affected the taste of the liquid placed in them; another reason for seeing the clay vessels as used frequently by the aristocracy at their drinking parties. Stansbury-O’Donnell (2011: 126) has calculated the price of a red-figure vase by the Berlin Painter as US\$225, just over a day’s work. In addition, the claim that clay vessels are copies of metal vessels is not overwhelmingly the case for all shapes. Tosto and van der Woude (1984: 163) argue that while the Nikosthenic amphorae look as though they may be derived from a metal form there is no evidence to prove this and the elements of the shape are well within a potter’s repertoire for clay vessels. They suggest, in fact, that ‘the plastic nature and low cost of clay as opposed to metal makes it more likely that the potters and not the metalworkers took the lead in experimenting with new designs’.

³⁶ Hoffmann (1988: 160).

³⁷ Barringer (2001: 33).

³⁸ Bron and Lissarrague (1989: 21).

firmly within their framing panel makes it less likely. Symmetry, also, encourages the viewer to stay focused on the centre of just one image.³⁹ On the other hand, there are, of course, some vases that have two obviously related picture fields: those with repeated scenes. Steiner has analysed the occurrences of repetition on vases, looking at what might be behind the common practice of having the same scene (or one very similar) on two sides of a vase.⁴⁰ She arrives at the conclusion that this repetition both on vases and between vases is one way for the vase-painters to emphasise certain messages, such as certain civic ideals, and to draw parallels between the ephebes and heroes like Herakles in order to encourage the young men to emulate such behaviour.⁴¹

Steiner's conclusion leads to one further assumption, this time about the Athenians themselves and their society. Firstly, as is widely accepted, it is clear that the Greeks of this time period were interested in men and human endeavours.⁴² Secondly, the Athenians shared a common 'horizon of expectations',⁴³ and that as a part of the Attic community they viewed the vases from a collective context, established at least in part by their participation in public events and private rituals.⁴⁴ In addition, it is clear that the Athenian 'horizon' is different from ours today, but it is crucial that we recreate (as far as is possible) the ancient viewer's response to the image.

1.1.4 Approaching the vase

In order to analyse the scenes on the vases, several steps were completed, and several theoretical frameworks used. The aim was to analyse the trends in vase-painting rather than necessarily to look closely and comment on each vase individually (although, of course, some vases are treated in this manner). The vase on which the scene is painted is of course a three-dimensional object; this proves a difficulty for many students studying vases through the medium of photos. The way the scenes are presented in texts, as

³⁹ For a discussion of this see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 119-120).

⁴⁰ Steiner (2007), (1997), and (1993).

⁴¹ Steiner (1997: esp. 162, 167, 211) and (1993: 198, 218-219). These conclusions are expanded in the various chapters of Steiner's book (2007: see esp. chapters 7 and 8).

⁴² Stewart (2008: 26) briefly describes the society that emerges from the Bronze Age into the archaic as 'self-reliant, combative, and obsessed with personal prowess and personal excellence'. On the focus of the Athenians on human endeavours, see also Lissarrague (2012: 571); Bérard and Durand (1989: 30); Schnapp (1989: 71).

⁴³ On the 'horizon of expectations' see Man in Jauss (1982: xi-xii) and D'Alleva (2005: 114).

⁴⁴ Festivals were a common and public shared experience in ancient Athens, and as Bérard (1989c: 167) points out, 'Vase-painting can only evoke already familiar situations.'

Lissarrague reminds us, are flat and often cropped pictures which just present the scene in question.⁴⁵ To try to overcome such views of the vases, it is critical to gain as much exposure to the vases in the clay; but even then, the pots displayed in museums do not replicate how they were used in ancient times. Nevertheless, despite the fact that our society, context, and viewing experience are vastly different, still with careful thought and process we can propose some useful hypotheses.⁴⁶ Small goes so far as to blame the archaic vase-painters for not providing enough information, so we, as scholars, should not feel so disheartened.⁴⁷ Small's view here draws attention to, but then rather denigrates, the idea of ambiguity in vase-painting scenes. She also assumes that scholars look for a narrative in every scene. It will be suggested in the present study that the ambiguity found in black-figure is an integral part of the way that they were interpreted⁴⁸ and also that more often than previously realised, a vase-painter set out to evoke a combination of mythological narrative, ritual re-enactment, and personal responses, all of which come together in the celebrations of festivals. Bérard and Durand, on the other hand, demonstrate that in some cases the elements of a scene come together 'in an almost mechanical fashion to produce a meaning as devoid of ambiguity as possible.'⁴⁹ Certainly images of mythological narrative (that we can recognise as such) are often clearly illustrating one episode from myth – Herakles and the Lion is a case in point. But this identification of the one 'meaning', the one interpretation behind the scene does not take account of the other ways that the scene can be understood using the mythological narrative as a starting point. Once the story is clearly identified, one realises that the scene is constructed in such a way so as to evoke other narratives, or other experiences. Even when the scene is not ambiguous (to our eyes) the ability to recognise other aspects through the narrative seems to be a key part of the appeal of black-figure.

⁴⁵ Lissarrague (2009: 19).

⁴⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood (1991: 10) agrees that 'it is possible to approximate the ancient realities to a considerable extent. For this we need a methodology capable of, first, preventing (as far as possible) our own assumptions from intruding in, and distorting, the reading and interpretation of the ancient pictures; and second, of reconstructing the fifth-century Athenian assumptions and expectations and shaping fifth-century perceptual filters out of them, so as to read fifth-century Athenian images through fifth-century Athenian eyes.' Vernant (1989b: 7) too is positive that one can learn to think and 'see like a Greek'.

⁴⁷ Small (2009: 85).

⁴⁸ Using semiotics and structuralism as a way of interpreting the scenes takes this ambiguity into account, as Sourvinou-Inwood (1987a: 135-136) makes clear: 'Ambivalence and ambiguity are characteristic properties of signs.'

⁴⁹ Bérard and Durand (1989: 34).

1.1.4.1 First impression

In order to come to this conclusion, however, a methodology for approaching the images on the vases must be drawn up and followed. The first step in this process is to determine how to view the image. It is abundantly clear that the vase-painters from the proto-geometric period accentuated the articulation points of their vessels with paint and decoration;⁵⁰ as the tradition developed, scenes were placed at points which would be easy to see. The largest area (usually the body) was dedicated to the largest and most complex scene, suggesting its importance, but other areas were also decorated, such as the neck or the shoulder. Therefore, if a vase was in use, or placed on the ground or on a stand of some sort before or after use, it can then be deduced which scenes would be seen first or revealed later, and also which were the most significant; this may help us to show more clearly what the vase-painters and the ancient viewer reacted to the most.

In order to demonstrate the methodology used in this study, a hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter from c.520-510 BC will be utilised as an example.⁵¹ On this hydria there are three areas of decoration: shoulder, body, and under the scene on the body. The hydria was usually used for holding water,⁵² and this decorated version may have been a part of the accoutrements for the symposion,⁵³ as the wine was always diluted with water.⁵⁴ There are several ways that a vase may have been handled. The first, using our example, would be the carrying in of the vase. The natural way of carrying the hydria is to use the two handles on the sides with the front (i.e. the scene) facing away from the carrier. If this was done in a situation which included an audience, then probably the large scene on the body would be the primary scene. This theory of use relies on the premise that the owner of the vessel saw the vase as valuable and beautiful (or at the very least attractive). While there have been arguments that suggest that the vases were cheap commodities, it is less likely in fact that this is the case.⁵⁵ The hydria, while in use (if poured in a direction that would have been visible to any watchers), would be tipped so as

⁵⁰ Boardman (1998: 13-14); Coldstream (2003: 28).

⁵¹ Hannover 1965.30; *Para.* 119.27*ter*; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 340472*; Burow (1989: no.91, pl.91b-c); see **fig.1**.

⁵² Clark, Elston, and Hart (2002: 98-99) give a brief summary of the hydria. It was used also as a container like the amphora and had an important role in burials and cremations.

⁵³ In fact, the number of fine hydriai found in Athens is surprisingly low and so it is possible that they were for export: Lynch (2011: 75-76). Nevertheless, hydriai *were* used for pouring water into kraters, although they were mostly coarse ware: Lynch (2011: 77-78). On the use of hydriai with an emphasis on their utilisation in sanctuaries, see Trinkl (2009). Trinkl (2009: 157-158) summarises the three common places in which hydriai were used: the kitchen, the symposion, and the bathroom.

⁵⁴ See Lynch (2011: 77n20).

⁵⁵ See above, p.15n35.

to reveal the shoulder decoration, although it is quite possible that areas of the shoulder would have been obscured by the receiving vessel and/or the lip or mouth of the hydria itself. After use, it is possible that the hydria was positioned on a small table,⁵⁶ perhaps near the krater or dinos if used in a symposion, probably with the decoration facing the symposiasts. Looking at this vase from a lower angle, as one would if one were reclining, the scene on the body would be the major decoration. On the other hand if one was approaching this vase from a higher angle, walking towards it perhaps, one would probably have seen it at a downward angle with the scene on the shoulder as the first image. Despite this rather convoluted description, it also is essential to remember that the vase is one single entity, and as such viewers would be inclined to examine all the decoration (if they were really looking at the vase or admiring it) because the decoration is found on the one single object.

When one shifts one's attention from the 3D object in order to examine the decoration itself, usually it is the composition and focal point of the scene that tend to catch the eye in the first instance (in black-figure this is often the central figure). This, then, was the first stage of the study: to collate those scenes that looked similar based on composition or focal point. In Greek black-figure vase-painting, which often has a strong symmetry, many of the vases (excluding those which contain horses) are made up of standing figures around a central character. In order to avoid analysing thousands of vases which contain this composition, the 'first impression' was confined to those scenes that had the same central figure engaged in a similar task, with similar framing figures.⁵⁷ Thus, the first step for the methodology was to use the composition as the first category. With this first

⁵⁶ We know that vases were displayed when not in use; wine cups in particular were hung on the wall from one of their handles, displaying the decoration on the exterior of the cup and the foot (and possible inscription there): Mertens (2010: 17).

⁵⁷ 'Spectators' (men or youths and occasionally women standing around the central action) are very common in archaic black-figure, so it was necessary to narrow my search. The spectators themselves have provoked disagreements among scholars as to their purpose. On the one hand, it is presumed that the spectators are generic Athenian youths or men, watching the heroic endeavours and learning how to be a good citizen from the heroes, or even singing about those exploits; on the other, the spectators are seen simply as stock 'filler' figures, used to create symmetry with no other function. For the first point of view see Fehr (2009: 132-133); Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006: esp. 7-8, 126); Steiner (1993: 216); Schnapp (1989: 75 on the young men in scenes around Dionysos from the Amasis Painter); for the other view see Small (2009: 79) who focuses on the Amasis Painter, and Carpenter (1986: 40-42) who discusses the youths in scenes of the Heidelberg Painter and Amasis Painter. Nevertheless, even in the depiction of a 'filler' or 'stock figure' there is a choice; in this way, it seems clear that the ephebes or men standing around Dionysos (such as those of the Amasis Painter; see for example a Type B amphora: Basel LU20; *Para.* 65; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 350465*; see **fig.2**) do have a function that adds to the meaning of the scene. On spectators and onlookers on vases, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) and Korti-Konti (1979).

grouping it was possible to retain any paradigmatic links communicated via scene-type at the forefront of this research.

In viewing the example vase, using the descriptive aspect of formal analysis will help to discover the main elements in the scene.⁵⁸ The composition, as Stansbury-O'Donnell explains, is one key way the artist can communicate to the viewer which elements or figures should be chosen as a focus of attention.⁵⁹ As mentioned above, the shoulder scene may have been the first scene to catch the eye, depending on the circumstance of viewing, but the composition of that scene with the large black bodies of the horses in the centre of the long picture-field accentuates the middle portion of the image. Just below the horses and the dropped hydria (an important informant and also dramatic eye-catching dark shape), the arms of the kithara reach up to the border and lead the eye down to the larger scene below. The trident and the tip of the crown encourage a similar movement. The large scene is a closed one, at least to left and right: the figures are surrounded on all sides by a frame, made more apparent with the use of ivy stems on the sides; the composition is very inward-looking, with all attention focused on the central kithara-player.⁶⁰ Even the arrangement of male, female, male, female, male fits into the symmetry of the scene. With this nucleus so closed-in, the trident, kithara, crown, and kerykeion drawing the eye towards this picture from the shoulder, and the comparative size of the picture on the body, it is fairly certain that the image on the body constitutes the most significant scene on the vase. With this established, then, the next step was to collate as many vases as possible from the BAPD and the *LIMC* with this same arrangement of a central male kithara player flanked by two female figures and then two male; those of the same type but lacking the two extra males were placed in a connected but separate group.

1.1.4.2 Initial identification

The similarity between these scenes, based on the first impression and composition, would have encouraged even an ancient Athenian to view these scenes as comparable, each scene reminding the viewer of all the others like it. The composition makes this possible; that and the large, detailed (and sometimes highlighted in white) shape of the

⁵⁸ On formalism, see D'Alleva (2006: 27), who is careful to warn viewers that there is no such thing as 'pure formal analysis', since anyone looking at an object from another time period interprets the scene from within their own context. Bérard (1983: 111) explains the benefit of description in detail and with precision: on this basis iconography and interpretation can be explored.

⁵⁹ Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 82).

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the terminology and layout of compositions see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 79-80).

kithara in the centre of the scene. Formal analysis will take us this far, allowing us to pinpoint which aspects of the scene can be regarded as most important based on symmetry and the placement of figures and objects. But to take the analysis further and to try to discover who the characters might be and what the meaning of the scene may be, one needs to move on to other theoretical methods.⁶¹ The composition and the paradigmatic correlation between this category of vases must not be forgotten, however, even when using other methodologies to take interpretation to the next level, as each new ‘reading’ necessarily stands in relation to the first impression. That the ancient Athenian viewer of the vase would have known that there were others like this vase is fairly certain; the vase-painters were a part of a tradition which is revealed in the repetitive scenes found on vases, and as mentioned above, change was slow.⁶² The vases were private rather than public, but this is not necessarily an impediment to the widespread knowledge of repeated scenes, since it is probable that the potters displayed completed vases of higher quality in the agora next to those that the poorer citizens could afford,⁶³ and sets of vases were routinely used in a symposion setting where friends would come together. This approach also precludes too much argumentation over whether the figures are intended as one deity or mortal over another, since the first identification is one that is formed due to the position of the figure within the layout of the scene in comparison to the many other similar examples. If there is no attribute or inscription negating such an identification (even if it is a very general one, such as generic victorious warrior), then there would be little need to argue about the figure. So in terms of our Antimenes Painter hydria,⁶⁴ what is the first identification of this scene? To answer this question we must turn first to iconography, before moving on to other theories to uncover the possible ‘meaning’ behind the scene.

Iconography is extremely helpful in identifying figures within scenes,⁶⁵ as well as ascertaining the narrative that may lie behind the image. The iconographic attributes of

⁶¹ Sourvinou-Inwood (1991: 48) outlines the limitations of formalism with regard to her research on erotic pursuits.

⁶² Steiner’s (1993: 219) premise that repetition was a kind of ‘teaching’ relies on this observation that some scenes are repeated frequently, and so viewers could call to mind other similar scenes for comparison. For further information on the slow pace of change in vase-painting, see above, p.13 and n.25.

⁶³ Marconi (2004: 27).

⁶⁴ Hannover 1965.30; *Para.* 119.27*ter*; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 340472*; **see fig.1.**

⁶⁵ Carpenter (2007: 410) emphasises the vase-painters’ love of idealisation; gods and mortals are represented in the same ideal way, so attributes are the only way we can tell a mortal from a deity, let alone which deity. Sourvinou-Inwood (1987a: 132) stresses the significance of identifying the figures in the scene, as each one carries its own meaning that adds to the overall understanding of the scene.

deities, for instance, play a large part in this thesis and so the established iconographic features of the gods are usually accepted here without analysis (apart from those attributes of Apollo, Dionysos, and Poseidon, which are discussed in chapters two to four). In the same way, the identification of narratives by other scholars is relied on for this study, such as Apollo and Herakles struggling over the Delphic tripod.⁶⁶ However, iconography, and its follow-on, iconology,⁶⁷ have a few flaws that make them unsuitable for a continued use in the interpretation of the scenes in this research. The major issue is that iconography is a process that is focused on finding *the one* idea or symbol or identification that the painter had in mind. Usually this is discovered through the use of comparing the image to texts, thereby seeing the image as merely an illustration of the narrative.⁶⁸ Black-figure images are not merely ‘snapshots’ or depictions of one mythological narrative, but rather complex patchworks of time and space created in order to evoke various parts of a single story, or several stories,⁶⁹ or even common public displays or festivals, or occasionally all of these at the same time.⁷⁰ This layering of meaning and variety within each scene means iconography and iconology, while providing some background identification that can be helpful, are not the best ways to interpret these scenes.

⁶⁶ For a short example of iconography in progress, see Carpenter (1991: 13-14), who explains how we can work out which scenes show the Return of Hephaistos.

⁶⁷ D’Alleva (2005: 21) discusses these two terms and the distinction between them: iconography identifies while iconology analyses the choice of such figures or symbols. See also Oakley (2009: 613-614) for a brief summary and a list of some of the scholars who use this approach.

⁶⁸ Stansbury-O’Donnell (2011: 65-66, 68, 70) discusses the problems associated with iconographic analysis, using the Siphnian Treasury as an example: in 1985, Brinkmann reported his findings on the inscriptional identification of the characters on the north and east friezes of the Treasury using infrared light, and the names were different from the identification suggested by iconographic analysis. The fragmentary names on the Trojan war section of the east frieze, for instance, show that the warriors are Aineas and Memnon fighting Achilles and Automedon over the body of Antilochus, rather than Aineas and Hektor fighting Menelaos and Ajax. In addition, the Greeks were a part of an oral society and the literature that we have today from the sixth century is a fraction of what was available to the Athenians and is often woefully fragmentary. With this in mind, the reliance that iconographers have on texts can only lead to misinterpretation at least in some of the cases. Touchefeu’s (1983: 22-23) methodology highlights one of the major issues surrounding the interpretation of images. She claims that images are dependent on texts and so confusing pictures should be explained with reference to a lost text or epic. This reliance on missing evidence is undesirable and one of the contentious issues of using iconographic analysis. Touchefeu does also caution would-be interpreters, however, pointing out that the image can have its own independent iconography. Lissarrague (2009: 18) is equally aware of the value of ancient texts in the analysis of pictures, but warns ‘the text is a key for us, but the image is not necessarily an illustration of that specific text.’ D’Alleva (2005: 24-25) stresses the importance of taking the viewer into account in the analysis of an image. Iconography suggests that the painter had one point to make, so the iconographer’s job is to find this meaning hidden in the scene. Certainly in black-figure it seems to be the case that there were layers of interpretation; the scenes were often generic in order for the viewer to bring his or her experience to the scene.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of this, see above, p.14 and n.27.

⁷⁰ Stansbury-O’Donnell (2011: 66).

1.1.4.3 Interpretation

Viewing each scene can be taken as an act of communication, with the elements in the scene as the visual clues that constitute the parts of the 'language'.⁷¹ This semiotic approach is utilised in this study to uncover the plurality of meanings that each signifier can bring to the scene as a whole in order to assess just how often festival practice may have been evoked on the vases, since the same elements found in representations of deities can appear in festival contexts.⁷² Building on this approach (which highlights the variations possible in meaning), structuralism emphasises the crucial influence of the context of the viewer (an ancient Athenian of the archaic period in this study) again stressing the plurality of meanings that can be found within the one scene.⁷³ These approaches correspond well to the study of vase-painting, since it seems that ambiguity and deliberately providing the viewer with a choice of possible interpretations were hallmarks of black-figure.⁷⁴ These many different interpretations produced through the semiotic and structuralist approach must be further qualified, however, as followers of

⁷¹ There are, however, some issues with this approach, the first being the difference between the interpretation of a written medium and a visual one. On this issue see Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 72-73) and Lissarrague (2009: 16). Although semiotics was originally devised for the discovery of meaning through text, the transfer to visual analysis has been well documented: see for example, Bourdieu (1993: 215-237).

⁷² On the semiotic approach see Barthes (1982: esp. 211-212), who explains the terms signifier, signified, and sign and the relationships between them. See also D'Alleva (2005: 29). Sourvinou-Inwood (1987a) utilises this method of comparison in her exploration of erotic pursuits and Steiner (1993: esp.198) likewise uses semiotics in her research into repetition on vases, claiming that 'visual imagery on Athenian vases is a unified language with its own rules of grammar and syntax, where 'reality' is encoded through visual symbols.' Hoffmann (1977) applies semiotics in his study of the askoi, providing a clear explanation of his methodology on pages 1-2. While semiotics does emphasise the possibility for various meanings, the cultural context in which the vase-painters worked provides the parameters for the interpretations of the vases. On the parameters of meaning see Sourvinou-Inwood (1987a: 144) and D'Alleva (2005: 32-33).

⁷³ Structuralism relies strongly on two main premises: the idea that the 'language' has standard structures; and that the context, both of the scene itself and of the viewer (what kinds of experiences the viewer may bring) will influence the reading of the scene. The benefit of structural analysis means that several interpretations of the same scene can be viable at the same time, depending on the context of the viewer. As Durand (1989b: 120) explains, 'for the person looking at it, the image generates a discourse, interpretation, about itself that gives rise to polysemy.' There has been a great deal of scholarship of late discussing the issues and processes of structuralism and semiotics in relation to vase-painting. Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 72-88) has a clear summary of both approaches, followed by some of the issues of using this methodology.

⁷⁴ One of the benefits of using a post-structural approach is the ability to remove some of the prejudices that have become embedded in the study of artistic works since the Renaissance. One of these is the idea of a genius artist behind the creation of a work of art that is some kind of puzzle which must be figured out and the meaning uncovered; see D'Alleva (2005: 135). Studies of black-figure vases strongly suggest that ambiguity and the multiplicity of meanings is a key part of the creation of the images; the context of the viewer is the key to unlocking the many possible meanings of the scenes. In addition it seems that in many cases, to find the possible meaning or meanings, it is the comparison of the vase to others that is more useful than the more difficult assessment of the intention of the artist.

post-structuralism argue,⁷⁵ since the object was created in a certain time with a specific context which must also be taken into account.⁷⁶

With this in mind, when interpreting the scenes the elements found in the images from within a set scene-type (for example those that had the same composition as outlined above) were collated and analysed to determine which were the most common in that grouping of vases, and which were unusual. From there, the connotation (or connotations) behind each of the elements were researched in order to discover some of the meanings of the scene as a whole. Sourvinou-Inwood uses a combination of semiotics, structuralism, and post-structuralism in her analysis of scenes that show an erotic pursuit⁷⁷ and her introduction to *'Reading' Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths* outlines her methodology, including the importance of not judging which elements in a scene may be crucial for the interpretation of the scene before checking each one out with thorough comparative research.⁷⁸ She claims it is also vital to keep in mind what was not chosen, as this is just as significant when it comes to interpreting the scene.⁷⁹ This approach is likely to succeed in removing as much as possible our own perspectives and context in viewing the vase, but it is incredibly time-consuming. The analysing of every detail in each scene to find the elements that do not, in fact, contribute to the overall meaning of the scene (and then looking at the elements that might have been chosen but were not) makes large scale research extremely difficult. In this thesis, bearing in mind the analysis is broad and takes in three deities, the elements that were the most frequently depicted (in the extant vases) were analysed to try to gain an overview of how the scenes may have been interpreted. The aim here was to balance enough breadth and enough depth to provide adequate evidence to show that the conclusion is valid. If one had the time, it would be ideal to be able to work within this kind of methodology, using several different methods

⁷⁵ For a brief overview of some of the problems of applying a structuralist approach to analysing visual constructions see Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 92-93) and D'Alleva (2005: 136-140).

⁷⁶ A major issue that can arise in a structuralist study is the creation of meaning using diverse contexts, including across time periods and, in terms of vase-painting, techniques. On the one hand, any interpretation that is corroborated by such research is well-supported; on the other, the risk of ignoring the changes that come about during the differing historical periods and through a new technique such as red-figure can lead to errors of interpretation.

⁷⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood (1987a), placed also in (1991).

⁷⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood (1991: 6). Durand (1989b: 120) agrees that everything in an image can carry meaning, and this is enriched through the relationship the item may hold with the other elements in the scene and with other scenes as well.

⁷⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood (1991: 11), and for an example of this in use see (1991: 38), in which Sourvinou-Inwood analyses erotic pursuit scenes. Schmitt Pantel and Thelamon (1983: 17) advocate the same process of interpretation: all of the elements chosen are important, and also those that were not.

in order to find the one (or more) meaning that is corroborated by all approaches, but in studies applying such methodology, the focus must remain narrow and often the anomalies (of which there can be many) are insufficiently dealt with.

In order to try to overcome these obstacles, the items that recurred the most frequently or the most rarely in the lists extracted from the database created for this study were chosen for analysis. With these lists, not only the common elements were easily identifiable for study, but in addition the rarer aspects of the scenes were distinguished so that these too could be assessed. Using the example, the hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter, the common elements (when compared to other vases decorated with the same scene-type) were the kithara, the crown, the deer, the trident (held by Poseidon) and the winged boots, kerykeion, and hat worn by Hermes. In deciding on the items to analyse, if a figure was holding or wearing one of the objects, the conclusions advanced by iconography were taken into account and some items were set aside as simply informants.⁸⁰ In looking at the example scene, Poseidon's trident appears to be a marker for his identity, for instance, as do the items held and worn by Hermes. The question, then, is not what these *items* can add to the meaning of the scene, but rather why the vase-painter has chosen to place these two *figures* in the scene.

Of the items listed above in the sample scene, the kithara and the deer were the most fruitful for analysis.⁸¹ The kithara is one of Apollo's attributes, but it occurs in some other scenes – mostly Dionysian and competitive scenes.⁸² Having identified the vases on which the object is depicted, the item was analysed to assess if it conveyed the same 'meaning' in each scene or whether the context of the image seemed to change the way in which the meaning of the object was (re)constructed by the viewer. Finally, the original depiction was re-interpreted in light of the connotations garnered from the placement of the object in other images to see if another interpretation could be formulated using the comparison between the two different types of scenes.⁸³ The kithara, for instance,

⁸⁰ On the informant see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 21).

⁸¹ A full discussion of the Delian Triad scenes will be covered in chapter two, section 2.2, p.59.

⁸² In order to find these other scenes which included the kithara, the BAPD was consulted, using the terms 'black-figure' and 'kithara' (795 records), then the results were collated and grouped in my database in order to analyse them.

⁸³ In my comparison with other scenes, it became clear that some items carried quite a number of connotations and these could only be fully appreciated when the context of the scene in which they appear was taken into account. This is particularly true of items such as musical instruments. The pipes are placed in scenes frequently and always signify music in some form, but the context of the scene will change the

variously signifies ‘competition’, ‘music’, ‘singing’, ‘celebration’ (in many contexts, including weddings), and ‘festival performance’.⁸⁴ The deer appears in many other scenes alongside the siblings Artemis and Apollo, and could be read as an informant, but it also appears in scenes of the hunt, especially in predella scenes by the Antimenes Painter. These hunt scenes can be interpreted as relating to aristocratic pursuits, and as this scene is on a hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter, it is likely that an association of Apollo with the young epebes may be understood as a part of the meaning of the scene.⁸⁵

Sourvinou-Inwood explains that elements added to a scene alter the nuance of the scene,⁸⁶ so the presence of Hermes and Poseidon in the example scene of the Delian Triad will augment or change the meaning of the scene. Hermes is well-known as the *psychopompos* and Poseidon as associated with sea-travel, thus it is possible that they were placed in the scene to emphasise the sea-travel and procession associated with the Athenians and their journey to Delos. However, the deities themselves carry too much meaning; they cannot be treated as signifiers only. Instead the answer may lie in the gods as companions to Apollo. Researching the structures which underlie the pantheon of gods might help to reveal the reasons behind these kinds of choices by the vase-painters.⁸⁷ The gods cannot be divorced from their spheres of influence, but the interplay of the ‘powers’ that serves as a basis for their areas of authority may add to other layers of meaning within the scene.⁸⁸

There are of course, many other elements in the scene that should be studied; the gestures, for instance, the clothing of the characters, even before commenting on the use of subsidiary decoration or shape of the pot. For the first aspect the works of McNiven and

meaning slightly. So the pipes will provide the music for a competitive chorus in one scene, or a group of joyous komasts in another, or athletics in need of rhythm in yet another. Therefore, in order to fully appreciate the layers of meaning within a scene each object needs to be understood both in terms of its general application, and also in the context of the specific scene in which it is placed.

⁸⁴ For a discussion in detail of how these signifieds were found, see chapter two, esp. throughout sections 2.2, p.59 and 2.4, p.100.

⁸⁵ Durand and Schnapp (1989: 62, 65) discuss the representations of the hunt on vases by the Antimenes Painter, concluding that it is a part of being an epebe and participating in the religious and social life of the polis. See also Barringer (2001: 41).

⁸⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood (1987a: 144). Here she is focusing on scenes of the erotic chase in red-figure, but the general principle holds true.

⁸⁷ Bremmer (1994: 15) discusses the general benefits of analysing the relationships of the gods.

⁸⁸ On this particular connection between Apollo and Poseidon and Hermes, see chapter four, subsection 4.5.2, p.261.

Boegehold on gestures were consulted,⁸⁹ although as McNiven points out, gestures do seem to be chosen often because they were a favourite of the vase-painter or workshop of painters.⁹⁰ For the costume of the character, the iconographic relevance of the clothing was assessed before deciding whether it added something extra to the meaning of the scene. On the Hannover hydria, Hermes, placed on the right of the scene, wears a short garment, Poseidon a long one. This differentiation has more to do with Hermes as the active god of journeys and Poseidon as a more passive god (as portrayed in vase-painting) and so acts as an iconographic attribute. The female figures, too, are dressed differently; again it seems that the distinction in dress has to do with highlighting their different ages: Artemis in the peplos is the young sister of Apollo, Leto in the much more restrictive and concealing himation is the older matronly mother of Apollo.⁹¹ The clothing of Apollo is more elaborate than that of the other two male deities and this element is significant as it brings another dimension of meaning to the scene: he is a kithara player and they sometimes wore elaborate costumes.⁹² Thus in the case of Apollo, his clothing becomes both an informant (the god as a kithara player, *the* kithara player) and forms a connection to mortal kitharists with the underlying connotation of competition and festival.

The approach of this study is to build conclusions based on evidence from as large a number of scenes as possible to analyse the trends that may arise.⁹³ To deal with such a massive body of scenes, they were placed within categories; each scene is assigned to a group with others of the same decoration. These categories were constructed around the primary character in each scene – for instance those including Apollo as the central figure were grouped together. Within these categories, others were further developed that were relevant to the different elements that were placed in the scenes; in scenes of Apollo playing the kithara for his mother and sister, for instance, the scenes which included an altar or a deer were grouped together and the frequency of such scenes was recorded. This in turn enabled further analysis of the context of these similar vases, and in the case of the altar, its inclusion in scenes of the Delian Triad was a strong suggestion that the action

⁸⁹ McNiven (1982); Boegehold (1999).

⁹⁰ McNiven (1982: 239-240).

⁹¹ The identity of Artemis on the right of Apollo is corroborated by the presence of a deer standing behind her.

⁹² On the kitharist's costume, see Mackay (2010: 44 with references).

⁹³ In order to gather these vases to work with, the primary resource was the BAPD. Using the search function all the instances of the deity (on the BAPD and identified correctly) were extracted, followed by all other instances of the elements within the scene. Thus for the analysis of scenes of Apollo, the BAPD allowed a quick search of the kithara to find the other black-figure scenes in which the instrument figured.

took place in Apollo's sacred space⁹⁴ – perhaps on Delos – and this detail was of importance to the vase-painter and viewer. These small clues could then lead to further analysis, such as where this scene-type may have been positioned within the development of the tradition or what historical events may have been evoked.

With this avenue of analysis in mind, each group of vases within a single category was assessed to see if there was an approximate starting date (keeping in mind the problem that only a very few vases are extant) or end date and then interpreted within their timeframe.⁹⁵ This approach led to some suggestions being put forward based on how the vases might reflect historical or societal issues of their time.⁹⁶ From the analysis it seems clear that in fact the vases were a reflection more of social ideals and familiar scenes rather than historical events. The most widely recognised societal events would have included the symposion⁹⁷ and the festivals, and the ideals expressed through the vase-paintings had to do with social roles, *arete*, and piety.⁹⁸

The issue of how much influence a leader may have had over the art of the period, and to what extent art may have been used for political purposes is a thorny one.⁹⁹ What is clear

⁹⁴ That the altar signifies sacred space is established through comparison to many other scenes including an altar, and while it is dangerous to assume that we know exactly how an ancient Greek would have viewed a vase, common trends and repetitions allow us to discover the connotations of some elements with fairly strong certainty.

⁹⁵ This kind of approach relies on the acceptance of conventional dates. I am aware that these dates are still under discussion (see above, p.12n18), but in this work I use the widely accepted conventional dates.

⁹⁶ A change in iconography is one of the key reasons that Boardman (1975a: 1) raises his ideas about political influence in the images on vases. Schmitt Pantel and Thelamon (1983: 16) plead the case for the vase as a historical document in its own right, 'L'image est bien sur inscrite dans un moment historique particulier, celui de sa production, et elle traduit, d'une manière qui lui est spécifique, l'imaginaire social. Mais elle n'est pas 'reflet', elle n'est pas non plus 'image' au sens où nous l'entendons aujourd'hui. Rappelons-nous que l'élaboration de la catégorie de l'image n'est achevée qu'avec la théorie platonicienne de la mimesis. Il faut essayer de traiter l'image autrement que comme un document brut, muet, sans discours propre. Le faire n'est pas interdire à l'image d'avoir part à l'élaboration de l'histoire.'

⁹⁷ That the symposion was a critical part of Athenian life is established by the large numbers of vessels dedicated to use within the drinking party, as Lynch (2011: 79) elucidates.

⁹⁸ Each of the chapters discusses the recognition of festival practice and social ideals as evoked on the vases.

⁹⁹ Boardman's 1972 article was a starting point for this particular discussion in which he argues that the vases of the sixth century and art in general of this period contained 'political symbolism' (57) of Peisistratos and his sons in their association with Herakles. This article was followed by further arguments to support this claim, albeit with a clear distancing from any suggestion of the use of propaganda on vases, from Boardman in 1975, 1984 and 1989 and in his book *The History of Greek Vases*. Boardman (2001: 208) states that vases were not used for political purposes but were influenced by the actions of the leaders of the times. Glynn (1981) argued that this same kind of symbolism could be seen in images of Herakles fighting Triton. Shapiro (1989a) is supportive of the view of the influence of Peisistratos within Athens as reflected in vase-painting, although he warns (15-16) that because of the nature of the evidence the conclusion must remain speculation. Cook (1987: and see 167n3 for further references) presents an opposing view to Boardman and Glynn, Moon (1983: 101-106) disagrees with Boardman's reading of Herakles' apotheosis scenes as related to Peisistratos' trick to gain power, and Blok (2000) argues against Boardman and Shapiro.

is that public art could be and indeed *was* used to convey certain messages, mostly to do with the power of the city or patron in charge of the building or sculpture.¹⁰⁰ Vases, on the other hand, were a private art,¹⁰¹ probably not controlled by anything other than market forces (and of course those who paid for commissions who presumably could ask for specific images to be painted on their ware).¹⁰² In theory it is possible that there was some control over the output of vase-painters, but there is, at this stage at least, no way to prove that this was the case. Therefore when it comes to political messages on vases, care must be taken in putting forward strong cases. Nonetheless, when it comes to reflecting what might be seen as a new development or a new idea in society or even the leadership, there is no reason to believe the vase-painters had to be paid or encouraged to depict it.¹⁰³ It is entirely possible that the painters in their workshops decided to take up and represent or evoke a new festival, or a new version of a myth that has come to their attention, especially if that new event is lavish and above all a *visual and public* display. That this festival or myth or idea is put forward by the leader of the city may be coincidental to the painter's choice to start painting a new scene.¹⁰⁴ And if it proved popular among his clientele, no doubt the painter would continue to paint the scene. Therefore, the influence of a tyrant like Peisistratos on vases would be indirect and would have little to do with

¹⁰⁰ Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 130-133) discusses this issue, and uses the Siphnian Treasury as an example. See also Boardman (2001: 208) who states that the vases were not used for political propaganda (see also Boardman [1989: 159]) but that sculpture on public buildings certainly can be seen to convey messages, particularly the kind to glorify one state or person. Stissi (1999: 88-89) suggests that political propaganda may have been filtered through public art. Shapiro (1992b: 33) describes Kimon as a leader who 'clearly understood how to derive the full political advantage from this coup. He had the bones [of 'Theseus'] transported in his own trireme, so that on arrival in Athens, his identification with the 'rescued' Theseus would be as complete as possible. The enthusiasm which marked his reception on this occasion, as reported by Plutarch, did not disappoint expectation (*Kimon* 8.6).' Kimon is a leader from the fifth century rather than the fourth, but his political acumen cannot have been unique. Williams (1983: 131-132) uses Kleisthenes and the Alkmaionids as a case in point.

¹⁰¹ In fact, as Lissarrague (2012: 570) claims in relation to religious scenes, this distinction between public and private is not so clear-cut, and perhaps should be regarded as more of a guideline rather than as a black and white distinction.

¹⁰² The Panathenaic vases are the most obvious example, being commissioned by the city of Athens. On commissions on vases see Webster (1972: chapter 2).

¹⁰³ The case for the emergence and popularity of Theseus as a hero of the democracy on vase-painting is well attested. Shapiro (1991: 136), for example, discusses Theseus' links to Athens; Shapiro (1992b) takes this one step further and connects the hero with Kimon. For more information on political leaders, see above, p.28n99.

¹⁰⁴ On the influence of Peisistratos (as a dominant citizen of Athens during the time period under discussion here) within the cults of Athens see Mackay (2010: 381-384) and Shapiro (1989a), who outlines the growth of architecture and art in the sixth century (5-12) and puts the Peisistratids in charge of the establishment and embellishment of many cults in Athens (12-14). On Peisistratos' stable popularity during his final tyranny see Lavelle (2005: 157); Blok (2000: 31); and Shapiro (1989a: 3). That the Athenians approved of him for much of the second half of the sixth century gives credence to the idea that his actions would have been mostly accepted and those painting or buying the vases would not have been offended by scenes reflecting those activities.

‘propaganda’, and much more to do with his public displays that would be evoked by the vase-painters as the new idea or image settled into the community psyche.

Our vase attributed to the Antimenes Painter in Hannover is a portrayal of the so-called Delian Triad, a scene-type that surfaces in vase-painting in approximately 540 BC. The relative frequency of the scene after this time prompts an exploration into the possible reasons for this new layout and for the appeal of Apollo as the kithara player.¹⁰⁵ A comparison with events during this time reveals the growth of the significance of the festival of Apollo on Delos, a choral contest to which the Athenians sent competitors. This illustration of music, the honoured god, and the close family ‘portrait’, relates closely to the elements emphasised in the festival itself. It seems reasonable, then, to suggest that the images of the Delian Triad were evocative of the festival on Delos, and this conclusion stems from the investigation into the dating of the scene-type.

After following the analysis outlined above, as the next step, the collation and categorisation of the scenes found elsewhere on the vessels depicting the Delian Triad was undertaken in case there was any correlation or trend recognisable. Frequently the obverse and reverse (or shoulder) will have no obvious connection, but occasionally there is a thematic link or contrast.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that the vase-painters were more likely to choose a certain type (or types) of scene for the other decoration on a vase showing the Delian Triad, perhaps to present a unified whole or two closely linked ideas. On the whole, though, this is not the case and the selection may well be a question of painter preference.

Finally, the vase must be placed within its wider context. The provenance is a vital clue, but our example vase, as with most others, does not have a recorded findspot.¹⁰⁷ Just as essential is the comparison of that particular image to the representation of similar narratives on other media from the same time period. Boardman emphasises the importance of this particular analysis as this helps to set the vase within the wider artistic

¹⁰⁵ This analysis is laid out in detail in chapter two, section 2.2, p.59.

¹⁰⁶ For a discussion of the theories concerned with the connection of two picture fields on one vessel, see above, p.15.

¹⁰⁷ On the value of exploring the trade with Etruria and how this might affect the interpretation of the vases, see below, subsection 1.4.1, p.43.

context of the period.¹⁰⁸ The scenes of Apollo playing his kithara for Leto and Artemis are uncommon in other media of the archaic period, although there are several statues that may represent Apollo in his archer guise, or alongside his mother and sister, especially on the island of Delos. Literature, too, may be useful in underlining the importance of certain elements of the god – such as his relationship to Leto and Artemis and his skill on the kithara. In an oral society, such as that of ancient Greece, repetition of various aspects of the god would have been natural to reinforce those ideas clearly enough for them to be brought to mind during the painting of pottery much later than the recital of the poetry (for instance). In addition the festivals supported the representation of the god espoused in poetry through processions and choral activity as outlined in the following section.

¹⁰⁸ Boardman (2001: 199-200).

1.2 Festival Practice¹⁰⁹

As festivals and festival practice play such a key role in this thesis, included here is a brief summary of the typical components of a festival.¹¹⁰ This description of a festival is by no means any kind of complete survey of literature on the topic (which is extensive) and is kept brief and general as the more specific festivals and their influence on the vases are dealt with in the appropriate chapters on the deities; this section aims solely to highlight the elements that seem to be common to all festivals. These components are therefore the shared facets of an ancient Athenian festival, and are by necessity the public aspects as they would have been familiar to just about everyone in Attica. The best evidence we have for festivals is found by comparing the vase-painting to the extant literary accounts, often much later than the time period under consideration. This causes some problems, since this method is in essence circular¹¹¹ and relies on late evidence, but religion is by nature conservative,¹¹² and by combining both sources of evidence available to us, and finding coherence between the two, the argument can be shown to be more conclusive.

First, the frequency and centrality of festivals in Greek life must be emphasised.¹¹³ What occurred at these festivals was therefore a shared experience by the whole polis, and thus familiar to all Athenians: the vase-painters and their clientele. It might seem odd to us that a vase-painter would (in all likelihood subconsciously) construct his images of the deity around the happenings of a festival, but in actual fact festival practice is probably one of the most viable ways for an ancient Greek to imagine his or her god.¹¹⁴ Festivals created the chance to ‘encounter’ the god through re-enactment of key events, prayers, responses to the sacrifices, and the stories themselves retold in hymns, in the poetry contests, and in prayers.¹¹⁵ This suggests that an Athenian would have had an image of the god (or some

¹⁰⁹ For a brief but comprehensive overview of Attic festivals see Simon (1983); see also Deubner (1966) and Parke (1977).

¹¹⁰ The festivals that we study are mostly Attic, since that is where we obtain the most evidence, as Pedley (2005: 79) also points out.

¹¹¹ On this issue, see subsection 1.4.2, p.45.

¹¹² As Girard (1977: 39) explains, ‘the inability to adapt to new conditions is a trait characteristic of religion in general.’ The continuation of the use of black-figure as the technique used to decorate Panathenaic vases well after the decline of that style of painting is one example of this traditionalism.

¹¹³ Pedley (2005: 78) describes festivals as ‘perhaps the single most significant feature of Greek religion’.

¹¹⁴ For more information on this, see Introduction, p.2n6.

¹¹⁵ Gerber (1997: 5) discusses which occasions would have been appropriate for the singing of poetry. Festivals gave at least two opportunities for the performance of songs: those delivered for the competition and those that were commissioned. Stewart (2008: 33) describes the hold mythology had over the Greeks and gives an account of the dissemination of these stories during festivals: ‘All Greek children had learned

aspect of the god) through the songs sung, the processions held and the sacrificial processes at the festival.

With the construction of the deity being reinforced and spread by the festivals, we can see the influence of festivals much more frequently in the images on vases. One can go further than this, though, and interpret seemingly non-mythological scenes on vases as evoking various aspects of festival practice.¹¹⁶ With this in mind a general overview of the components that make up a festival will be discussed below with the aim of listing the commonalities between all Athenian festivals which can then be used as a reference for what might be found on the vases.

The major components usually included a procession,¹¹⁷ a sacrifice, feasting, competitions, and the playing of music (including the singing of hymns or mythological narratives outlining the deeds and life of the deity) either in a competition or as a part of the festivities more generally.¹¹⁸ All of these components tend to be closely linked, with the sacrificial implements carried in the procession and the animals driven along in the *pompe* as well. The music accompanied the procession and some parts of the sacrifice and the feasting, as well as being a part of the contests held at some festivals. This section on festivals will be divided into three portions: procession, sacrifice and feasting, and contests. The musical element will be found in all of these discussions and so a single section on music is not provided here.

1.2.1 Procession¹¹⁹

Almost all festivals had processions,¹²⁰ the highly public and visual journey to the sacred space where the sacrifice was usually to be performed. For the larger events, the

the Greek myths – universally accepted as history – at their mothers' knees, and all had thrilled to the tales of Achilles, Agamemnon, Menelaos, Odysseus, and their peers in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which along with other epic sagas were regularly sung at festivals and feasts.'

¹¹⁶ For a discussion of this methodology, see section 1.3, p.39.

¹¹⁷ Carpenter (2007: 409) points out that the procession is the focus of sacrifice scenes.

¹¹⁸ Smith (2012: 544) gives a brief overview of a typical ancient festival; see also Pedley (2005: 79) who collates the commonalities of most Greek festivals 'procession, sacrifice, feast, competition'.

¹¹⁹ Neils (1996b) gives an excellent overview of the procession, with particular reference to the Panathenaic *pompe*. For processions in art, see *ThesCRA* vol.1, 1-20.

¹²⁰ As Burkert (1985: 99) makes clear, 'Hardly a festival is without its *pompe*.'

procession could be immense in size¹²¹ and extremely lavish (especially the clothing of the participants).¹²² The members in the *pompe* had a role to play in the festival and their participation in the procession cemented their position.¹²³ It was a chance for the whole community to come together and have a holiday,¹²⁴ and to concentrate on pleasing and celebrating the god or goddess.

The procession included, at the very least, the priest or priestess (sometimes shown behind the altar), the *kanephoros*,¹²⁵ the carrier of the sacred basket containing the barley and sacrificial knife,¹²⁶ the animal(s) to be sacrificed, a figure carrying an oinochoe or phiale for libation, a musician,¹²⁷ and sometimes other figures bearing gifts¹²⁸ or carrying branches. These elements are almost always shown in representations of processions on vases, as can be seen on a fragmentary lekythos in Athens.¹²⁹ Men approach an altar, behind which is a column and a large statue of Athena and another figure. The first man carries the sacred basket and he is followed by two other wreathed males, one leading a bull and the other playing the auloi.¹³⁰ Larger processions can contain large numbers of the participants already listed, as well as officials, marshals, ephebes, contestants, and hoplites in armour.¹³¹ Frequently the figures carry branches and wear wreaths.¹³² One of

¹²¹ The procession depicted on the Parthenon, regardless of which festival it may or may not illustrate, shows that by the mid-fifth century a *pompe* could be vast.

¹²² On the dressing up of participants and their costumes see Neils (1996b: 189-190).

¹²³ The chorus in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (640-647) proudly provide a list of services they have performed at festivals, showing their loyalty and social standing. Burkert (1985: 99) describes the procession as the 'fundamental medium of group formation', and their position as the participants is established; they are separated from the mere onlookers. See also Graf (1996: 57-58).

¹²⁴ Neils (1996b: 178) discusses the importance of the community coming together for the sacrifice and festival. Burkert (1985: 56) describes the sacrifice as a festive time for everyone.

¹²⁵ On the *kanephoros* see Roccas (1995); Straten (1995: 10-12).

¹²⁶ Burkert (1985: 56).

¹²⁷ Haldane (1966) discusses the use of musical instruments during festivals, with the aulos as the instrument of choice (99). Certainly we hear of the pipe as an accompaniment to the procession of the initiates in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (313). For a list of which festivals included the use of the pipes, and which the kithara see Haldane (1966: 99-100).

¹²⁸ Neils (1996b: 183) describes the high point of the Panathenaic festival as presenting the newly woven robe to Athena as a gift.

¹²⁹ Athens NM Akr. Coll. 1.2298; BAPD 32454; Shapiro (1989a: pl.10a); see **fig.3**. The vase is unattributed in the entry in the BAPD, but Shapiro (1989a: 30) describes it as a work of the Edinburgh Painter.

¹³⁰ There are more examples of processions including more or less of these elements. See, for instance, an unattributed hydria: Louvre S1257; BAPD 11294*; for a clearer image see Gebauer (2002: p.683, pl.2); or a neck-amphora attributed to the Affecter: Munich 1441; *ABV* 243.44, 238, 242; *Add.*² 62; BAPD 301332*; see **fig.4**. Another good example can be seen on an oinochoe attributed to the Gela Painter: London 1905.7-11.1; *ABV* 443.3, 475.29; *Add.*² 120, 215; BAPD 330075*.

¹³¹ A crowded procession can be seen on an unattributed little master band cup in Paris: Stavros S. Niarchos A031; BAPD 11106; Shapiro (1989a: pl.9a-b) and Connelly (2007: pl.9 for a colour illustration); see **fig.5**. Neils (1996b: 181-182) suggests that this cup might show the state festival Panathenaia. Bothmer (1953: 52) describes the procession of the Panathenaia with all the many participants.

¹³² Carpenter (2007: 409-410); Burkert (1985: 56).

the markers for a procession is the positioning of the participants in the picture field. They are all moving towards a destination,¹³³ often an altar, but while their movement is clear, their actions differ from one figure to the next.¹³⁴

1.2.2 Sacrifice¹³⁵

The sacrifice was the central religious act for the Greeks,¹³⁶ (both public and private)¹³⁷ and the sacrifice was then followed by feasting.¹³⁸ Homer's *Iliad* gives a description of a sacrifice (*thysia*) conducted by Chryses for Apollo which finishes with a feast and songs in honour of the god that last until evening,¹³⁹ and Hesiod describes the origin of the sacrifice at the hands of Prometheus.¹⁴⁰ From a survey of the sacrifice scenes on vases, it is clear that while the procession is frequently depicted, the actual moment of killing is rare.¹⁴¹ The significance of this has caused a rift between two schools of thought: on the one hand is the idea that the sacrificial ritual is at its heart a violent act and so is hidden from art, but the ritualistic nature rids the humans of the blood guilt of killing;¹⁴² on the other the sacrifice is seen as a part of the practical way of life which included the eating of meat with the emphasis on the gathering and the feasting not the killing.¹⁴³ From the

¹³³ Rystedt (2001: 146) looks at the Mycenaean scenes of the 'ceremonial march', labelling them as such because of the strong directionality in the scene.

¹³⁴ Unlike a chorus scene as Malagardis (2008: 76) points out.

¹³⁵ For a bibliography of works on the sacrifice up until 1989, see Svenbro (1989). Lissarrague (2012) provides an overview of sacrifice including references to some more recent works. Gebauer's work in 2002 is an impressive catalogue of representations of sacrifice scenes and Straten (1995) provides a detailed commentary on scenes of the sacrifice. For sacrifice scenes in art, see *TheoCRA* vol.1, 59-134.

¹³⁶ Carpenter (2007: 409); Bremmer (2007: 132); Jameson (1994: 35) describes the sacrifice as 'the most important type of Greek ritual'.

¹³⁷ Pedley (2005: 80) points out the importance of sacrifice on 'private' occasions such as weddings.

¹³⁸ Ekroth (2002: 287) explains that *thysia* was 'collective' and about the eating of the meat.

¹³⁹ *Iliad* 1.446-474.

¹⁴⁰ Hesiod *Theogony* 535-557.

¹⁴¹ Straten (1995: 186-192) discusses the vase-painters' choice of moment for depiction with regard to sacrifice, noting that the actual killing blow is not particularly frequently chosen.

¹⁴² This view is advocated by Durand (1989a: 91) who argues that the moment of killing is not represented because it was reserved for the gods; see also Vernant (1991: 292-293). Burkert (1979b: 54-56) argues that it is based on the human need to give something back after the hunting and taking of life from an animal that is needed for food, and so a ritual is born which continues through the periods in which humans settled into an agricultural lifestyle. Burkert (1985: 55) describes 'the essence of the sacred act' as 'the slaughter and consumption of a domestic animal for a god.' Girard (1977: 4) argues that the sacrifice is a way of allowing an outlet for the violence in man. Durand and Lissarrague (1983: 154-155) give a short summary of the elements of a sacrifice, with a focus on the solemnity of the occasion as shown in vase-painting.

¹⁴³ Ekroth (2002: 290 with bibliography) argues that the killing is not shown because it was not important. See also Straten (1995: 188) and Peirce (1993: 228, 232) who on page 228 lists the ritual actions relating to sacrifice in order of frequency as shown on vases, coming to the conclusion that the actual killing was not shown very often because it was not the most 'religious' part of the sacrifice. Lissarrague (2012: 565-568) details all the elements that do appear in the scenes of sacrifice, suggesting that the act of killing was avoided because other elements of the ritual were more critical to showing the ideal sacrifice (568). Instead

evidence on the vases, it seems that Peirce's argument that the *thysia* was not a ritual focused on violence, but rather on the feasting and the congregating of the community is the more likely.¹⁴⁴ This strong focus on the belonging of the individual within a community¹⁴⁵ is in part a result of the separation between gods and men emphasised by the sacrifice.¹⁴⁶

The sacrifice was not just about the killing of an animal,¹⁴⁷ although the butchering of an animal¹⁴⁸ cannot be separated from sacrifice in ancient Greece.¹⁴⁹ There was music played during the sacrifice,¹⁵⁰ bloodless offerings (usually foodstuffs) given,¹⁵¹ and libations performed (usually of wine, but they could also be water, honey, or oil).¹⁵² And then, of course, the feast followed, a very democratic affair with everyone getting an equal share.¹⁵³ Heroes and gods were not exempt from the meat in some cases; *theoxenia* were sometimes performed: a place was laid out for them and they were provided for.¹⁵⁴ Other

the vase-painters opted for a synoptic approach to ensure all the relevant and essential elements were present. Obbink (1993: 67) goes some way to undermine the 'assumption shared by many modern theories that animal sacrifice originally involved an element of dark and violent behaviour demanding ritual atonement for guilt.'

¹⁴⁴ Peirce (1993: 222-224) discusses the views of Vernant, Burkert, and Durand with regard to the importance of violence and the guilt of spilling blood during sacrifice, and then goes on to explain that rather than a dark ritual, the *thysia* was a time for celebration (1993: 251-253, 258) and the knife was not hidden (1993: 257) as has been assumed.

¹⁴⁵ Detienne (1989: 4, 14, 20). On page 13 Detienne also points out that sacrifice also upholds social roles while allowing all citizens to partake in a kind of equal society. Vernant (1991: 280) argues that unlike in other cultures, ancient Greek sacrifices reinforced the normal groupings of Greek society.

¹⁴⁶ Ekroth (2002: 287); Jameson (1994: 35); Vernant (1991: 280) and (1989a).

¹⁴⁷ Other foodstuffs were sometimes given to the gods. On other kinds of offerings to the gods see Kearns (1994) who discusses sacrificial cakes.

¹⁴⁸ For a clear discussion of how the meat was divided see Durand (1989a).

¹⁴⁹ Detienne (1989: 3) goes so far as to say that the butcher is the same as the priest with the knife and the eating of the meat is inseparable from the sacrifice. Everything was a sacrifice except that killed by the hunter as Ekroth (2002: 291-292) explains; in fact there is no word in Greek for a feast or a butcher that is separate from the *thysia*. Peirce (1993: 237) suggests that in order to accommodate this view of sacrifice and the eating of meat, the concepts 'secular' and 'sacred' should be abandoned.

¹⁵⁰ Carpenter (2007: 409-410).

¹⁵¹ See Pedley (2005: 80).

¹⁵² On libation see Lissarrague (2012: 570-571); Burkert (1985: 70-73); *TheoCRA* vol.1, 237-253. Pedley (2005: 82) explains the wider use of libations: 'Libations invoked the gods at transitional moments, whether social, military, or naval.'

¹⁵³ The meat was given away by lottery to ensure fairness to all: Durand (1989a: 103).

¹⁵⁴ For *theoxenia* see Jameson (1994). Surprisingly, *theoxenia* did not have to be preceded by a sacrifice of meat (1994: 46-47). Ekroth (2002: 169) notes that *thysia* and *theoxenia* are much more common than blood rituals and holocausts, and *thysia* are the most frequent. For more information on Greek hero cults and the sacrificial practices associated with hero worship see Ekroth (2007). McNiven (2009: 316) suggests that images of the wreathing of gods or statues may indicate that the deity is being welcomed to a banquet in their honour, although his focus is red-figure. On hero cults see Ekroth (2002: 13) and on page 341 Ekroth makes it clear that in ritual terms the gods and the heroes were worshipped the same way. On rituals for the dead, however, as opposed to heroes, see Felton (2007).

food was eaten at this time too, and wine drunk of course.¹⁵⁵ This brings us to the symposion as an aspect of the feasting associated with the sacrifice.¹⁵⁶ The symposion was a party where meat and drink were consumed¹⁵⁷ and a favoured theme of the vase-painters,¹⁵⁸ especially at the end of the sixth century. Since the eating of meat had to be preceded by the killing of an animal, gatherings like the symposion already have a connection to sacrifice, albeit one that is not as clearly articulated as the scenes of the sacrifice itself.¹⁵⁹

1.2.3 Contests

Apart from the procession and sacrifice followed by feasting, most festivals contained contests. The range and nature of these competitions¹⁶⁰ differed from festival to festival, with the largest and most competitive being held at the Olympic Games, Pythian Games, Isthmian Games, and Nemean Games.¹⁶¹ The Panathenaic festival¹⁶² also contained contests, as did the City Dionysia¹⁶³ and many others. The competitions included musical and athletic contests (apart from the City Dionysia); mostly these were for single competitors, but, especially in Attica, tribal contests were a part of the program.¹⁶⁴ The dramatic contests were slightly different, although it is possible that the background of these contests could be found in the dithyrambic contests.¹⁶⁵ In Athenian festivals, our focus for this thesis, the contests are well-documented through the Panathenaic

¹⁵⁵ On the types of foods eaten at these kinds of festivals see Linders (1994).

¹⁵⁶ For a recent and brief bibliography on the symposion see Yatromanolakis (2009: esp. 414n3). See also Lynch (2011) on the symposion in its archaeological and social context, and Vierneisel and Caesar's (1990) edited work *Kunst der Schale; Kultur des Trinkens* is a key work; Hedreen (2009a) analyses the likely participants in the symposion.

¹⁵⁷ That meat was eaten during the symposion (or supposed to be eaten) can be supported by the images of symposia which contain meat on the tables in front of the diners. One such can be found on a fragmentary oinochoe attributed to the Amasis Painter: Athens, Agora P24673; *ABV* 714.31*bis*; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 306983*. The scene has been interpreted as a mythological scene showing Dionysos and Oinopion, but Shapiro (1989a: 94) is surely right in seeing the man and youth as the older man and younger lover.

¹⁵⁸ The BAPD contains over 1100 records of symposia in black-figure alone.

¹⁵⁹ For a fuller discussion of the symposion and Dionysian celebrations, see chapter three.

¹⁶⁰ Now scholars are seeing all kinds of activities as part of the contests of the games, such as dance, choral performances and drama: Smith (2012b: 543).

¹⁶¹ For an overview of these four games (and the Panathenaia) see Valavanis (2004) and Phillips and Pritchard (2003: xi-xii).

¹⁶² This particular festival has encouraged the publication of many works; some of the more recent ones include Neils (1992), (1996a); Palagia and Choremi-Spetsieri (2007).

¹⁶³ Pickard-Cambridge (1962) and (1968).

¹⁶⁴ See Boegehold (1996).

¹⁶⁵ On this question of whether the dithyramb led to drama see Rusten (2006); for dithyramb generally see Pickard-Cambridge (1962). See also Smith (2012: 553-560).

amphorae,¹⁶⁶ although the winners in the musical contests¹⁶⁷ were not awarded (at least in later times) the traditional prize of olive-oil filled amphorae, which were given for athletics and equestrian events.¹⁶⁸ With this athletic and musical aspect to the festivals, the number of festival scenes may well increase dramatically, as the epitome of athletic excellence was in fact cemented in a ‘religious’ setting.¹⁶⁹

With this brief survey of the common elements of the Athenian festivals, some aspects that can be transferred easily to vases include the directionality expressive of a procession, the sacrifice and feasting or carousing that followed the *pompe* and the contests, especially those of a musical nature. These aspects seem to be evoked by the addition of music in scenes, and the strong sense of direction or movement across the scene of a vase. Transferring these festival elements to scenes that are not so clearly festival depictions will be outlined in the following section.

¹⁶⁶ On the Panathenaic amphorae see Bentz (1998), who catalogues all the vases available. For an earlier comparative analysis, see Brandt (1978) who provides a catalogue and discussion of all the sixth century prize-amphorae. Boardman’s chapter on the prize vases is also relevant (1974: 167-177). For a recent collaboration on the subject of the vases see Bentz and Eschbach (2001).

¹⁶⁷ See Shapiro (1992a) for a discussion of these musical contests. On athletic contests in the Panathenaia see Kyle (1992) and (1996), and for athletics in general see Smith (2012: 544-553).

¹⁶⁸ In Pindar’s *Nemean Ode* 10.35-36 there is a reference to athletes awarded oil within finely painted baked earth, presumably Panathenaic amphorae.

¹⁶⁹ As Smith (2012: 550) explains, ‘Greek art does provide, however, some of the best evidence of competitive athletic events and the prizes that followed.’ The importance of the competitive spirit, embodied by the concept of the *agon*, is outlined by Phillips and Pritchard (2003: xii).

1.3 Representations of Festivals

In a discussion of the depiction of festivals on vases, a good place to begin is with the well-known example of the Theseus Painter's skyphos in the Athens National Museum,¹⁷⁰ which shows the ship-cart associated with the procession during the Anthesteria.¹⁷¹ In this portrayal of the procession the mythological characters (satyrs and the god Dionysos) are conveyed through the streets in a cart which is obviously disguised as a ship although the wheels are carefully painted in. This kind of 'realism' is rare in black-figure; the vase-painters preferred to render most important events, both festival and personal, within the realm of the divine rather than the mortal sphere.¹⁷² Through this mythological filter Exekias was able to evoke the arrival of the god in Athens by boat *and* the ship-cart procession at the festival in the tondo of his eye-cup in Munich.¹⁷³ It seems that black-figure vase-painters were creating scenes that were combining the aetiological myth and festival practice commemorating the myth into one image. By examining black-figure vases portraying mythological content, it became apparent that the stories depicted (and the elements within those depictions) emphasised the very same aspects that were highlighted during the festival celebration.

In Athens one of the foremost festivals on the calendar was the Panathenaia. This was a celebration of the goddess Athena, and one of her accomplishments commemorated was the key role she played in the defeat of the Giants by the gods.¹⁷⁴ Scenes of the Gigantomachy abound in black-figure with just over 500 entries listed in the BAPD. The

¹⁷⁰ Athens NM Akr. Coll. 1.1281; *ABL* 250.29; BAPD 465*; **see fig.6.**

¹⁷¹ Simon (1983: 93-4) places the ship-cart procession during the first day of the Anthesteria; see also Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 12). Hamilton (1992: 57-8), on the other hand, notes that the testimonia are late and only associate the ship cart procession with the month of Anthesterion rather than the festival. Burkert (1983: 201) argues for placing the ship-cart procession during the City Dionysia. It is more likely to have been held during the Anthesteria as Simon argues.

¹⁷² This phenomenon in black-figure has been recognised in a variety of scenes, especially those that include the chariot, a conveyance used sometimes as the transportation for deities in black-figure. In black-figure, hoplites are shown in chariots, as well as newly-married couples, neither of which would be the case in reality. For a discussion of this aspect with regard to the chariot see Sinos (1998: 75-78), and with regard to the wedding see Oakley and Sinos (1993: 44).

¹⁷³ Munich 8729; *ABV* 146.21; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAPD 310403*; **see fig.7.** For a discussion of Exekias' cup and the ship-cart procession see Mackay (2010: 232-234).

¹⁷⁴ On this connection between the Gigantomachy and the Panathenaia (and Peisistratos' role) see Neils (2007: 44); Hurwit (1999: 30-31); Moore (1995: 633) and (1985: 21); Shapiro (1990: 129); Ferrari Pinney (1988: 473); and Vian in *LIMC* 4, p.251 (Gigantes). Castriota (1992: 138-143) describes the Gigantomachy (concentrating on the Parthenon) as the triumph of Zeus with Athena as his second. There is also literary evidence (although later than the sixth century) to suggest that the Gigantomachy was woven into the new peplos given to Athena at the Panathenaia: Plato, *Euthyphro* 6b-c; Zenobios 1.56.

continued appeal of these scenes throughout the sixth century can be associated with the flourishing of the Panathenaia, since the Gigantomachy was a myth celebrated during the festival. It is not too improbable, therefore, to suggest that an Athenian looking at a mythological portrayal of the fight between Athena and a giant would have also been reminded of the Panathenaia.¹⁷⁵ The myth and the festival come together in one depiction. Given this example from a particularly central and lavish Athenian festival, there is reason to see other aetiological myths as evoking the festival practice as well.

It is not just mythological narratives that can evoke festival practice, since each festival, as outlined in the section above, contained many common elements. Working from scenes that do clearly show festival practice, such as a group of participants approaching an altar and leading a sacrificial animal,¹⁷⁶ it is possible to create a list of elements that may have had festival connotations. These are similar across each category, indicating that when these aspects appear in another type of scene they may have carried a festival connotation. However, these items do appear in many types of scenes, thus a festival connotation is not necessarily the primary one.

Sacrifices	Processions	Contests
Altar	Altar	Altar
Directionality	Directionality	Line-up of chorus
Basket bearer	Basket bearer	
Animals	Animals	
Priest in costume	Priest in costume	
Statue of deity or priest/priestess of deity	Statue of deity or priest/priestess of deity	
Pipes/Kithara	Pipes/Kithara	Pipes/Kithara
Vessels/Spits	Vessels	Tripod(s)
Table (with food), Wine		
Wreaths ¹⁷⁷	Wreaths	Wreaths
Costumes	Costumes	Costumes
		Competitive <i>bema</i>

¹⁷⁵ This system of prompts from the mythological narrative to the actual festival celebration can also be traced in the stance of the Athena of the Panathenaic vases. Ferrari Pinney (1988) argues that Athena's aggressive stance and her slightly elevated back heel is a narrative: 'the aftermath of the war against the Giants' (474) as Athena celebrates her victory through the pyrrhic dance (468). An example of Athena's stance can be found on the obverse of an early Panathenaic vase in Taranto: 4319; BAPD 13829*.

¹⁷⁶ A good example can be found on an unattributed little master band cup in Paris: Stavros S. Niarchos A031; BAPD 11106; see fig.5 and above, p.34n131.

¹⁷⁷ For a study of wreaths in ancient Greece, see Blech (1982).

In analysing the scenes in terms of festival practice, the elements frequently shown in depictions accepted as festival scenes were scrutinised first. The list above was the result of that searching, providing some common objects across each of the types of festival scene. Musical instruments, especially pipes, appear in almost all kinds of depictions of festival practice, so their manifestation in other scenes is likely to have carried the connotation of the celebration of festivals (as long as the context of the scene allowed for such an interpretation). Moreover, the layout of the scene can contribute to the evocation of festival practice, as depictions of many characters travelling in one direction may have reminded the viewer of the procession. Branches being carried by participants may also have reminded the viewer of a festival context. These items, however, cannot, by themselves, make a scene into a representation of a festival. They merely support such an interpretation. In order to argue convincingly for the appearance of festivals in some scenes, one must turn to the ways in which worshippers honoured their deity. For this information we must rely, albeit partially, on evidence from other sources¹⁷⁸ as the large majority of vase scenes obscures their festival content behind the mythological facade. This is most clearly seen in the assimilation of deities with their priests and priestesses and the depiction of satyrs and maenads.

Connelly has provided an in-depth discussion of the examples of vase-paintings that seem to depict the goddess (particularly Athena) but may in fact be portrayals of the priestess dressed up as and imitating the deity.¹⁷⁹ The women in the scenes are seen libating, for instance, something that worshippers do for their divinities; gods do not need to perform this kind of ritual activity. This kind of ‘confusion’ works to emphasise the fluidity that can be found in black-figure scenes. The Greeks were used to re-enactments within their festivals, the ship-cart procession and the ‘slaying of Python’ in Delphi being two examples.¹⁸⁰ While Connelly’s identification of the priestess with the goddess cannot be taken too far (the gods are, after all, characters in their own right), this kind of conflation between the mortal character engaged in ritual and the goddess receiving the ritual draws

¹⁷⁸ The evidence we have for festivals in the sixth century is meagre and mostly late. However, we can piece together a little of what occurred during festivals by using a wide range of sources.

¹⁷⁹ Connelly (2007: 104-115).

¹⁸⁰ For the ship-cart procession see chapter three, subsection 3.1.4, p.138; for the festivals at Delphi see chapter two, subsection 2.3.1, p.87.

attention to the kinds of re-interpretation that can be applied to scenes that are not strictly a mythological narrative.

The same kind of process can be applied to the mythological followers of Dionysos, who are usually engaged in singing, dancing, drinking, and carousing. The satyrs' behaviour and its correlation to Dionysian festivals celebrated in Athens are quite striking.¹⁸¹ Moreover, their desire to sing and dance in the company of the god may be a reflection of the importance of performance at festivals, particularly those in honour of Dionysos.¹⁸² As with scenes of the ship-cart, the mythological world is favoured over the mortal one, hence the satyrs, in doing what mortals do in honour of Dionysos, take on the role of worshippers.¹⁸³ In scenes of satyrs dancing and singing, therefore, there is an evocation of the kind of performances, both formal and informal, found during the celebration of the festivals of Dionysos. Hedreen has argued that some Dionysian scenes, like the Return of Hephaistos, consciously draw on the processions in honour of the wine god and use them 'in order to give recognizable form to the principal themes of the myth.'¹⁸⁴ More than this, though, the evocation of a procession here enables the viewer of the vase to imagine him- or herself in the context of the image, in the place of the satyrs, their mythological counterpoints. It is this type of multiple layering of interpretation that has been uncovered in the vase-paintings of this study: a conflation of the mortal experience of festival practice and the original mythological example.

¹⁸¹ From other sources we can piece together some of the events within a Dionysian festival. The City Dionysia contained a komos (a drunken procession) although very little is known about it (see Hedreen [2004: 48-49]; Pickard-Cambridge [1968: 44]; Deubner [1966: 140]). Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (959-1234) describes the heavy drinking and carousing that occurred during the Anthesteria. The satyrs in vase-painting are often shown singing and dancing, usually to the sound of music from the pipes.

¹⁸² On the performance aspect in festivals in honour of Dionysos see Hamilton (1992: 38-42). Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 52-53) demonstrates that there was a theatre space in the deme of Thorikos, and this can be dated to the end of the sixth century as Whitehead (1986: 213) states, showing that an audience gathered to watch performances at the Rural Dionysia probably well before this time. Deubner (1966: 136-137) discusses the importance of rural performances to comedy and choruses.

¹⁸³ A fuller discussion of this can be found in chapter three, subsection 3.2.3, p.181.

¹⁸⁴ Hedreen (2004: 42). Neils (1996b: 190) comes to a similar conclusion in her discussion on the clothing of the deities in the wedding processions as shown on the vases of Sophilos (London 1971.11-1.1; *Para.* 19.16*bis*; *Add.*² 10; BAPD 350099*) and Kleitias and Ergotimos (Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*). The clothing is a reflection of the contemporary processions of the time.

1.4 Some Problems

This thesis does not aim to do justice to individual vases in all cases or to provide a complete analysis of the gods under scrutiny here, but rather offers a discussion concentrated on the evocation of festival practice in relation to the deities chosen. Even so, there are some areas that were too large to fit within the confines of this work. One major gap in this thesis is the lack of analysis of red-figure, despite some of the later black-figure vases being produced at the same time as the early red-figure examples. The focus here was on the archaic period, and as such this study concentrates on the middle and later years of the sixth century BC. While discounting red-figure skews the later period of the archaic period, the parameters of this thesis had to be set; to do so black-figure was selected as the body of work to focus on.¹⁸⁵ In addition, there is a major change that can be seen as the painters move over to red-figure driven by the opportunities provided by the new technique and by the emerging democracy;¹⁸⁶ to do justice to the images on red-figure these issues would have had to be addressed in detail, taking the length of the thesis beyond the approved upper limits. Finally, covering a time period that is much more than the archaic period causes other issues, especially if one's methodology includes the use of semiotics. The relationship between signifier and signified changes over time; this makes long-term studies more complex.

1.4.1 Trade and Etruscan tastes

The critical engagement with trade distribution of the vases began in the 1930s,¹⁸⁷ but it is in the last twenty years or so that there has been an increased awareness of the part trade may have played in the choice of scene a painter placed on a vase in the major pottery producing centres such as Athens and Corinth.¹⁸⁸ Certainly, the Nikosthenic amphorae¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ In order to provide a more convincing interpretation, choosing one contained group of examples to work from is the ideal solution, as Hoffmann (1977) does in his study of the askoi. Unfortunately, most groups of vases are lacking some of the information that would help to create a coherent sample (findspot, for example). Therefore red-figure is not included in this analysis as it adds another set of variables to the study.

¹⁸⁶ Fehr (2009) argues that the appearance of the relaxing bystander in early red-figure is an indicator of the rise of the middle class.

¹⁸⁷ Stissi (1999: 83).

¹⁸⁸ Oakley (2009: 612). These two centres are considered the major producers of pottery in the archaic period, since as Johnston (1991: 206) explains, even their 'poorer' pottery was exported far and wide despite the painting being of lesser quality; this was not the case for other centres. Corinth is superseded by Athens in the middle of the sixth century or even earlier.

¹⁸⁹ On the construction of Nikosthenic amphorae see Tosto and van der Woude (1984).

were made for an Etruscan market, and the Tyrrhenian amphorae likewise.¹⁹⁰ It is also clear that some other kinds of vases were made directly for export as the graffiti and trademarks reveal.¹⁹¹ However, thus far it seems that it was the shape that was the most important aspect of a vase that was sent to Etruria,¹⁹² which leaves the vase-painters with the choice of subject matter, mostly unfettered by the requirement of a foreign market.¹⁹³ As Oakley explains, it is clear that while some vase-painters and potters worked specifically for the Etruscan market, many did not.¹⁹⁴ It is also entirely possible that there was also a second-hand trade to Etruria from Athens, as vases with Athenian *kalos* names seems to suggest.¹⁹⁵ This thesis is very much focused on the interpretation of the scene within its context as a product of the society in which it was produced, but not on the economic journey of the vase or seeing it as a commodity. This economic aspect of the interpretation of the vase was omitted given that thus far there is not enough evidence to prove that there is a great deal of difference, on the whole, between the vases found in Athens and those found in Etruria¹⁹⁶ as a preliminary investigation into the findspot of one particular scene-type (the Delian Triad) revealed; it provided little in the way of firm

¹⁹⁰ See Mehren (2001) who discusses these two types of vessels in detail, including how their decoration and shape reflect Etruscan tastes. See also Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011: 117); Stissi (1999: 93 with footnotes) agrees that it is generally accepted that some shapes had certain trade patterns as did some painters. Hannestad (1999: 310) mentions the potter and painters of the Nikosthenic amphorae as the primary workshop that produced wares specifically for the Etruscan market. Lewis (2003) argues that many vases were painted with the Etruscan market in mind, although there are some uniquely Athenian shapes as well, such as the krateriskoi found at Brauron (178).

¹⁹¹ On this see Johnston (1991: 219-227).

¹⁹² Reusser's *Vasen für Etrurien* (2002) is a landmark study that compares the contexts in which the vases in Etruria were found, and one of his conclusions is that the shape rather than the decoration was important to the Etruscans (see esp. chapter 5). Hannestad (1999: 304-305) notes that in graves in Etruria the overriding desire was to have vases of varying shapes, rather than vases with differing or interesting decoration. Lewis (2003: 180-181) compares the correlation of shape, function, and decoration between those vases found in Etruria or in Greece and concludes that the vases for the home market had a stronger shape and decoration connection, while those in Etruria seem to have much less of an association between scene and function of vase. Johnston (1984: 210) observes that there are very few neck-amphorae found in Athens, stating most are found in Etruria, another indicator that shape was of importance to the Etruscans.

¹⁹³ Boardman (2001: 226). The frequency of commissions is difficult to gauge, but Johnston (1991: 214-215) argues that they are rare, and so the painters did have largely free choice of what to paint on their vases. See also Bron and Lissarrague (1989: 21). For a pair of opposing viewpoints on the question of whether vase-painters chose to paint generic scenes for an Etruscan market or more carefully chosen scenes for an Athenian public see Marconi (2004) who argues for an Etruscan market and Osborne (2004b) who argues for an Athenian audience.

¹⁹⁴ Oakley (2009: 613) points to the Perizoma Group as one example of painters who did work for the Etruscan market.

¹⁹⁵ Johnston (1991: 216-218).

¹⁹⁶ Carpenter (2007: 412), in his work on sacrifice scenes on vases, comments that there is enough similarity between vases found in Etruria and fragments found in Athens to show that there is little distinction between vases found for Etruria and those used in Athens. Lynch (2009: 159) is aware of the lack of evidence to prove that the geographical findspot correlates to a different kind of scene, although she argues that this is because the searches are not specific enough. Her premise is that the Athenians painted scenes that were a reflection of the way the Etruscans thought the Athenians acted, and so are not as useful in research into Athenian thoughts and ideals.

conclusions, and so in-depth analysis of the provenance of vases in this study was set aside. Lately there have been some suggestions that the Athenian vase-painters were providing images of Athenians but chosen to reflect the way that the Etruscans viewed the Athenians.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, it appears that the Etruscans liked Athenian ware and the Athenian way of life, a reason to see the vases as reflecting the Athenian lifestyle.

The location of the vases is also of significance when analysing what the images on them might signify. Many vases are unearthed from tombs (either in Etruria or in Greece), and this has been taken to show that the vases were made for burial purposes. If this is the case, then the decoration must be reinterpreted in light of this. However, there is now more evidence that the vases were used in the home or in temples and sanctuaries or public places as well as placed in graves.¹⁹⁸ Hannestad particularly calls into question this view that vases were all for funerary purposes, stating that vases were used in the domestic sphere, the religious sphere, and the funereal sphere, and this is true of black-figure in particular at the end of the sixth century.¹⁹⁹

1.4.2 Use of texts

Another frequently cited issue is that of arguing that we can interpret the vases by using ancient texts and that we can prove that what is discussed in the text has been understood correctly because the image on the vase provides the evidence. This circularity can lead to some erroneous readings of both texts and vases; more importantly it can encourage a laziness of analysis when it comes to looking at the vases: they become merely illustrations.²⁰⁰ This kind of propping up of conclusions is to be avoided, but on the other hand, a multiplicity of evidence that points towards an interpretation is convincing.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Lewis (2003) and Lynch (2009: 162-163), on the other hand, emphasise the ability of the vase-painters to take Athenian ideals or themes and change them subtly to please the Etruscan market, an approach which requires caution, therefore, in the analysis of how the vases reflect an Athenian world view.

¹⁹⁸ Johnston (1991: 214) draws attention to the fact that sometimes the krater with which a person is buried is older than the person, which is suggestive of a use in the home prior to burial with (presumably) its owner. Betts (2003: 103) writes that, at least in Italy, pottery is found in all types of sites from settlements and graves, to sanctuaries and Lynch (2011) provides a detailed summary of the pottery discovered down a well in the Athenian Agora.

¹⁹⁹ Hannestad (1988: 229).

²⁰⁰ This issue of the utilisation of a vase image as merely an illustration of a text, thereby favouring the text over the image as evidence, is discussed by Schmitt Pantel and Thelamon (1983: 9-14).

²⁰¹ Ekroth (2002: 17) explains her methodology as separating the literature from the epigraphical evidence and then analysing each separately before combining them to create a more convincing conclusion. As Bérard and Durand (1989: 23) explain, 'In the best cases, the archaeologist uncovers a piece of information

And the fact of the matter remains that we must rely on texts at least to some extent, as evidence from the ancient world is so scarce. Nevertheless if we are careful and rigorous, and do not ignore anomalies, some interpretations can be suggested.²⁰²

1.4.3 Wider Greek views

One other major question that has not been addressed in this thesis is the way in which inhabitants of other Greek city states viewed Athenians. The vast majority of vases that are extant are of Attic fabric, and so inevitably Athens has the lion's share of analysis. We do have work from Corinth and Boiotia, Sparta and the East Greeks to name a few,²⁰³ and it would have been beneficial to have compared the pottery from these city states with those from Athens to see how much of an Attic bias has been put over the images of festivals. Unfortunately, such an undertaking, while invaluable, must lie outside the parameters of the present study.

in one place, a point of comparison in another, and many of these pieced together are needed to master the situation.'

²⁰² Carpenter (2007: 417) comments on the danger of a circular argument.

²⁰³ For a short overview of each of the centres of pottery work apart from Athens see Paspalas (2012).

CHAPTER TWO

APOLLO

Depictions of Apollo in vase-painting provided a fertile initial investigation of the extent of the influence of festival practice on black-figure painters because of the scenes of the Delian Triad and the use of the kithara for performances in ritual contexts. Using Shapiro's discussion of archaic vase-painting in Athens as a starting point,¹ this chapter will explore just how often festival practice is evoked on vases, firstly concentrating on the scenes of Apollo playing his kithara or lyre² for Artemis and Leto (the Delian Triad) and then analysing the depictions of other figures playing the kithara.

This chapter aims to explore firstly the almost complete divergence between music and violence in the deity's persona as revealed through the vases, with his more peaceful aspect much more prominent in the archaic period (section 2.1). Thus this discussion of the god is separated into one section based on those scenes which show Apollo with his kithara (first and foremost the Delian Triad, section 2.2), followed by those which show

¹ Shapiro (1989a).

² The use of the lyre rather than the kithara is a later development for the most part, with the lyre becoming much more common in the last couple of decades of the sixth century. It is also often a vase-painter's choice; for instance, the Antimenes Painter and the Haimon Painter (and those in his circle) more often depict Apollo with a lyre than a kithara, even in scenes of Apollo playing for Artemis and Leto. See, for instance, a black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter on which is shown Apollo in the centre with a lyre, with two female figures, Hermes and a deer: Villa Giulia 50626 (M487); *ABV* 270.63; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320073*; see **fig.8**. On a lekythos attributed to the Group of the Haimon Painter from the first quarter of the fifth century, Apollo is depicted playing the lyre between two seated female figures: Palermo, Mormino Coll. 131; BAPD 3185*. In this chapter, following the more common use of the kithara, the term kithara will be employed in preference to lyre unless specific reference to the latter is required.

him with his bow or quiver (primarily the struggle over the Tripod, section 2.3). Finally, given the appearance of the kithara in the hands of other characters in the archaic period, the scenes of other figures playing the kithara or lyre will be examined in the section based on the Panathenaia (section 2.4). The inclusion of this festival in honour of Athena rather than Apollo is relevant here since people painting, buying, and viewing the vases have a specific horizon of expectation formed by their own experience in Athens,³ and the Panathenaia, which involved musical contests, was certainly one of the most significant Athenian festivals of the time. Section 2.5 provides some concluding remarks. All of the sections in the chapter are centred principally on the representation or evocation of festivals on the vases, but will explore the method of depicting the god through the medium of black-figure and the insights gained with regard to the Athenian view of the deity.

The major source of material evidence comes from the BAPD; from this database 1067 examples of Apollo were accumulated and collated,⁴ supplemented with further instances of others playing the kithara (competitors at the Panathenaia, for example). In order to evaluate this evidence, several categories were created: Apollo playing his kithara or lyre for two female figures (excluding Athena); Apollo playing for one female figure (excluding Athena); Apollo playing for more than two female figures (excluding Athena); Apollo playing for Athena (excluding Herakles); Apollo playing for Athena and Herakles; Apollo playing for a wedding; Apollo playing for a female figure mounting a chariot (excluding Athena); Apollo playing for Athena mounting a chariot (excluding those with Herakles); Apollo playing for a male figure mounting a chariot; Apollo playing alone; Apollo using or holding his bow; Apollo fighting with Herakles over the Delphic Tripod.⁵ When analysing the scenes, ‘reading’ what was presented was the first step (as outlined in chapter one, section 1.1), then the tradition and scene-types were taken into account before the depiction was assessed within a trend or trends. The focus here is on Apollo in company rather than playing alone (of which there are not a large number of examples) and the late black-figure lekythoi were, on the whole, taken into account, but frequently

³ For a discussion of the impact of trading on the decoration of vases, see chapter one, subsection 1.4.1, p.43.

⁴ This number of examples was established at the time of writing (November 2012).

⁵ For the lists of these groups, refer to the spreadsheets on the compact disc accompanying this thesis.

they are examples of assimilation and of less than exemplary work which may account for their numbers and their frequently difficult or divergent subject matter. Out of necessity, many of the fragmentary or unidentifiable scenes were discounted since their subject matter was not known and they could not be placed into a category.

When Apollo is depicted playing his kithara or lyre, most often it is female listeners who make up his audience (or a combination of goddesses and gods). This is a marked difference from scenes of mortal kithara players. In the latter, it is usually male citizens or judges who listen to the musician.⁶ The identity of the two figures who frame Apollo has sometimes been in doubt, but from the evidence that remains, it seems most likely that they should be seen as Artemis and Leto. Three or more female figures surrounding the god may well be interpreted as Muses with the god or the chorus of Delian Maidens.⁷

In each section, therefore, three areas are explored: the evocation of festivals, including some relating to the god; the representation of Apollo; and the use of black-figure as a technique and how this medium may alter the communication process with regard to the god. In particular, the focus will be on how Apollo is presented as a god of disparate elements, reinforced through the worship in local areas; how re-enactment is utilised in festivals; and how the divide between mortals and immortals is perceived by black-figure vase-painters. In addition, the influence of historical events (mainly those relating to festivals or the incorporation of new cults) on vases will be explored.

⁶ According to Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006: 224), women are only rarely placed as spectators in musical scenes (he does not include the large numbers of scenes which include Apollo playing his kithara for his mother and sister). His definition of a spectator discounts any characters that actively participate in the scene (such as sacrifice scenes where women are a part of the procession which included musical instruments) and so his observation about male spectators in *mortal* musical scenes is indeed accurate. This is one reason for scenes of a kitharist flanked by female figures to be interpreted as Apollo playing for goddesses.

⁷ I use the term chorus here to mean a group of singers who probably also danced. On the meaning of the Greek word χορός see Calame (1997: 19-20) and Richardson (2011: 16).

2.1 Apolline Split

Apollo's areas of influence as depicted on the vases include music, archery, and prophecy. In black-figure we see these facets quite clearly distinguished one from the other, and it is his musical aspect that is the most frequently illustrated. In order to assess how Apollo may have been visualised as a result of the oral myths and stories of the time, traditional nominal epithet phrases of the god were collated and categorised into those to do with his archery, his prophecy, his music, and his family. In analysing these epithets, the particular context of these traditional nominal epithet phrases was of secondary importance to the establishment of the way in which the identity of a god was constructed within a traditional context. Surprisingly, in the literature from Homer to c.450 BC, Apollo's epithets are overwhelmingly associated with Apollo as the archer god, even though Stesichoros says of him, 'Apollo loves dancing most of all and merriment and songs, but mourning and wailing are the portion of Hades.'⁸ Of the 507 epithets gathered from Homer to the early tragedies, only eighteen are related to his musical ability, whether or not in the context he is playing the kithara.⁹ Quite understandably, many of these musical epithets can be found in the lyric poets,¹⁰ perhaps an indicator that the genre of the text was of more importance than the context of the epithet with regard to the choice of the description of Apollo.

Vase-painters, alternatively, focus overwhelmingly on his musical side in the archaic period, but there is a quite dramatic shift at around 540 BC,¹¹ as the depictions of the god change from portraying the god as an archer to a musician. In the very early part of the sixth century, there are six entries in the BAPD for Apollo, and four of these show Apollo

⁸ '<χορεύ>ματά τοι μάλιστα παιγμοσύνας <τε> φιλεῖ μολπὰς τ' Ἀπόλλων, κήδεα δὲ στοναχὰς τ' Αἴδας ἔλαχε', taken from Plutarch's *The E at Delphi* 21, in Campbell (1991: 162-163, no.232).

⁹ See for example, Hesiod's *Theogony* 94, where Apollo is described as 'far-shooting' (ἐκηβόλου), although Hesiod is explaining that poets and lyre players come from the Muses and Apollo. In Pindar fr.148.1 Apollo is described as 'of the broad-quiver' (εὐρυφάρετρ' Ἄπολλον), despite being the 'dancer ruling over the celebration' (ὀρχήστ' ἀγλαΐας ἀνάσσων).

¹⁰ Some examples include Alcman fr.12A: 'golden-haired, loving dance and song' (χρυσοκόμα φιλόμολπε); Sappho T208 and Terpander fr.4: 'Leader of the Muses' (Μουσάρχω); Sappho fr.44: 'skilled in the lyre' (εὐλύραν).

¹¹ Shapiro (1989a: 56-57) discusses the increasing popularity after c.540 BC of the Delian Triad as a subject in vase-painting.

with a bow.¹² However, in the latter part of the second half of the sixth century, and definitely, therefore, after 540 BC, of the much larger number of black-figure scenes including Apollo (946 from the BAPD), only 193 instances (20.4%) present Apollo in an aggressive stance (usually holding his bow or wearing a quiver). Furthermore, of these 193 instances, 175 (90.7%) are depictions of the fight over the Delphic Tripod between Herakles and Apollo, where the god is frequently wearing a quiver or holding a bow or sword.¹³ The struggle over the Tripod is a situation where Apollo's fighting skill is needed, and so the context makes the choice of attribute obvious.¹⁴

The statistics thus make it apparent that the vast majority of the depictions of the god Apollo after c.540 BC show him playing the kithara.¹⁵ Many of these scenes are celebrations of some kind, such as weddings, the birth of Athena, or Herakles' apotheosis, and so the context calls for music, just as the battle over the Delphic Tripod requires Apollo's warrior skills.¹⁶ Nevertheless, 33.4% show Apollo with his kithara in a seemingly non-narrative scene. Most of these are renditions of the god playing his kithara and framed by two female figures, a scene known as the Delian Triad. Before c.540 BC, even in a composition similar to that of the Delian Triad, the painter may still have represented Apollo as an archer, as is shown on an amphora from c.560 BC. This amphora

¹² There are six examples of scenes including Apollo in the BAPD in the timeframe specified as 600-550 BC. This includes the depiction of Apollo (unarmed) with Troilos on the François Vase, c.570 BC: Florence 4209; *ABV* 46.1, 682; BAPD 300000*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 876*; and Apollo with his kithara riding in a chariot towards Peleus' house on Sophilos' dinos, dated to c.580 BC: London 1971.11-1.1; *Para.* 19.16*bis*, *Add.*² 10; BAPD 350099*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 120*. The remaining four examples all depict Apollo with his bow in an aggressive context: a fragment from c.570-560 BC in Thebes: 2120; BAPD 7830; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 625*; another similar fragment from slightly later in Athens: NM Akr. Coll. 2406; BAPD 7931; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 1067*; and the final two examples attributed to the Castellani Painter: Leipzig T4225; *Para.* 40.35; BAPD 350226*; *LIMC* 6 Niobidai 2*; and Hamburg 1960.1; *Para.* 40.35; BAPD 350268*.

¹³ Bothmer (1977) catalogues 175 examples of the struggle, but only 142 of these are Attic black-figure vases.

¹⁴ There is only one instance to my knowledge which shows Apollo holding his kithara in a scene of Herakles' capture of the Tripod. In this depiction, the god is represented to the right of the action, rather than actively involved as he is in other examples; indeed it appears almost as if the hero Herakles is returning the Tripod to the god: neck-amphora attributed to a painter akin to the Painter of Vatican 365: Louvre F58; *ABV* 312.1; BAPD 301610*; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1317*; **see fig.9**. For discussion of this scene, see below, p.92n222.

¹⁵ Maas and Snyder (1989: 33) note that in the third quarter of the sixth century BC there is a marked increase of kithara scenes.

¹⁶ For a typical example of a wedding scene, see a Type B amphora attributed to the Long Nose Painter: London, Sotheby's 9.7.1990, no.180; *ABV* 328.11; BAPD 301757*; a depiction of Athena's birth is found on a Type B amphora attributed to Group E: Berlin (lost) F1699; *ABV* 136.53; *Para.* 55; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310313*; **see fig.252**; and Herakles' apotheosis is shown on a neck-amphora attributed to the Lysipides Painter: London 1851.8-6.15; *ABV* 256.14, 670; BAPD 302224*.

is unfortunately now lost, but the scene showed Apollo holding his bow and standing between Leto and Artemis, the former performing the *anakalypsis* (or veil-gesture) and the latter accompanied by a lion.¹⁷ After c.540 BC, however, in scenes of Apollo standing between two female figures, the god's attribute is always his kithara, not his bow. The date of the appearance of the Delian Triad, c.540 BC or a little earlier, can be established by the fragments in Narbonne attributed to Exekias.¹⁸ Although little remains of this scene, the fragments do indicate that this is a depiction of the Delian Triad.¹⁹ To reinforce this, not much later than Exekias' fragments the Triad is shown on a neck-amphora by the Group of London B174.²⁰ On this neck-amphora a draped youth with a kithara is depicted, framed by two female figures.

What is clear, therefore, is that there was a shift in the way the god Apollo was imagined and consequently depicted. Vase-painters in the first half of the sixth century seem to have preferred to situate Apollo in a violent mythological narrative context, such as the slaughter of the Niobids or the rape of Leto, and therefore his bow was a favourite attribute. After the middle of the sixth century, Apollo appears 80% of the time playing his kithara (or occasionally the lyre) and in a significant number of scenes he is placed in a quiet family context, apparently quite removed from the mythological battles he has previously engaged in. The sudden increase in the inclusion of musical attributes of the god needs explanation, and in this section I will argue that the Delia and Peisistratos' policies in Delos are greatly influential in the development of this iconography and scene-type of the Delian Triad.²¹

In addition to the shift from Apollo the archer to Apollo the musician, the vase-painters also tended to keep these two aspects of the god separated: they hardly ever produced scenes which included both the god's kithara *and* his bow or quiver in the same scene.

¹⁷ Lost; BAPD 9804; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1116•; see **fig.10**.

¹⁸ Narbonne 04.1.1.1-8; *ABV* 144.2; BAPD 310384*; see **fig.11**.

¹⁹ On these fragments see Mackay (2010: chapter 3, esp. 42-43).

²⁰ Dated to c.540 BC: Berlin F1717; *ABV* 141.7, 686; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 310367*; see **fig.12**. Queyrel (*LIMC* 6, p.662 [Mousa, Mousai 27b*]) interprets this scene as one of Muses (or nature goddesses). On the issues with this interpretation, see subsection 2.2.3, p.65.

²¹ I follow Shapiro here, who outlines in more detail other reasons for seeing the influence of Peisistratos in these scenes (1989a: 48-49, 52-58). See also Connor (1993: 198, 201). Even Blok (2000: 30) grudgingly agrees that this might be one of two instances in which the Peisistratids did indeed influence any art or cult at all.

The lack of examples of the depiction of both attributes of the god might be explained away through the fact that one is associated with war and violence and the other with ritual and celebration. However, Herakles wears his quiver while playing the kithara. When he plays, his most common stance is to play the kithara with one foot up on the platform or *bema* like a competitor, and it is usually Athena who watches and listens.²² Herakles never performs on the kithara for Apollo, and there is a suggestion that the hero may be claiming some of the areas of Apollo – the music on the kithara and the prophecy delivered from the Delphic Tripod being two obvious examples.²³ This similarity between the deity and the hero was outside the scope of this study, but would provide a complementary examination of elements of festival practice through the use of the hero rather than the god or mortal.²⁴ Most of the representations of Herakles playing the kithara show a quiver on his back,²⁵ or suspended on the wall behind him.²⁶ His club is also often visible, sometimes held by Athena. A typical scene can be found on a neck-amphora in Vienna from c.510 BC, which depicts Herakles with his quiver on his back, one foot up on the platform, performing for Hermes and Athena, the latter of whom holds his club.²⁷

This suggests that Herakles' identity is so firmly established as an archer because of his labours and *parerga* that when he is portrayed completing another activity, it was natural to insert his iconographic weapons in the scene too. Thus it is surprising that this was not the case for Apollo, who, rather than having an amalgamated personality, seems to have

²² See subsection 2.4.2.2, p.105, for a discussion of the aspects, including the *bema*, which probably connote or evoke competition. On Herakles as a kithara player, see Schauenburg (1979); Boardman in *LIMC* 4, pp.810-817 (Herakles).

²³ On these observations, see Boardman in *LIMC* 4, p.816 (Herakles) and Mommsen (1980: 44-45).

²⁴ The setting of Herakles' musical performance may provide a clue as to the evocation of festival practice through the hero. In some cases Herakles was imagined as up on Olympos playing for the gods as Boardman (1975b: 11) suggests, although the number of examples in which this may be the case is reduced by the time of the publication of the *LIMC*: see Boardman in *LIMC* 4, pp.815-816 (Herakles). The inclusion of the *bema*, and on some vases altars or trees, rather undermines the interpretation of these scenes as Herakles up at the home of the gods. Rather it seems that the hero is in a situation (competitive or performative) like those mortal kithara players most well known from concerts, frequently those held during festivals. Thus Herakles the kitharist, too, can be seen as evoking aspects of festival practice.

²⁵ A neck-amphora attributed to the Group of Würzburg 210 near the Achelöos Painter, c.510 BC, presents this scene with Athena and Hermes watching Herakles play. The hero's quiver and bow are secured on his back: Berlin F1845; *ABV* 370.136, 357, 369; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 90; BAPD 302131*.

²⁶ For example, the quiver and bow are suspended on the wall behind Herakles on a neck-amphora attributed to the Dot-band Class, c.500-490 BC: Oxford 211 (G240); *ABV* 484.9, 700; *Add.*² 122; BAPD 303468*; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1447*.

²⁷ Vienna 1001; BAPD 4430; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1445*; Schauenburg (1979: 58, fig.13); see **fig.13**.

two rather separated identities. Sometimes Herakles' warrior accoutrements are found in the scene of him playing the kithara even if he is not in fact holding or wearing them. Even this is not found in scenes of Apollo playing the kithara. As far as I am aware, there are only two black-figure examples which show Apollo with his bow and arrow and kithara in the same scene, and one of these is a depiction of Apollo sitting in a tripod travelling across the sea, presumably from Delos to Delphi.²⁸ This journey would require a transfer of all his accoutrements, and during his travelling he is in-between, neither at one sanctuary nor the other; this state encouraged a depiction of the elements of both places. Even though the sea is not shown, the Ready Painter has chosen to insert two dolphins leaping beside the tripod which makes the intention clear. The neck-amphora also shows two female figures who frame the scene, presumably Artemis and Leto.²⁹

The other example is a neck-amphora in the manner of the Nikoxenos Painter which displays some rather unusual decoration.³⁰ While the scenes of Apollo playing his kithara framed by two female figures seem quite recognisable, the god on the obverse is wearing a quiver and bow on his back, while on the reverse both female figures are holding bows. Follmann, in her discussion of this scene in the *CVA*, suggests that the palm tree and altar indicate Delos on the obverse, but the deliberately differentiated reverse may be set in Delphi.³¹ Judging from the other scenes set in Delphi, this observation is unlikely; the scene is missing the major signifiers for the prophetic centre, such as the Tripod or

²⁸ Neck-amphora attributed to the Ready Painter: Louvre CP10619; *ABV* 685.8; *Para.* 53; *Add.*² 35; BAPD 306550*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 381*; see **fig.14**. Shapiro (1989a: 58-59, 60, pl.29a-b) explains how this scene is interpreted as one showing Apollo's journey across the sea in search of a place to set up his oracle, see also *LIMC* 2 Apollon 381*. Shapiro also discusses the possible association of Apollo with the dolphins painted below the tripod. Clay (2009: 9-10) argues that despite the lack of evidence for the Pythia in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, this vase (when taken with other evidence) helps to establish a link between the journey to Delphi as expressed in the hymn and the Tripod, the seat of oracular utterances through the Pythia. Certainly the tripod is used here as a strong visual evocation of Delphi and its oracle, but it is the journey and Apollo's 'in-between' state or dual nature that is emphasised here through the combination of elements (tripod, bow, kithara, Leto and Artemis) and the dolphins below. Beazley (1964: 10, fig.7b) suggests that one interpretation for the scene could be to see the god travelling from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delphi, although he agrees that the journey from Delos to Delphi is more likely.

²⁹ On the identity of the two female figures who frame Apollo kitharoidos, see subsection 2.2.3, p.65.

³⁰ Neck-amphora in the manner of the Nikoxenos Painter, c.510 BC: Hannover 753; BAPD 3254*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 634b* and 641*; see **fig.15**.

³¹ Follmann (1971:24); she also proposes that one might see Apollo's return from the Hyperboreans on the vase, although it is perhaps more likely that the vase-painter has added some extra identifying features for the god on the obverse and worked from the premise of symmetry on the reverse in the placement of two bows in the hands of the female figures. Shapiro (1989a: 57, 104) uses this vase as an example of a specifically Delian setting (because of the palm tree) which includes an altar, but he does not mention Apollo's quiver and bow on the obverse.

omphalos, even though the vase-painter carefully placed the signifiers for Delos on the obverse. However, apart from these two examples, the two sides of Apollo are kept quite distinct from one another. This split is reflected in the localities as well, as Burkert notes, ‘A peculiarity of the Apollo cult is that it has two supra-regional centres...Delos and Pytho-Delphi; sanctuaries dedicated specifically to the Delian or Pythian god are found in many places, often even next to one another’.³²

This separation of the two sides of the god can be conveyed through another element found in many of the scenes of Apollo: the deer. This animal is closely associated with both Apollo and Artemis, but more so with Apollo as the archaic period progresses.³³ The decision to include the deer in scenes of Apollo seems to have been influenced most by the presence of Artemis in the picture, followed by whether the god was playing his kithara. When he is depicted with his bow and arrow, Apollo is hardly ever accompanied by a deer, except in scenes where Artemis is present. By contrast, in his role as a musician, Apollo can be shown with a deer even when Artemis is absent.³⁴ This connection between Apollo and the deer is depicted in the scenes of the Delian Triad through the placement of the animal behind Apollo more often than alongside Artemis, although, of course, the goddess is shown with the deer in some cases.³⁵

³² Burkert (1985: 143). Philochoros also mentions two distinct altars to Apollo Delios and Apollo Pythias at Marathon (*FGrH* 3B, 328F75), and Davies gives further similar examples (2007: 60).

³³ In the periods before 575-525 in the BAPD, Apollo is never shown with the deer in the same scene, and in the 575-525 period there is only one vase which shows Apollo and the deer without his sister: a Type B amphora in the Louvre: F210; BAPD 10713*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 133*. Artemis, on the other hand, in her capacity as Potnia Theron, is found on the handle plates of the François Vase: on one she holds a stag with impressive horns: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1, 682; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 33*. She is also found on three vases from the 575-525 period in scenes in which Apollo does not appear: BAPD 302646*, 310342*, 310441*. However, in the middle period of black-figure Apollo is shown five times more often than Artemis with the deer when the other sibling is not present. From the middle period of black-figure in the BAPD (550-500), Artemis is shown with the deer and without Apollo in only four scenes, while Apollo is shown accompanied by a deer without Artemis in 25 examples.

³⁴ Apollo is shown with a deer on a black-figure olpe in the manner of the Painter of Vatican G49: New York, Market, Royal Athena; BAPD 17010. A deer also accompanies the god when he plays for Dionysos and Hermes as on neck-amphora attributed to the Priam Painter: Tarquinia RC3029; *ABV* 331.10; BAPD 301788*.

³⁵ For example, the deer is shown behind Apollo on a neck-amphora in Berkeley attributed to the Group of Berkeley 8.3376, akin to the Painter of Munich 1416, c.510 BC: Berkeley 8.3376; *ABV* 391.2, *Para.* 172, *Add.*² 103, BAPD 302910*; **see fig.16**. Smith (1936: 29), in describing this vase, notes that the deer need not necessarily lead to the identification of Artemis, although he does not comment on the position of the deer as behind Apollo rather than alongside Artemis. Sometimes there are scenes of the Delian Triad in which the deer actually interacts with Artemis, making her identity almost certain. See for instance the neck-amphora fragments in Narbonne attributed to Exekias which show the Delian Triad with a deer rearing up towards Artemis which she probably holds by the neck: Narbonne 04.1.1.1-8; *ABV* 144.2; BAPD

When the two facets of the deity are analysed, there is a discrepancy between the number of vases which show a deer with Apollo while he plays his kithara and those which depict a deer with the god equipped for archery. In particular, portrayals of the Delian Triad seem to encourage the inclusion of a deer. Out of 101 examples of Apollo playing for just two female figures, 38 contain a deer (37.6%), and this percentage remains steady when scenes of Apollo playing for two female figures and others (Hermes, Poseidon, Dionysos) are analysed: of 155 examples, 55 contain a deer (35.4%).³⁶ In comparison, scenes of Apollo fighting with Herakles over the Delphic Tripod do not include the deer nearly as frequently. Artemis appears in 75 depictions of the struggle for the Tripod, and of these only 11 add a deer to the scene (14.7%). When all versions of the Tripod struggle are compiled, there are only 22 scenes out of a total of 175 which depict the deer (12.6%). A deer is almost three times more likely to appear in a scene of the Delian Triad than in a scene of the struggle over the Delphic Tripod. One explanation for such a difference may be that the deer at this time was associated with Apollo's peaceful, musical persona, rather than his more violent archer guise. This is further reinforced through the lack of examples from the archaic period that depict the archer god accompanied by the deer (aside from the Tripod struggle outlined above).³⁷ As far as I am aware, all the exceptions to this fall at the very end of the period under discussion here and into the classical period,³⁸ except for two. The first of these is on a Tyrrhenian amphora,³⁹ which shows Artemis at the left of the scene facing right with one hand raised and holding onto the tail of a lion with the other. In the centre Apollo stands facing right with his bow in his left hand held up in

310384*; see **fig.11**; for an analysis and discussion of these fragments, see Mackay (2010: chapter 3, esp. 42-43). For another example of a deer close to Artemis, see below p.66n93.

³⁶ These totals do not include fragmentary scenes (unless the scene in its entirety can be ascertained with some certainty), unidentifiable scenes or dubious scenes (often late lekythoi). In addition, if a vase has a scene of the Delian Triad on obverse and reverse, both have been included in the total since the vase-painter chose to have the Triad twice rather than any other scene.

³⁷ In *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, Boardman (1970: 194) mentions three instances of Apollo from early classical times, one of which shows Apollo with a bow and a fawn. The other two show Apollo with a bow and tripod, and a hawk, fawn and laurel.

³⁸ A black-figure lekythos attributed to the Athena Painter shows Apollo with a deer near an altar: Naples SA135; *ABL* 258.106*bis*; BAPD 390516. A white-ground semi-outline lekythos from the Bowdoin Workshop also attributed to the Athena Painter, c.480 BC, shows Apollo running with his bow, accompanied by a deer: London, Embiricos; BAPD 1434; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 67*. On the decoration of this vase see Kurtz (1975: 107, fig.14.3).

³⁹ Lost; BAPD 9804; *LIMC* Artemis 1116•; see **fig.10**.

front of him. A deer stands further to right, and Leto, performing the *anakalypsis*, stands at the far right of the scene with a bird flying behind her.

The second is on a Type B amphora attributed to the Swing Painter and shows an archer holding onto the horn of a massive deer.⁴⁰ Three figures frame the scene, two are bearded, and the other is a youth. This scene is rather puzzling, since the figure holding the horn of the deer is most likely to be Herakles taking the Keryneian stag with the golden horns, as he is depicted on a contemporary neck-amphora in the British Museum,⁴¹ but he is presented with no iconographical attributes. In some references to this scene, the male figure is called Apollo,⁴² but this too seems unlikely since, while Apollo is indeed associated with a deer, he is never, as far as I am aware, shown holding one by any part of its anatomy (unlike Artemis). The bystanders also cause confusion because both Herakles and Apollo are usually accompanied by goddesses, Athena and Artemis respectively. Regardless of the identity of the figure grasping the deer's antlers, this scene does not present Apollo the archer accompanied by a deer; rather it is in all probability a narrative in which the deer plays a significant role, not a scene of Apollo with his 'familiar'.

The deer, then, is more closely associated with the kithara-playing god, and particularly the Delian Triad, rather than with the active marksman Apollo, and this remains true until at least the end of the sixth century, if not later. It is possible that the vase-painters placed a deer in Apollo's more peaceful scenes, and especially in those which included the goddess Artemis as well. Perhaps the deer may have carried a particular nuance to scenes of the Delian Triad, or even acted as an informant of something that is now lost to us;

⁴⁰ Dated to c.540 BC: London 1836.2-24.174 (B169); *ABV* 306.37; *Add.*² 81; BAPD 301517*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 1046*; see **fig.17**.

⁴¹ Walters (1927: 6) labels him 'Herakles (?)', noting the lack of attributes. On the neck-amphora near Group E in the British Museum, Herakles (lionskin) breaks an antler of the deer, while Artemis (bow) and Athena (helmet) stand by, the latter holding his sword: London 1843.11-3.80 (B231); *ABV* 139.10, *Para.* 57, *Add.*² 37, BAPD 310342*. Carpenter (1991: 122, fig.181) discusses the two possible stories of Herakles and a deer of Artemis, which may explain the rather different scene-types occurring on vases. In the version described by the author of the *Bibliotheca* 2.5.3, Apollo and Herakles do indeed fight over the deer, until Herakles convinces Artemis that he did not want to kill the deer, and she lets him take the deer back to Eurystheus (see, for instance, a black-figure plate in the manner of Lydos from about 560 BC on which the god and the hero are at a stand-off over the deer watched by Artemis: Oxford 1934.333; *ABV* 115.4; *Add.*² 32; BAPD 310237*; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1315*). In contrast, on London 1843.11-3.80, Herakles breaks off one of the horns of the deer in the presence of Artemis and Apollo rather than carrying the deer off. Brommer (1986: 22-24) provides more primary evidence and explanation on these two apparently different versions. For further discussion, see below, p.94n237.

⁴² See for instance Kokkorou-Alewrás in *LIMC* 2, p.308 (Apollon 1046*).

nevertheless, what is clear is that the animal was considered an apt addition to a scene of the Delian Triad, much more so than in scenes of Apollo with his bow and arrow.⁴³ This reinforces our perception of the divide between Delian kitharist Apollo and the active archer aspect of the god and of the vase-painters' consistency, conscious or not, in keeping the two sides separate.

⁴³ The deer becomes a popular animal to be depicted as the prey for youths on horseback, c.530 BC. For example a hydria in Kyoto near the Antimenes Painter, c.520-510 BC, shows a chariot turning in battle in the main picture field, a chariot race on the shoulder and youths on horseback hunting a deer on the predella: Kyoto 10; BAPD 18568*. See also a hydria attributed to the Lysippides Painter: Louvre F294; *ABV* 256.18; *Add.*² 66; BAPD 302228*; and a hydria attributed to the Alkmene Painter, c.520-510 BC: London 1843.11-3.73; *ABV* 282.2; *Para.* 124; *Add.*² 74; BAPD 320244*; for a discussion of this hydria and the attribution, see Steiner (2004: *passim*, fig.5-6). It may be that the association of Apollo with the deer has more to do with his aristocratic manner and ephebe-like status than with the deer as a hunted animal. Graf (2010: 69) mentions an *epiklesis* of Apollo: Apollo Agreus, god of the hunt, and connects this to 'landed gentlemen who hunted and dined together'. He also lists some of the references that show Apollo as the hunter, often alongside Artemis (2010: 69n65). At this same time in vase-painting, c.530 BC, palaestra scenes begin to be popular, again a reference to the leisure activities of young, wealthy males in Athens. Apollo is the epitome of a well-educated, aristocratic youth, and so it would be quite natural to place him as the young ephebe with an animal that is associated with the upper classes and their leisure time.

2.2 Delos

Apollo as a kithara player frequently provides the musical accompaniment to the gatherings of the gods or for special occasions, such as weddings, or Herakles' apotheosis. These particular scenes, with a possible mythological narrative behind them, are not the focus of the exploration of Apollo as a musician. Rather, in this section, the focus is on non-narrative depictions of the god with his kithara; of these, the most frequently depicted scene-type is Apollo in the centre flanked by two or more female figures. These scenes are frequently labelled the Delian Triad, although doubt remains as to exactly who the female figures are in all instances. In addition, the association between Delian Apollo (and the festival) and the Athenians requires further explanation, although the first occurrence of the Delian Triad (that remains today) can be dated to around the same time as the tyrant Peisistratos purified Delos (545-540 BC)⁴⁴ and re-instituted an older Ionian festival in honour of Apollo.⁴⁵ In response to these areas of uncertainty, this chapter aims to investigate the possible identities of the female figures in the scenes and then discuss in what way (and to what extent) the vases may evoke arguably the most famous festival on Delos, the Delia.⁴⁶ While answers to questions such as these can never be proven categorically, by providing more examples and an analysis of the trends of the scene-types, perhaps some likely conclusions can be drawn.

2.2.1 Delian Festivals

The most descriptive passage we have for the festivals on Delos comes from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*⁴⁷ and presents the highlights of the celebrations and games of (probably)

⁴⁴ After this date the Delian Triad becomes a frequent choice as decoration for vases, and depictions of Apollo's instrument both in his hands and in the hands of others become much more common, as Maas and Snyder (1989: 32) observe. Thucydides (3.104) mentions the first purification arranged by Peisistratos. See also Herodotus 1.64.

⁴⁵ Peisistratos' efforts in Delos were part of a process of establishing Athens as the primary Ionian city as Boardman has argued (1978: 234). That the Athenians were affected by this process is evidenced by the Ionic influence in art and architecture in the third quarter of the sixth century, see Shapiro (1989a: 48-49) and Connor (1993) who argues that there was a period of time in the sixth century when Ionian customs and ways were influential. Rutherford (2004: 89) argues that *theōria* were a great opportunity to reinforce a city's identity. See also Wilson (2007: 180, 182).

⁴⁶ The Delia are sometimes called the Apollonia depending on the time period and the speaker: See Bruneau (1970: 85-86) and Arnold (1933: 453). I use the more familiar term Delia throughout.

⁴⁷ Dated to the sixth century BC; for discussion on the date and authorship, see subsection 2.2.2, p.62.

the Delia

But it is in Delos, Phoibos, that your heart most delights, where the Ionians with trailing robes assemble with their children and wives on your avenue, and when they have seated the gathering they think of you and entertain you with boxing, dancing, and singing. A man might think they were the unaging immortals if he came along then when the Ionians are all together: he would take in the beauty of the whole scene, and be delighted at the spectacle of the men and the fair-girt women, the swift ships and the people's piles of belongings. And besides, this great wonder, the fame of which will never perish: the Maidens of Delos, the servants of the Far-shooter, who, after first hymning Apollo, and then in turn Leto and Artemis profuse of arrows, turn their thoughts to the men and women of old and sing a song that charms the peoples. They know how to mimic all people's voices and their babble; anyone might think it was he himself speaking, so well is their singing constructed.⁴⁸

Arnold researched the festivals of Delos through the literary and inscriptional evidence, and concluded that, on the whole, 'the program [of the festivals] is still essentially a choral performance.'⁴⁹

The Delia were the most important festivities for the Delians, and their splendour and prestige drew competitors from far and wide from quite early on.⁵⁰ The festival was held probably in the month of Hieros (Attic Anthesterion), probably on the 7th,⁵¹ with a splendid choir singing as they marched, followed by the sacrifice, choral contests and banquets, according to Plutarch.⁵² After the second purification in 426 BC, every fourth year seemed to be a larger celebration with a program similar to the other games of the times (especially the Panathenaia) with musical, athletic and equestrian contests. The first purification was by Peisistratos, but at this time equestrian contests were not added to the list of events,⁵³ but just athletics.⁵⁴ In Socrates' time the annual Athenian trip to Delos

⁴⁸ 146-164, trans. West (2003: 82-3). For an interpretation of the kind of song the Delian Maidens may have sung, see Richardson (2011: 28-29).

⁴⁹ Arnold (1933: 452).

⁵⁰ Pausanias (4.4.1) writes that the Messenians sent a chorus of men and a sacrifice to Delos in the time of Phintias, approximately 740-720. See also Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* (IV 275-282) which describes the cities from all corners of the world sending their choirs to the contests at Delos. For a discussion of these festivities, with particular reference to the Delian Maidens and choruses on the island, see Calame (1977: 104-110).

⁵¹ Bruneau (1970: 87-89, and 89n1) argues convincingly for the celebration of the Delia to be held in the spring time, in February-March; see Calame (1977: 107-108, 108n55 with bibliography).

⁵² Plutarch in his *Life of Nicias* describes Nicias' conducting of the choruses from Athens (III.4-6). On this evidence see Arnold (1933: 453-454), who points out that regardless of the time period, it seems the Delia were splendid performances.

⁵³ According to Thucydides (3.104), the equestrian events were added when the Athenians reorganised the games after the second full purification; he mentions the first purification arranged by Peisistratos.

⁵⁴ Instituted by Theseus, according to Plutarch, *Theseus* 21.

was well established and according to Plato the tradition of visiting Delos stretched back to the days of Theseus.⁵⁵

Despite the athletic events, it seems that the most important parts of the festival were the performance by the Delian Maidens and the choral competitions.⁵⁶ These performances included dancing, and one may speculate, as Plutarch does,⁵⁷ that the dance presented was the crane dance, originally led by Theseus after his escape from Crete with the fourteen young men and women. We know from Xenophon that the choral groups that competed at Delos from Athens were seen as the best, which reaffirms the status of Delos as a musical centre.⁵⁸ Later inscriptions tell us the prizes for the athletic contests were silver phialai, while other literary evidence suggests that palm fronds were also given to the victors.⁵⁹ Tripods were the awards given in the choral contests.⁶⁰ Other festivals were held on Delos for different divinities, but the most important were the ones for Artemis, Aphrodite and Poseidon. In these and other smaller festivals, the same props are needed as for the musically-focused Delia, again reinforcing the centrality of the choral performances.⁶¹

2.2.2 Apollo, Leto, and Artemis and their connection to Delos

The scenes of Apollo playing his kithara for female figures can be taken as set on Delos in some cases, but it is not just the vases that enable us to make this identification. Apollo's association with Delos is found in literature, and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is one of the main sources for the special place the island held for the god.⁶² The poem appears to

⁵⁵ Phaedo explains that the length of time between Socrates' trial and his death was due to the annual expedition to Delos, and recalls Theseus' involvement, *Phaedo* 58a-c. See also Callimachus IV 307-315. It is not clear from Plato's account whether the ship was heading to Delos for the Delia, but this seems the most likely explanation. Rutherford (2004: 83) discusses the dating of the Delian festivals and the corresponding Athenian delegation. He concludes that it is impossible for us to know for certain when they were held, although there are several possibilities, including a festival focused on the birth of Apollo.

⁵⁶ Callimachus describes the men singing and the girls of the chorus dancing, stating that the island is never silent (IV 300-306).

⁵⁷ Plutarch, *Theseus* 21.

⁵⁸ Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.3.12.

⁵⁹ Plutarch *Theseus* 21; Theseus is again mentioned in *Moralia* 724a-b. See also Bruneau (1970: 34).

⁶⁰ Arnold (1933: 455).

⁶¹ See the list of items required for the choral festival in Bruneau (1970: 69); see also Arnold (1933: 456-457).

⁶² Apollo's birth on Delos is mentioned in the *Hymn* several times in detail and at length; for the scene of Apollo's birth see lines 115-139. For a selection of instances when Apollo is described as Delian or Delos-born other than those in the *Homeric Hymn*, see Pindar *Paeon* 5.37; Bacchylides *Epinician* 3.58; Sophocles

fall into two parts:⁶³ it covers both Apollo's birth on Delos and his setting up of his oracle at Delphi.⁶⁴ The dating of this poem has excited much debate. The earliest date suggested is that it was written just after the First Sacred War, c.590 BC,⁶⁵ while the latest dating places it as a commission for Polykrates in 523/522 BC at the celebration of the Delia.⁶⁶ There is also some evidence to suggest that the poem, seemingly split into two quite distinct narratives, was a rather clumsy splicing together for this celebration in 523/522 BC,⁶⁷ although the Delian parts remained a poem in their own right at least until the time of Thucydides. The poem (perhaps the whole work, or perhaps just the Delian aspects) was engraved on the Delian temple of Artemis.⁶⁸ Most important is the oral background of the hymn;⁶⁹ the narratives and sentiments expressed in the poem were a part of the established tradition, although certain elements were of course highlighted or omitted according to the purpose of each performer. Therefore, regardless of the date of this particular version of the hymn, the association of Apollo with Delos and the description of the festival are likely to have been established well before the advent of the vase-paintings of the Delian Triad.

In the *Homeric Hymn* Apollo is born on Delos,⁷⁰ and he honours it above all others: 'but it is in Delos, Phoibos, that your heart most delights'.⁷¹ Apollo's attachment to Delos and

Oidipous Tyrannos 154. Pindar's fifth paeon may have been performed by a chorus at the Delia, which would account for the use of this epithet for Apollo: Wilson (2007: 178); Rutherford (2004: 83-85).

⁶³ Richardson (2009) tentatively suggests that the poem may fall into three parts, rather than the usual two, each section relating the narrative of a journey.

⁶⁴ Karanika (2009: 76) notes the competitive elements between Delos and Delphi as demonstrated by the hymn. This places the hymn within the realms of the competitive singing of the Delia.

⁶⁵ Clay (2009: 5-6 with bibliography) argues that the date of the poem should fall in the first quarter of the sixth century.

⁶⁶ Aloni (2009) puts forward his view that the poem in its extant form was composed in 523/522 for a celebration of Delphic and Delian Apollo on Delos.

⁶⁷ Clay (2009: 5); on the unity of the hymn see Burkert (1979a) and Clay (1989: 17-94).

⁶⁸ West (2003: 9-12) gives an overview of the dating of each of the poems and discusses with references some of the controversy of the dating of this piece. The Delian section is attributed to Cynaethus.

⁶⁹ Aloni (2009: 55) points out that the hymn would have come from the oral tradition.

⁷⁰ 'I salute you, O blessed Leto, for you bore splendid children, the lord Apollo and Artemis profuse of arrows: her you bore in Ortygia, him in rocky Delos, leaning against the long eminence of Cynthus, hard by the palm-tree, below the streams of Inopos.' *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 14-18, trans. West (2003: 72-73).

⁷¹ *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 146, trans. West (2003: 82-83). Leto also promises Delos Apollo's favouritism in the *Homeric Hymn* (84-88), 'So may the Earth be my witness, and the broad Heaven above, and the trickling Water of Shuddering – the most powerful and dreadful oath that the blessed gods can swear – truly Phoibos' fragrant altar and precinct will for ever be here, and he will honour you above all others.' Trans. West (2003: 76-79). On seeing Apollo delight in the island on which he was born 'all Delos was laden with golden growth as it beheld the offspring of Zeus and Leto, in joy that the god had chosen her to make his home out of all the islands and mainland, and had given her his affection from the heart.' 135-139, trans. West (2003: 80-81).

the music made there is a focus of the poem, not least because it was written by a poet participating in the Delian festival.⁷² That the poet performed at the festival allows the observations of the poet to be used as evidence of the events and atmosphere of the festival. The description of the festival featuring the amazing chorus of maidens is of importance to the interpretation of the black-figure scenes of Apollo with a female audience, since in the Delian festival one of major attractions is a chorus not of men or youths, but of women.⁷³

This focus on the musical aspect on Delos and Peisistratos' input on the island are, it would seem, reflected in the appearance and then continued frequency of scenes in black-figure of Apollo kitharoidos flanked by two female figures, sometimes named or identified through iconographic attributes as Artemis and Leto, his sister and mother.⁷⁴ It is here suggested that the so-called Delian Triad scenes are indeed a depiction, either of a cult image⁷⁵ or of the island and its festivals. In order to show the setting as Delos in black-figure images, the vase-painters sometimes included palm trees⁷⁶ in the scenes of the god playing his kithara, since, according to the literature, Delos is associated with the palm tree. The description of Apollo's birth in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is illuminating:

Once the goddess of birth labor, Eileithyia, was on Delos, Leto was seized with birthing and strove to be delivered. She clasped her arms around the palm tree, and

⁷² West (2003: 6).

⁷³ 'And besides, this great wonder, the fame of which will never perish: the Maidens of Delos, the servants of the Far-shooter, who, after first hymning Apollo, and then in turn Leto and Artemis profuse of arrows, turn their thoughts to the men and women of old and sing a song that charms the peoples. They know how to mimic all people's voices and their babble; anyone might think it was he himself speaking, so well is their singing constructed.' *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 156-164, trans. West (2003: 82-83).

⁷⁴ Peisistratos' purification of Delos was not his only interaction with the Delians, rather he remained active on the Ionian island during his tyranny as Aloni (2009: 55-56) observes.

⁷⁵ The Triad was well-known before the period in which it becomes popular in Athenian art, as a group of three bronze statuettes representing Apollo, Artemis and Leto from c.700 BC show. Found on Dreros, Crete, in a temple for Apollo, they are now in the Heraklion Museum, known as the Dreros Triad, *LIMC* Apollon 658*. While there seems to be too much variation between the scenes of the Delian Triad to warrant a direct copy of some form of cult statue, the depiction of Apollo playing the kithara in the centre with the two goddesses listening may be a reflection of a cult image, or perhaps a ritual idea, activity or song. The change from the usual frontal view to a profile one on the vases may indicate a lack of sculptured model, but it can also be explained through the vase-painters' desire to depict human figures in profile.

⁷⁶ Kahil in *LIMC* 2, p.745 argues that the palm tree indicates only that the situation is in a sanctuary. Moon (1985: 60-61) cites H. F. Miller's thesis on *The Iconography of the Palm in Greek Art: Significance and Symbolism* (University of California, Berkeley, 1979); in this work Miller argues against the use of the palm tree as a signifier for Delos.

braced her knees against the soft meadow grass, and the earth beneath her smiled; out he sprang into the light, and all the goddesses gave a yell.⁷⁷

In black-figure vase-painting, palm trees seem to be particularly associated with two places: Troy and Delos.⁷⁸ Their geographical position to the east of Greece may be one explanation for this similar use of the palm tree as identifier.⁷⁹

The associations between Delos, Apollo, Artemis and Leto are portrayed on a neck-amphora in Munich.⁸⁰ The vase-painter has taken the usual scene-type of Apollo playing between two female figures and added a palm tree to both sides of the vase.⁸¹ A further example, albeit from a later date, can be seen on an unattributed neck-amphora in the Louvre.⁸² Apollo stands in the centre playing his kithara while two female figures frame him; the figure on the right is seated on a folding stool and a palm tree is depicted behind her. It is not merely a late development, though, since the Amasis Painter has left us with a lekythos showing Artemis with bow, arrow and quiver on the right of a scene dominated by a palm tree and deer in the centre.⁸³ To the left of the palm tree, Apollo holds out his lyre and an empty stool stands before him.

The palm tree is a clear signifier for Delos, as can be ascertained by the number of examples in literature in which the palm is associated with Delos; thus when it is added to

⁷⁷ 115-119, trans. West (2003: 78-81), see also lines 14-18. For other references to Delos and the palm see Homer, *Odyssey* 6.163; Callimachus, *Hymn* II 4-5 and IV 209-211; Plutarch *Theseus* 21; Pausanias 8.48.3.

⁷⁸ So Mackay (2010: 248). There are several examples that support this: Exekias' amphora depicting the suicide of Ajax comes to mind: Boulogne 558; *ABV* 145.18; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 40; BAPD 310400*. Scenes of Ajax and Achilles playing dice sometimes include a palm tree as on a neck-amphora attributed to the Group of Würzburg 199: Villa Giulia 50622 (M484); *ABV* 288.14; BAPD 320317. Ilioupersis scenes likewise as can be seen on a lekythos attributed to the class of Athens 581: Athens CC901 (1046); *ABV* 492.74; BAPD 303589; and also scenes of Achilles lying in wait for Troilos as on a neck-amphora in Göttingen, c.530-520 BC: J12, BAPD 6901; *LIMC* 1 Achilles 219*. On the landscape of Troy in vase-painting, see Hedreen (2001: 72-80).

⁷⁹ In vases of the middle period, the theory that the palm tree is quite a deliberate marker for either Troy or Delos is well attested. Later vases do seem to use the palm tree in a more slapdash manner, however.

⁸⁰ Perhaps by the Princeton Painter (Shapiro [1989a: 60]); compare with the Group of London B174 (Kunze-Götte [1970: 53]), c.540 BC: Munich 1473 (J1153); BAPD 743*; **see fig.18**.

⁸¹ This vase in Munich is among the earliest group of those with this type of scene and the connection between Delos and the Delian Triad established through the depiction of a palm tree has been stated by several scholars in relation to this example: Shapiro (1989a: 57), Dumas in *LIMC* 2 p.263 [Apollon, esp. 639*], and Kunze-Götte (1970: 53).

⁸² Louvre F252; BAPD 7860*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 640*; **see fig.19**.

⁸³ London 1873.8-20.299 (B548); *ABL* pl.6.1a-c; *ABV* 154.58; *Add.*² 45; BAPD 310486*; **see fig.20**; Bothmer (1985: 188) describes the setting as Delian because of the palm tree. In addition there is one early example that may show Leto holding a tiny palm tree in a scene of the Delian Triad on an unattributed neck-amphora c.540: Orvieto, Duomo 333; BAPD 43331; Shapiro (1989a: pl.27c); **see fig.21**. Shapiro (1989a: 57) identifies the plant form in Leto's hand as a palm tree, but it could also be a very ornate flower.

a scene of Apollo playing his kithara for two female figures, there can be little doubt that the setting is Delos. But the palm tree is not depicted in a large number of scenes of the Delian Triad; usually the god plays his kithara for the two female listeners with no specific location signified. The inclusion of the palm tree in some scenes which otherwise adhere to the schema of Apollo with Artemis and Leto is a convincing reason to identify other vases illustrating Apollo kitharoidos and two female figures as at the very least evoking the island.

One other reason to see the Delian Triad as related to Delos is the presence of Poseidon in a number of scenes of Apollo, Artemis, Leto. Other gods are sometimes added into the picture, the most popular are Hermes, Dionysos and Poseidon, always clearly identified. Hermes is a frequent addition to black-figure scenes and so, to a certain extent, is Dionysos, but Poseidon is a little unusual. Out of 52 examples of Apollo playing for two female figures joined by one or two other gods, 20 (38.5%) show Poseidon. A hydria by the Antimenes Painter is a good example of this type of schema: Poseidon (trident) stands on the left, Leto (flower) is next, and Apollo stands centrally with his kithara.⁸⁴ On the right of Apollo, Artemis stands wearing a large crown, and on the far right Hermes (hat, boot, kerykeion) closes the scene.⁸⁵ As god of the sea and safe travel between islands, Poseidon's presence may be an indicator of the type of journey required in order to compete at Delos. In addition, Poseidon was a major deity for the Delians; by including him in scenes that may be set on Delos, the vase-painters may be drawing attention to the island.

2.2.3 The identity of the two female figures framing Apollo

Although there is still some doubt as to the identity of the two female figures in all instances, a thorough study of the scenes which show Apollo playing for two framing female figures seems to verify identifying the figures as Artemis and Leto. Crucially, there are three vase-paintings which specifically name the goddesses in scenes which are typical. The dates of these inscribed scenes range from c.530-500 BC. The earliest, c.530-520 BC, is a neck-amphora attributed to the Pasikles Painter on which is shown Apollo

⁸⁴ Basel, A. Wilhelm; *Para.* 119.27bis; BAPD 340471*; see fig.22.

⁸⁵ In the BAPD, it is Leto who is described as wearing the crown. However, it is much more likely that Artemis is on the right wearing the crown as Burow (1989: 87, no.72, pl.72) describes.

playing for Artemis and Leto (all named) on the obverse.⁸⁶ Only slightly later, c.520 BC, an oinochoe fragment near the Madrid Painter in the Athens Akropolis collection preserves Apollo's head and shoulders as well as the kithara he plays.⁸⁷ To the right are four letters ...] P T E M [... and on the far right edge of the fragment a small patch of paint indicates the presence of the goddess.⁸⁸ Although the fragment does not preserve Leto, it is a reasonable assumption that she was depicted on the left of the scene. Finally, on a hydria fragment from c.510-500 BC the god is shown seated on a stool at an altar framed by Artemis and Leto (all named).⁸⁹

In addition, there are scenes which use iconographic elements to establish the identity of Artemis in these types of scenes, even as far back as the Orientalising Period. The Oresteia krater depicts a female figure with a bow and a figure with what is probably a lyre.⁹⁰ One of the vases from the earliest group of scenes of the Delian Triad shows Artemis with her bow standing on the left and Leto on the right holding a flower or tiny palm tree.⁹¹ A later example can be found on an eye-cup in London on which is shown the Triad with Artemis holding her bow and wearing her quiver,⁹² while a neck-amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter in a private collection in Switzerland depicts Artemis with just her bow.⁹³ Artemis' association with her brother is in no doubt, but the other female figure in scenes of Apollo playing the kithara may not seem so easily identified. Apart from the named versions mentioned above which establish her identity as Leto, her role as mother of the twins provides a convincing reason to place her alongside Apollo and Artemis.⁹⁴ Thus naming the second female figure as Leto is the most reasonable

⁸⁶ Würzburg L220; *ABV* 328.1, 672; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301758*; see **fig.23**.

⁸⁷ Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.825; *ABV* 330.1; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301775*; see **fig.24**.

⁸⁸ Note the BAPD states that it is Leto who is named, but the four letters visible on the fragment are] P T E M [. For an example of a flower with a curling stem as held by Leto here, see **fig.225**.

⁸⁹ Malibu 86.AE.120; BAPD 30531*; see **fig.25**. In the BAPD the number for this fragment is given as 86.AE.119, although in Clark (1988: 63) the number is 86.AE.120. The BAPD also includes another reference to 86.AE.120 under the vase number 9003400; the record has been entered twice.

⁹⁰ Protoattic krater fragments attributed to the Oresteia Painter: Berlin A32; BAPD 1001732*.

⁹¹ Unattributed neck-amphora, c.540 BC: Orvieto, Duomo 333; BAPD 43331; Shapiro (1989a: pl.27c); see **fig.21**.

⁹² London B680; BAPD 20510; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1117*; see **fig.26**.

⁹³ Switzerland, private; *Para.* 120.92*ter*; BAPD 340482*; see **fig.27**. See also a neck-amphora with Apollo playing the kithara for Artemis with a bow and Leto with a flower: Orvieto 1006; BAPD 46552.

⁹⁴ The Delian Maidens in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* sing of Apollo, and then Artemis and Leto, and the mythology puts the brother and sister together frequently in stories such as the slaughter of the Niobids, or the attempted rape of Leto by Tityos. Apollo is also frequently described as the son of Leto, or son of Zeus and Leto, reinforcing his relationship with his mother.

assumption in these scenes, regardless of her lack of iconographic attributes (at least to our modern eyes).

These examples of the Triad with figures named or iconographically identified make it extremely unlikely that other vases displaying a similar layout should be, or would have been, taken primarily as representing another narrative or scene. The ambiguous nature of black-figure does indeed encourage a variety of interpretations, but each of these variant readings must take their meaning from the initial viewing of the scene. The most immediate influence on the interpretation of the scene is the composition, and thus it is from the starting point of the placement and general positions of the figures that the first and most important reading is obtained. Therefore, taking the versions of Apollo playing the kithara for Artemis and Leto which have names inscribed as the main (and irrefutable) interpretation for these types of scenes, other vases presenting the same layout of Apollo playing the kithara framed by two female figures would primarily be understood as the same scene. This grouping of three is found in red-figure as well; sometimes the figures are named (Apollo, Artemis, Leto) as on a bell-krater attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter in New York,⁹⁵ or Artemis is depicted holding a bow as depicted on a pelike also attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter.⁹⁶ This persistence of the scene-type into the new technique is an indication that the identifying of these goddesses as Artemis and Leto was an established and continuing tradition.

2.2.3.1 Apollo and Muses? Further evidence for the identification of Artemis and Leto

Beyond the versions which identify the figures through inscription or iconographic attributes there is, understandably, doubt as to the interpretation of the scenes. Most entries in Beazley's lists, the BAPD, and in the *CVA* are hesitant, listing the figures as goddesses, women, or adding question marks after any attempts to name them. Apart from Artemis and Leto, the most obvious contenders for the female figures with Apollo would be the Muses or a mortal chorus of women (the Muses are an immortal version), although the scene-type established as Apollo playing for his mother and sister would undermine such an interpretation as the primary reading of the scene. A brief investigation

⁹⁵ New York 24.97.96; *ARV*² 619.17; *Add.*² 270; BAPD 207169*.

⁹⁶ Basel LU49; *Para.* 399.48bis; *Add.*² 270 ; BAPD 275769.

of the depiction of Muses in black-figure will present additional arguments to see the two female figures flanking Apollo kitharoidos as Artemis and Leto and not Muses. On the other hand, when there are more than two female figures depicted in a scene, a chorus of women, either immortal or mortal, is a persuasive solution to the question of interpretation given Apollo's association with the Muses and with the Delian Maidens who perform at the Delia (see below, subsection 2.2.5).⁹⁷

The images we have of the Muses in early black-figure show them clearly placed in groups of three or more; often one will be playing an instrument. This is most clearly shown on the illustrations on Sophilos' dinos in the British Museum and on the François Vase where the Muses are named.⁹⁸ On the former, the Muses are shown in clusters of three and five, with the central member of the group of five playing the panpipes. They are shown collectively, sharing the same outer garment. On the François Vase we have the Muses each individually named, and apart from those at the front of the procession, like Kalliope, who is shown playing the panpipes, the Muses are collected into groups of three. In early literature, too, the number of Muses is usually said to be nine, so Hesiod states in his *Theogony*, and all nine appear at the funeral of Achilles according to the *Odyssey*.⁹⁹

As Larson points out, the idea of trinities of goddesses is very popular in Greek society, in both mythology and cult practice.¹⁰⁰ She claims that the plurality of these goddesses increases their potency of function, and allows for slight variations in their roles as with the Muses. The depiction of three female figures together is an early motif in black-figure

⁹⁷ Calame (1997: 21) observes that pictorial representations of choruses present the number of members as between two and seventeen, although three, four, six, and seven are the most common. Participating in a chorus is a group activity, so even though there are some depictions of a two person chorus, it is much more likely that the larger numbers of women should be seen as a chorus.

⁹⁸ Sophilos' dinos, dated to c.580 BC: London 1971.11-1.1; *Para.* 19.16bis, *Add.*² 10; BAPD 350099*; LIMC 6 Mousa, Mousai 120*. The François Vase, a volute-krater signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, c.570 BC: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*; LIMC 6 Mousa, Mousai 121*.

⁹⁹ Hesiod *Theogony* 76, 917; Homer *Odyssey* 24.60. The story of the blinding of Thamyras by the Muses after a musical contest is related in the *Iliad* (2.594-600), and the scholia on this passage also number the Muses as nine. Hesiod tells this myth in his *Ehoiai* fr. 65 and agrees with the number nine for the Muses. Later writers who also tell this story agree with nine Muses: Apollodoros 1.3.3. Pausanias writes that there were originally three Muses from Mount Helikon, but this number was changed to nine by Pieros (9.29.2-4). Regardless, the grouping of threes works within the framework of nine Muses as a multiple, and also translates more easily to the picture shape on amphorae.

¹⁰⁰ Larson (2001: 259-260).

and these are named as Nymphs, Muses or Charites. One depiction of the Muses dates to c.600 BC and shows the wedding of Herakles and Hebe.¹⁰¹ Here the groups of divinities are shown as threes and named, with Kalliope (also named) leading them. On a hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, c.510 BC, Hermes leads nine female figures to right while Dionysos follows behind.¹⁰² The number of figures and their appearance as a group (they are superimposed one over the other in a tight line) suggests that they may be intended as Muses.¹⁰³ From this vase it is clear that the vase-painters were capable of depicting nine figures in a group if they so desired, and thus it seems that until the beginning of the fifth century,¹⁰⁴ the Muses were thought of as a *group* of goddesses.¹⁰⁵ They were also particularly associated with musical instruments, and often at least one member of the group was shown playing a lyre or pipes or syrinx. The representation of these goddesses in threes or more undermines the interpretation of the pair of female figures framing Apollo kitharoidos as Muses. Rather it reinforces the reading of the pair as Artemis and Leto, since while the two goddesses are sometimes indistinguishable, they are separated not grouped, which establishes a sense of individual identity.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Corinthian black-figure aryballos, Vulci, Necropoli dell'Osteria, Carpenter (1991: fig.233).

¹⁰² New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Coll.; BAPD 43277; Bothmer (1990: 143, no.109); **see fig.28**.

¹⁰³ Bothmer (1990: 144) is hesitant to call them Muses, although this is the first interpretation he suggests. The presence of Hermes as the leader here causes some confusion as that role should be taken by Apollo. There are nine female figures, but 22 hands, as Bothmer points out, an anomaly he explains as the artist losing track of how many he had inserted already. The feet are not even individually separated, but left as a mass of white along the groundline of the scene.

¹⁰⁴ For example in the first half of the fifth century, there are several depictions of a Muse alone playing an instrument as on a red-figure, white ground stemless cup attributed to the Hesiod Painter, c.460 BC: Louvre CA482; *ARV*² 774.2, 1669; *Para.* 416; *Add.*² 287; BAPD 209555*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 1*.

¹⁰⁵ Richardson (2011: 16) notes that in literature, the Muses are sometimes singular and sometimes plural, and these are often interchangeable; cf. *Odyssey* 24.60-63. In vase-painting, the plurality of the Muses is what is emphasised.

¹⁰⁶ Within the black-figure tradition, symmetry was vitally important (on this point see Scheibler [1960]), and so one could argue that these two female figures could be Muses, merely separated out and inserted into the usual framing positions. However, quite apart from the named and iconographically identified versions, the vase-painters were not at all averse to painting pairs of figures on either side of Apollo the kitharist, which suggests the fact that there were only two female figures was deliberate and essential to the understanding of the scene. There are ten clear examples of Apollo playing a stringed instrument for two pairs of female figures framing him, and a further four with other male deities present on the BAPD. A good example of this kind of scene can be found on a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group in London, c.510 BC: London 1848.6-19.3 (B261); *ABV* 373.176; *Para.* 163; *Add.*² 99; BAPD 302171*; *LIMC* Mousa, Mousai 28b*; **see fig.29**. This neck-amphora is very similar to those of the Delian Triad; Apollo plays in the centre, a deer stands behind him, and there are branches of dot ivy in the background. Hermes and Dionysos appear as extra framing figures on an unattributed neck-amphora from c.520-510 BC: Paris, Cab. Méd. 231; BAPD 7840*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 779*; **see fig.30**. Queyrel (*LIMC* 6 pp.662-663 [Mousa, Mousai]) lists nine examples of scenes which depict four goddesses with the god Apollo: Mousa, Mousai 28a*-d, 32*, 33*, 36a-b*, 40 (in addition see *LIMC* 2 Apollon 729c, 730).

Apart from the grouping of the Muses together as a way of identifying them, we can also look to the portrayal of them playing instruments. It is true that in early literature the Muses are famed for their voices and dancing as well as their skill on various instruments,¹⁰⁷ so vase-painters may have chosen to show the Muses as singing, with Apollo providing their musical accompaniment. In fact we do see this in scenes of several female figures with Apollo, where the figures are obviously dancing to the music provided by Apollo (see below, p.71). However, there are no instances (to my knowledge) that show Apollo *framed* by two female figures that play or hold the kithara, lyre, aulos or panpipes. There are one or two late examples of the two figures with krotala, one by the Dot-Band Class,¹⁰⁸ but even if these examples are not assimilation, the female figures with krotala might still be Artemis and (by extension) Leto as a red-figure example makes clear.¹⁰⁹ This red-figure figure vase shows Artemis, named, dancing with krotala behind Apollo who plays the kithara. Castaldo's study of krotala associates these castanet-like instruments with womanhood and particularly hetairai, and percussion instruments more generally as hinting at or evoking the divine and 'a state of alterity'.¹¹⁰ This observation is certainly the case in Dionysian scenes, but here with Apollo, the krotala are more likely to be a substitution from another vase or scene-type given that there are only two examples and they are both relatively late.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ The beginning of Hesiod's *Theogony* is a good example of this as the Muses are presented as dancing on Mount Helikon and singing with beautiful voices of all the gods (1-52, and throughout). The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is explicit in this, describing Apollo going up to Olympus

to join the congregation of the other gods; and at once the immortals devote themselves to lyre music and song. The Muses, responding all together with lovely voice, sing of the gods' divine gifts and of human suffering – all that they have from the immortal gods and yet live witless and helpless, unable to find a remedy for death or a defence against old age. 186-193, trans. West (2003: 84-87).

¹⁰⁸ As for instance on a neck-amphora attributed to the Dot-Band Class, c.490-480 BC: Toronto 916.3.15 (C.326; 311); *ABV* 484.12; *Add.*² 122; BAPD 303471*. Hayes (1981: 15), following Beazley (*ABV* 484.12), describes the figures as maenads, possibly because of the similar scene on the obverse, with Dionysos (kantharos) flanked by women holding krotala. At this late date distinctions that were upheld consistently in early painting are becoming blurred and so it is possible that the painter designed the scenes, and then struck by the similarity in layout, inserted krotala into the hands of the female figures with Apollo to highlight this. See also the obverse of a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group: St Petersburg, Mus. of Fine Arts; BAPD 5881; Shapiro (1981: 17, no.2).

¹⁰⁹ Red-figure figure vase in the manner of the Kachrylion Potter, c.500-480 BC: London 1873.8-20.267 (E785), BAPD 7870*; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1165*; see True (2006: 264-265, fig.77.1-77.2) for colour illustrations and description.

¹¹⁰ Castaldo (2009: 290, 293).

¹¹¹ Castaldo (2009: 286) writes that when two or more women with krotala are shown with Apollo or Hermes they are not engaged in the same kind of dance as when women are shown in komos or Dionysian scenes.

If we look at some scenes that do probably show Muses with Apollo, we can see that the atmosphere of these scenes is quite different from the scenes showing Apollo with his mother and sister. The Muses are more active and their positions are much more varied, and there are instruments being played by the female figures. On a black-figure skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter, Apollo stands at the right of the scene with his lyre, and unusually he is facing left so that his left hand placed through the strap to hold the instrument upright is visible to the viewer of the vase.¹¹² Approaching him are five female figures, wreathed and holding krotala, with one playing the auloi. Their movement and gestures suggest dance while the use of the pipes is a compelling indication that this is a representation of the musical Muses. Unlike the depictions of the Delian Triad, here the mood is festive, not serene and calm, and the five goddesses are actively involved. A similar scene showing five female figures can be found on a hydria in Berlin.¹¹³ Apollo playing the kithara leads them, and they are shown in a tight group, reminiscent of the clusters of female figures sharing a garment on the vases from 70 years earlier. Dionysos brings up the rear, while at the right of the scene, a female figure faces the approaching group and Hermes, placed behind her, seems ready to step out of the scene to the right.¹¹⁴

Large numbers of female figures accompanying Apollo, as on the previous examples, indicate more compellingly the Muses with the god, but smaller numbers of female figures alongside Apollo can also be interpreted as Muses. On a hydria attributed to the Theseus Painter in Madrid which shows Apollo with just three female figures, krotala are being played and the layout of the scene is evocative of a procession rather than a static scene like the Delian Triad.¹¹⁵ This sense of movement to right is achieved by the positioning of the figures: the female figure on the right of Apollo stands with her feet facing towards the right of the scene, although she looks back towards the god. Placing

¹¹² This skyphos is dated to c.490 BC: St Petersburg 4498; *Para.* 257; BAPD 351547; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 702*; **see fig.31.**

¹¹³ Hydria attributed to the Priam Painter, c.510-500 BC: Berlin F1905; *ABV* 332.23; *Para.* 146; *Add.*² 90; BAPD 301801*; **see fig.32.** The piece of material that hangs down from the sound-box of the instrument is the cover for the kithara when it is not in use: see Lissarrague (2001: 80) and Paquette (1984: 99). A further example from the end of the sixth century on which is represented Apollo with five female figures is a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group: St Petersburg B264 (ST62, 164); BAPD 8328.

¹¹⁴ That these five female figures are Muses is assumed by most scholars, see for instance Mommsen (1991: 28) and Shapiro (1989a: 54) who both label them as Muses without explanation. As to the identity of the female figure on the right of the scene, Mommsen (1991: 28) suggests that she may be either Maia or Aphrodite, but one cannot advance a definite answer.

¹¹⁵ Dated to c.500 BC: Madrid 10930; *ABL* 252.73; BAPD 7832*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 700*; **see fig.33.**

three female figures in the scene, including krotala, and implying movement intimates that this scene is sufficiently differentiated from those with just two goddesses; thus it is Muses intended here or indeed a chorus of women similar to the Muses, rather than Artemis and Leto.¹¹⁶ This idea of the procession is clear on a hydria in Naples that depicts two pairs of female figures, one following Apollo and one in front, with Hermes stepping out of the scene to the right as he seems to be leading them, as is so often his role in black-figure.¹¹⁷ There is also a difference in the setting of the Muses with Apollo in the scenes discussed above (and others like them). As far as can be ascertained, in none of the representations of the god with more than two female figures is a palm depicted, which makes it less likely for the scene-types which sometimes do include the palm to be other than Artemis and Leto.

Queyrel, in her commentary on the depiction of the Muses in the *LIMC*, states that the only criterion for recognising the Muses in the sixth century is their relationship with Apollo.¹¹⁸ This makes any attempt to identify the Muses in black-figure quite challenging. The depiction of the Muses on Sophilos' dinos and the François Vase demonstrates that the Athenians were not averse to portraying the Muses on their vases, which means that their presence in scenes is always a possibility. One of Queyrel's solutions to this problem of interpretation was to identify two female figures with Apollo as possible Muses (rather than Artemis and Leto) when they were shown holding flowers and branches but not other iconographic attributes (such as musical instruments).¹¹⁹ However, the scenes which identify Artemis and Leto through inscription or iconographic attribute provide the most convincing primary interpretation for other pictures with the same composition. Differences in gestures do not, to my mind, necessarily warrant a change in the identity of

¹¹⁶ Three female figures, one with krotala, are also represented on a hydria near the Eucharides Painter, c.490 BC: Würzburg L154 (L325); *ABV* 398.5, *Add.*² 104, BAPD 303010*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 630n*. The scene is rather more static than the hydria attributed to the Theseus Painter, and is more reminiscent of the Delian Triad; this similarity can work to highlight the differences in the number of female figures, while at the same time encouraging the viewer to think of the Delian Triad, and therefore the festival at which these singing women would perform, or as Muses, inspire those competing.

¹¹⁷ Dated to 530-510 BC: Naples SA10; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 124*; **see fig.34**.

¹¹⁸ Queyrel in *LIMC* 6, p.673 (Mousa, Mousai). The later additions to the Mousa, Mousai entry are to be found at the end of *LIMC* 7 and include more sculptural representations rather than further examples of vase-painting.

¹¹⁹ Queyrel in *LIMC* 6, p.674 (Mousa, Mousai). Here Queyrel argues that the presence of flowers and branches make it less likely that the goddesses would be seen as Artemis and Leto.

the two figures,¹²⁰ since there is commonly some variation in gesture or item being held between vase scenes.

The depiction of a flower or branch in the hands of one (or two) of the female figures with Apollo encouraged Queyrel to propose that these goddesses could be identified as Muses.¹²¹ There are three examples given in the sixth volume of the *LIMC* (Mousa, Mousai) of goddesses holding flowers even though they conform in all other ways to the scene-type of Apollo with Artemis and Leto.¹²² It seems at the time that these particular examples were produced (c.510 BC and later), flowers were more than likely merely a variation (a kind of gesture) or used to symbolise the beauty of the woman holding the blossom.¹²³ That the two goddesses holding flowers should be taken as Muses can be contradicted by the examples that show blooms in the hands of Artemis and Leto in scenes where their identity is not in doubt. For instance, an unattributed neck-amphora in

¹²⁰ As McNiven (1982: 239-240) points out, gestures in black-figure vase-painting are often simply an example of painter preference, rather than truly significant. Queyrel (1985: 158) describes a scene on a lekythos in the manner of the Sappho Painter in Geneva, dated to c.490 BC, which depicts Hermes leading Apollo playing his kithara and followed by six female figures: Geneva Loan 14648; BAPD 14648; Queyrel (1985: pl.38.1-2); **see fig.35**. The first of the figures holds up her hand in a gesture that Queyrel explains accompanies Apolline music; the gesture is categorised as L31B3 by McNiven (1982: 68 [definition], 78-80 [meanings and examples]), a gesture that can convey so many emotions and situations that suggesting that it is associated with Apollo's music is perhaps a little optimistic. Nevertheless, her identification of the female figures as Muses is, I believe, warranted mainly because of their large numbers and their processional placement following Apollo and Hermes; as Queyrel (1985) observes, they are rather like a chorus.

¹²¹ Queyrel in *LIMC* 6, p.662 (Mousa, Mousai), suggests that a flower links the goddesses to the Charites, Horai, and Nymphs rather than to Artemis and Leto. In contrast, Queyrel (1985: 159) explicitly identifies six female figures as Muses 'en raison de leur calme attitude, de leur participation réfléchie au concert apollinien, et de l'absence dans leurs mains de tout élément végétale qui conviendrait mieux à des nymphes' on the lekythos in the manner of the Sappho Painter in Geneva mentioned above, p.73n120; **see fig.35**.

¹²² Three neck-amphorae, one attributed to the Chiusi Painter, c.510-500 BC: Karlsruhe 61.24; *Para.* 171.8; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 351263*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 30a; **see fig.36**; another attributed to the Class of Cambridge 49, c.510 BC: Würzburg L218; *ABV* 316.2; *Add.*² 85, BAPD 301643*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 30b (*LIMC* 2 Apollon 631d*); **see fig.37**; and the final example attributed to the Leagros Group, c.490 BC: Würzburg L212; *ABV* 371.150; BAPD 302145*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 30c*; **see fig.38**.

¹²³ This is most clearly illustrated on a type B amphora in Melbourne that shows the bride holding her himation away from her face and in the same hand grasps a curling flower. The beauty of the flower is an obvious symbol for the beauty of the budding bride: type B amphora attributed to the Group of London B174: Melbourne 1729.4; *Para.* 58.4bis; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 350445*. A later example can be found on an unattributed Type A amphora: Würzburg L264; BAPD 23003*. Items depicted in the hands of figures in vase-paintings are often interchangeable. This can be exemplified within the scene-type of wedded pair in a chariot. Apart from the flower, the wreath is sometimes shown in the hand of the bride, or a branch; these items seem to be all indicators of the bride's beauty or the festiveness of the occasion. While they add a certain nuance to the scene, overall their presence does not alter the overall meaning. For examples of a wreath held by a bride see two unattributed column-kraters from c.510-500 BC: Tokyo, Mus. of Ancient Mediterranean Cult; BAPD 8037*; and Charlottesville (VA), Univ. of Virginia, Bayly Art Mus. 1988.62 (prev. Northampton, Castle Ashby 20); BAPD 2415*. For a bride holding a branch, see a Type B amphora attributed to the Swing Painter: Beverly Hills (CA), Summa Galleries; BAPD 6429*.

Orvieto shows Artemis with a bow and Leto with a flower¹²⁴ and a neck-amphora near Group E, c.540 BC, shows Artemis holding a flower and also the foreleg of a deer as it rears up towards her.¹²⁵ While Queyrel suggests that the goddesses only be identified as Muses when no other attributes (apart from the flower) are present,¹²⁶ the similarity of these female figures to those found in scenes which are definitely the Delian Triad argues for an identification in line with the deities rather than the Muses.

Another possibility put forward by Queyrel as a way to identify the two female figures as Muses rather than Artemis and Leto is when they are shown holding branches. There are no named versions of Artemis and Leto holding branches, but the use of vegetation, sometimes carefully identified as grapevine, ivy, or laurel, but frequently not, seems to have become commonplace in middle and late black-figure merely as extra decoration. In the scene on a neck-amphora in the manner of the Nikoxenos Painter, Artemis (identified by her bow) is shown with branches seeming to spring from her sleeve.¹²⁷ This shows that branches are not excluded in scenes of the Delian Triad, and thus cannot be used as a marker for a different interpretation of the scene.

Nevertheless, the placement of branches within a scene may slightly alter the emphasis of the scene, just as a palm tree included in a depiction of the Delian Triad accentuates the link to Delos. In order to discover in which situations branches were located, the BAPD was consulted and the results collated. From this search, it seems that branches are too widely used to be utilised as an indicator for any specific occurrence or person.¹²⁸ In the sixth century they seem to denote victory or a ritual occasion. Scenes of competition can include branches; often it is one of the competitors holding a branch, probably to denote victory. Thus on a neck-amphora attributed to the Red-line Painter the reverse shows a scene of athletics, with one of the men holding branches, while one wrestles with a

¹²⁴ Orvieto 1006; BAPD 46552.

¹²⁵ Louvre F218; *ABV* 139.9, 665; *Para.* 57; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310341*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 630b*; **see fig.39**.

¹²⁶ Queyrel in *LIMC* 6, p.674 (Mousa, Mousai).

¹²⁷ Neck-amphora in the manner of the Nikoxenos Painter, c.510 BC: Hannover 753; BAPD 3254*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 634b* and 641*; **see fig.15**. In this scene, the other female figure also has a bow, although it is held in her left hand. See above, p.54 and n.30.

¹²⁸ Some gods do however hold branches as a kind of identifying aspect, such as Dionysos, for instance, but on the whole, there is no overwhelming body of evidence to suggest that Muses particularly hold branches.

youth.¹²⁹ Branches seem to be an integral part of sacrificial processions, as is shown on a fragmentary lekythos in Athens which represents men with branches leading animals to sacrifice,¹³⁰ and also on loutrophoros fragments attributed to the Swing Painter which depict draped men playing instruments and carrying branches.¹³¹ Large sprigs also feature in other ritual scenes, such as in representations of funerals, and in images which include altars or statues of the gods.¹³²

The inclusion of branches in ritual scenes can be traced back to the end of the eighth century.¹³³ In the early Protoattic style, men and women join hands with branches between and seem to dance, sometimes to the sound of the lyre.¹³⁴ It is likely these are intended as ritual occasions, since dancing for the ancient Greeks was an integral part of worship and festivals.¹³⁵ As Lawler states, ‘To the Greek, the dance was intensely important, ritualistically, personally, socially. Much of his religious activity included dancing. In the dance he endeavoured to enter into spiritual kinship with his gods.’¹³⁶ In addition, dancing was intrinsically linked with music, rather than being an art in itself.¹³⁷ With this in mind, the branches included in scenes of the Delian Triad may emphasise the ritual aspect of the scene. This in turn may have encouraged an ancient Athenian to

¹²⁹ Orvieto 2679 (72A); *ABV* 371.142, 600, 604.65; BAPD 302137.

¹³⁰ Athens NM Akr. Coll. 1.2298; BAPD 32454; Shapiro (1989a: pl.10a); see **fig.3**; see also a neck-amphora attributed to the Affector: Munich 1441; *ABV* 243.44, 238, 242; *Add.*² 62; BAPD 301332*; see **fig.4**.

¹³¹ Eleusis 837 (471); *ABV* 309.97; *Para.* 133; *Add.*² 83; BAPD 301576. There are other examples of processions including branches, for instance BAPD 302908, 320383*, 32454, 498.

¹³² For example, branches are held by a mourning figure on the plaque fragments in Berlin attributed to Exekias: Berlin F1814 and F1823; *ABV* 146.22-23; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAPD 350493; see Mommsen (1997: 48, pl.XIV). Branches in scenes set in sacred spaces can be seen on an olpe akin to the Dot-ivy Group where draped youths approach herms with branches: Louvre N3378 (LP2313, F325); *ABV* 448.2; BAPD 330141. On a later lekythos attributed to the Athena Painter, Athena is depicted between cocks, which are in turn flanked by men holding staffs and branches: Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery 33.135 (G479); *ABL* 256.34; *ABV* 522; BAPD 330737.

¹³³ Burkert (1979b: 43) comments on the use of branches:

Another...ritual is the carrying of branches in procession. This is quite common in Greek religion; we know of it in the procession of *mýstai* at Eleusis, and especially of the members of the Bacchic *thíasos* – the *thýrsos* is the stylized form of it; but the custom was nearly ubiquitous in cult.

¹³⁴ On a hydria in Athens attributed to the Analatos Painter, women and men dance towards a lyre-player: Athens 313; Boardman (1998: 98-99, fig.188). Another example, an amphora, from the same hand again shows women and men dancing to the pipes: Louvre CA2985; Boardman (1998: 98, fig.189). An Eretrian amphora depicts a similar scene: Athens 12129; Boardman (1998: 121, fig.226). Kowalzig (2004: 40-41) states that these scenes show a chorus, proof that ‘choral song belongs to the earliest known practices in ancient Greek communities’. Certainly in the *Iliad* (18.590-594) the decoration of Achilles’ shield includes a chorus, identified in part because they hold each other by the wrist.

¹³⁵ Lonsdale (1993: xv) points out the ‘widely recognized importance of dance and related phenomena in Greek cults and festivals’.

¹³⁶ Lawler (1947: 344). See also Fritton (1973: 254-258) on the ritual nature of dance.

¹³⁷ Lawler (1947: 346).

connect the vase scene with the Delia, a ritual occasion with its focus on the Triad as outlined in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.¹³⁸

2.2.4 Analysis of the vase-paintings with regard to the Delia

The vases of the Delian Triad provide some pieces of evidence to support the theory proposed here that the vase-paintings of Apollo kitharoidos flanked by goddesses (two or more) may evoke the Delia. Each type of evidence on its own does not constitute enough proof to sustain such a hypothesis, it is true, but taken together as an accumulation of data such a conclusion can be verifiable. The various elements addressed in the following section are: the centrality of music, the focus on the family group with its allusion to the mythological narrative of Apollo's birth, and the emphasis on feminine participants. In addition, that some of the representations of the god with his mother and sister are set on Delos is a crucial component of this interpretation, but has been addressed in detail above so will not be repeated here.¹³⁹ All of these aspects are stressed in the vase-painting and in the literature of the time, namely *The Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. That the Athenians were aware of and participated in the Delia is demonstrated through Peisistratos' activity on Delos¹⁴⁰ and will become more apparent as the categories below are explored.

2.2.4.1 The emphasis on music

Scenes of the Delian Triad are inevitably focused on the depiction of the kithara in the hands of Apollo. He is after all the central figure and Artemis and Leto provide an audience listening to his performance.¹⁴¹ The focus on the performance of music that is found in the Delian Triad scenes is also evident in the literature describing the festival; it is clear the festivals were known for their choruses and dances as we hear in the *Homeric*

¹³⁸ 'The Maidens of Delos, the servants of the Far-shooter, who, after first hymning Apollo, and then in turn Leto and Artemis profuse of arrows, turn their thoughts to the men and women of old and sing a song that charms the peoples.' 157-161, trans. West (2003: 82-83).

¹³⁹ For a discussion see subsection 2.2.2, p.62.

¹⁴⁰ See Thucydides (3.104) and Aloni (2009: 55-56). Wilson (2007: 175) notes that at least by the classical period the Delia were 'the great festival for Apollo "abroad"' and Rutherford (1994: 67) cites inscriptional evidence proving that at least by the 420s six *arkhithēōroi* helped to fund the embassy to Delos. While this evidence is from the Classical period, Rutherford (1994: 82) affirms that the Athenian delegation to Delos is an ancient tradition.

¹⁴¹ See for example an unattributed neck-amphora, c.540 BC: Orvieto, Duomo 333; BAPD 43331; Shapiro (1989a: pl.27c); see **fig.21**. A later example can be seen on a neck-amphora attributed to the Pasikles Painter, c.510 BC: Syracuse 50820; *ABV* 328.3; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301760*.

Hymn. Xenophon states that the choral groups competing at Delos from Athens were seen as the best,¹⁴² and Callimachus praises the choruses of the men and the dancing of the girls.¹⁴³ The festivals themselves seem to be based on the performance of music and dance (including the contests between musicians and choruses).¹⁴⁴ It seems unambiguous that the music is the most important element of this festival in both the spectacles and the competitions. Winners of these choral contests were awarded tripods, as is recorded on some later inscriptions.¹⁴⁵ This may well have been the practice as early as the sixth century; on a Type B amphora from c.530 BC attributed to the Swing Painter a large palm tree decorated with what appear to be strips of coloured cloth stands between two tripods.¹⁴⁶ Two draped men frame the image. This vase-painting is perhaps a rendition of the triumphant chorus leaders with their prizes, as the palm tree and the garments hanging in its branches seem to suggest the setting be taken as Delos and the situation as one of festivity.¹⁴⁷

2.2.4.2 The emphasis on the family group

It is apparent that Apollo's identity in the vase-painting of the second half of the sixth century is fundamentally one created from his relationship with Leto and Artemis, given that the numerous scenes of the Delian Triad are likely to show mother, brother, and sister.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, when Apollo is shown in scenes playing for an audience, his mother and/or sister may appear in the audience in up to 73.9% of the instances.¹⁴⁹ It is

¹⁴² Xenophon *Memorabilia* 3.3.12.

¹⁴³ Callimachus 4.300-306. Rutherford (1994-1995: 72) sees the singing of the Delian Maidens as a part of the celebration at the arrival of the Athenian delegation.

¹⁴⁴ Arnold (1933: 452).

¹⁴⁵ Wilson (2007: 175-176); Rutherford (2004: 86); Arnold (1933: 455).

¹⁴⁶ Munich 1395; *ABV* 305.24; *BAPD* 301504*; see **fig.68**.

¹⁴⁷ Shapiro (1989a: 60) argues that this scene shows the Pythion, but no building is shown and the palm tree is most closely connected with the island Delos at this time rather than as a marker for Apollo himself or his cult elsewhere. Shapiro (1989a: 82n164) reminds the reader that the Swing Painter is interested in festival and cult (and by extension, therefore, more observant of and influenced by such ritual activity).

¹⁴⁸ See subsection 2.2.3, p.65.

¹⁴⁹ In working out these statistics, all scenes of Apollo playing for an audience in seemingly non-mythological settings were included (therefore representations of weddings, chariot scenes, the Birth of Athena, and Herakles' apotheosis were excluded). Some of these scenes are uncertain, such as the large number of scenes which depict Apollo playing for just one female figure. Nonetheless, given the frequent depictions of Apollo with his mother and sister (excluded in the number of Apollo with his sister or mother are all those that show an identifiable Athena) and the examples which include a palm tree or Artemis identified through attribute or inscription, it seems a reasonable assumption that the majority of unidentifiable goddesses in similar scenes can be taken as Artemis (or to a lesser extent, Leto). There are also seven scenes which show Apollo playing for Athena and another female figure in non-narrative scenes; the unidentified goddess may well be Artemis, but these seven have not been included in the number of

particularly his mother who is associated with Delos and his playing of the kithara, and this too is represented in the images. When a comparison is made between the scenes of Apollo in his musical aspect and Apollo in his archer aspect, Leto becomes associated almost exclusively with the former (Artemis is in regular attendance at the battle over the Tripod). Apart from scenes depicting Tityos abducting Leto, there are only a few examples which show Leto alongside Apollo when he holds his bow and arrows.¹⁵⁰ The centrality of the combination of the twins and their mother is attested to in the festival through the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*; the author, in his description of the celebrations, singles out the song of the Maidens of Delos, who sing first of ‘Apollo, and then in turn Leto and Artemis profuse of arrows’.¹⁵¹

In other literature of the archaic and early classical period, this same family group is emphasised since Apollo is frequently referred to as the son of Leto in his epithets. This is quite surprising since the usual way of identifying oneself in ancient Athens was through one’s father and deme. Out of the 507 epithets collected in works down to about the middle of the fifth century BC, 66 refer to his mother or father. Of these over half are describing his relationship to Leto with no mention of Zeus at all,¹⁵² while another ten percent mention both parents.¹⁵³ This firmly establishes Leto’s importance in association with Apollo. Apollo’s connection with Leto and the island of Delos are brought together in one of Bacchylides’ victory odes where he describes the god as Delos-born son of deep-girded Leto.¹⁵⁴

Apollo playing for his mother or sister. The raw data for this observation is as follows: there are 307 scenes of Apollo playing for an audience in a non-narrative scene, and Artemis and/or Leto can be found in 227 of these.

¹⁵⁰ See the amphora from c.560 mentioned above: lost; BAPD 9804; *LIMC* Artemis 1116•; see **fig.10**; see also two late lekythoi attributed to the Beldam Class, both showing Apollo in his mother’s arms shooting the Python, c.470: Paris, Cab. Méd. 306; *ABV* 572.7; *Para.* 294; *Add.*² 137; BAPD 330984*; *LIMC* 7 Python 3*; and Bergen VK62.115; *Para.* 294; BAPD 352169*. There is one other depiction of Apollo with his mother and holding his bow and arrows. The god, with his kithara and his bow, is seated in a tripod travelling across the sea; Artemis and Leto frame the scene: neck-amphora attributed to the Ready Painter; Louvre CP10619; *ABV* 685.8; *Para.* 53; *Add.*² 35; BAPD 306550*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 381*; see **fig.14**; for more information on this vase, see above, p.54n28.

¹⁵¹ Lines 158-159; trans. West (2003: 82-83).

¹⁵² See for example, Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός ‘glorious son of Leto’: *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 176, 189, 416; or Λατοΐδας ‘son of Leto’: Pindar, *Pythian* 4.259; cf. *Nemean* 9.53; *Paeon* 6.15.

¹⁵³ Such as in the *Shield* 202: Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱὸς ‘son of Zeus and Leto’.

¹⁵⁴ Bacchylides *Epinician* 11.16-17: Δαλογενῆς υἱὸς βαθυζώνοιο Λατοῦς.

Apollo and Artemis are frequently described together or in relation to one another;¹⁵⁵ as twins their relationship is already an exceptional one. The significance of the family group made up of mother, brother and sister is evident in the vase-painting and the literature; Apollo's identity as a kithara player and as Delian-born is embedded within this family grouping which hints at a correlation between the depictions on vases and the festival on Delos.

2.2.4.3 The focus on female figures as companions of Apollo

When Apollo is depicted in middle and late black-figure playing his kithara, he plays for female figures in the majority of these scenes.¹⁵⁶ This seems odd since in cult practice his influence is much more centred on the nurturing of young ephebes.¹⁵⁷ His identity seems to be shaped by his association with his mother and sister and other goddesses such as the Muses. In fact, of all the examples which include Apollo holding a kithara in the BAPD in a non-narrative scene,¹⁵⁸ he plays for *only* female figures in 54% of scenes,¹⁵⁹ he plays for

¹⁵⁵ In the *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (9.1-2), the goddess is described as κασιγνήτην Ἐκάτοιο 'sister of the Far-shooter' and ὁμότροφον Ἀπόλλωνος 'fellow nursling of Apollo', trans. West (2003: 190-191). For other examples of the two deities described together, and sometimes explicitly referred to as born of Leto, see *Odyssey* 15.410; *Theogony* 14 and 918; Pindar *Paean* 5.44; and Bacchylides *Fragments* 20D.5-6 in Maehler (2004: 76).

¹⁵⁶ According to Stansbury-O'Donnell, women are only rarely placed as spectators at musical scenes (2006: 224). Consequently the large number of scenes of a kitharist framed by two or more female figures must be explained another way. As a result the female gender of the audience may be taken as one of the major markers for the god Apollo as opposed to a mortal player. For a discussion of how the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* presents Apollo as a reckless god who triumphs over female adversaries, see Felson (2009: 151-153). This focus on female enemies may be a further piece of evidence suggesting the god's mythological association with goddesses or women.

¹⁵⁷ As Rutherford (1994-1995: 114) explains in his analysis of the paean, 'There is a resemblance between the singers and the deity invoked, who is generally a young male, a model for both *epheboi* and *paides*'. On Apollo as *kourotrophos* to Iamos, see Pindar, *Pythian* 6 and Felson (2009: 156-159); Calame (1977: 108-110) sees the Delia as a festival of renewal and nurturing.

¹⁵⁸ The same data was used as outlined above, p.77n149. The raw data is as follows: total number of scenes included: 307; number of scenes showing only female figures: 165; scenes of female and male listeners: 121; scenes which show only male listeners: 21. When taken together, in 93.2% of scenes in which Apollo plays for an audience, female figures are present, if not the only ones depicted.

¹⁵⁹ This includes scenes with more than two female figures, such as the three figures standing around Apollo on an olpe with an inscription praising Euphiletos: New York 06.1021.47; *ABV* 667; *Add.*² 148; BAPD 306435; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 31b*; see **fig.40**; or as on a skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter: St. Petersburg 4498; *Para.* 257; BAPD 351547; *LIMC* Apollon 702*; see **fig.31**.

female and male figures (usually deities) in 39% of the scenes,¹⁶⁰ and so in only 7% of the scenes does he play for male figures only – usually iconographically identified as gods.¹⁶¹

Black-figure vase-painters only rarely paint scenes of the actual happenings at a festival; rather they chose to represent a mythological episode or story that both explains the origins of the festival and evokes the yearly event at the same time.¹⁶² The Delia seem to have been concentrated on several important elements that arise from the story of the birth of Apollo – his family connections, his association with the island through his mother Leto and his love of music, song and dance. The vase-painters then pick up on these important aspects, and evoke this particular myth in order to depict the Delia in the scene-type of the Triad. The god is central in the scene, the festival is, after all, in his honour, and he is shown holding the musical instrument he is best known for. He is performing, as the competitors at the festival would do, but in this case for his mother and sister. Their presence calls to mind the reason for Apollo's festival on Delos – Leto's giving birth to him there.¹⁶³ The composition of the god framed by female figures, either pairs or single figures, may have brought to mind the celebrated Delian Maidens; this will be explored in the following section.

2.2.5 Scenes of choruses and the Delia beyond the Delian Triad

Thus far the focus of this chapter has been on the scenes of the Delian Triad: identifying the goddesses and establishing the connection between Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, and their association with Delos. The portrayals of Muses have only been used to support the argument that when two female figures are represented framing Apollo on his kithara, they were primarily intended as and received as Artemis and Leto (regardless of what

¹⁶⁰ These scenes frequently include Poseidon, as on an amphora attributed to the circle of the Lysippides Painter, c.530 BC: Boston 68.46; BAPD 753*; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1154*; see **fig.41**; or Hermes and Poseidon as on a neck-amphora attributed to the Medea Group: London B262; *ABV* 321.3; *Add.*² 87; BAPD 301684*; see **fig.42**.

¹⁶¹ For instance Apollo plays for Dionysos (ivy wreath, kantharos) and Hermes (hat, kerykeion) on a neck-amphora attributed to the Priam Painter: London 1867.5-8.952 (B255); *ABV* 331.14; *Add.*² 90; BAPD 301792*; see **fig.43**; and on an unattributed neck-amphora in Texas: McCoy (once Castle Ashby 7); BAPD 29*; see **fig.44**.

¹⁶² See Mackay (2003: 265-66).

¹⁶³ According to Herodotus (4.33-4.35), the first celebration of the Delia was brought about by the Hyperboreans sending youths and maidens to Delos with payment to Eileithyia for easing the birth pains of Leto. In these stories too, the birth of Apollo on Delos and the participation of women in the myth are central; see also Calame (1997: 106-107)

other interpretations may have arisen subsequently). Apollo's role as a kithara player extends much further than as a brother and son who performs for his family members, however. He also provides the music for ritual or festival occasions, both mortal and divine,¹⁶⁴ and he takes the lead on his kithara for a chorus of women or Muses.¹⁶⁵ Apollo, as the divine kithara player, must also take on the role of the choregos, or leader of the chorus,¹⁶⁶ and this function is by no means ignored in black-figure.

The lead of the player of the stringed instrument is attested to in literature as is demonstrated by Pindar,¹⁶⁷ and on the François Vase Theseus leads the dance of maidens and youths while playing his lyre.¹⁶⁸ A further example of a musician leading a group of women is clearly illustrated on a type B amphora in Copenhagen.¹⁶⁹ At the right of the scene a male sits on a stool, holding a sceptre, and is probably Zeus. Hermes approaches him, followed by Apollo playing his kithara, while four female figures, represented in pairs, walk behind Apollo holding krotala.¹⁷⁰ The number of female figures and their activity in the scene does rather indicate that they are Muses, represented as a chorus, and the representation of movement is another marker of their role. The Priam Painter's hydria in Berlin is another good example of a musical procession with Apollo leading: it shows the god with his kithara followed by five female figures, with Dionysos behind.¹⁷¹ This

¹⁶⁴ This is definitely the case for scenes involving Apollo playing the kithara for a wedding chariot, or for Herakles' apotheosis.

¹⁶⁵ A lekythos attributed to the Sappho Painter, dated to early in the fifth century BC, shows Apollo playing his kithara for Muses, one with a lyre, and the others with krotala: Louvre MNB910; *ABL* 226.7, pl. 32.2A-B; BAPD 7974; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 701a*; see **fig.45**.

¹⁶⁶ Scully (2009: 92, with bibliography n.4) describes Apollo as the choregos of the Olympian dance. Apollo is represented in this role in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 186-203; see Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (1936: 229) for their commentary on Apollo keeping time and high-stepping. Calame (1997: 43-45, 48-49) discusses the choregos and his function as a leader of the chorus (rather like the conductor). He provides a section on Apollo (49-53) and one on Theseus (53-58) as choregoi.

¹⁶⁷ *Pythian* 1.1-4. Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophists* (5.180d-e) comments on this, citing Hesiod and Archilochus:

For it was not the tumblers who took the lead, but they all danced while the singer led, since taking the lead is the lyre's proper function. That is why Hesiod says in the *Shield* [lines 205-206], 'and the divine Muses of Pieria were taking the lead in the song,' and Archilochus (see Gerber 1999: 160-161, fr.121): 'I myself taking the lead in the Lesbian paean to the pipe's accompaniment'.

¹⁶⁸ Volute-krater signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos, c.570 BC: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*; *LIMC* 7 Theseus 276*.

¹⁶⁹ Dated to c.520-510; Copenhagen 3241; BAPD 8570*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 137*; see **fig.46**.

¹⁷⁰ A rather curious anomaly is noted by Paquette (1984: 208): only 6 pairs of krotala are shown, rather than the eight one might expect. He explains this as an error in the painting, but possibly the sense of the image was clear enough, and the closest female figures to the viewer would have confused the image if they had extended their right arms holding krotala as well into the clear space in front of them.

¹⁷¹ Berlin F1905; *ABV* 332.23; *Para.* 146; *Add.*² 90, BAPD 301801*; see **fig.32**.

type of depiction of the god playing his kithara with a group of female figures following him may have put the ancient Greeks in mind of a chorus.¹⁷²

There are some certain representations of choruses preserved from the sixth and early fifth centuries,¹⁷³ and from these depictions specific elements can be singled out as markers for choral activity. These components include costume (sometimes representing animals), repetitions of gestures or pose between participants, musical accompaniment, a sense of a linear arrangement sometimes in pairs, and in later scenes a setting relating to theatre. One significant example of a chorus can be found on an amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686 in Berlin.¹⁷⁴ On the obverse, a youth plays the pipes for helmeted youths who are carried on the shoulders of men dressed as horses, while the reverse shows satyrs and maenads waiting in line for their satyr piper to begin. Both scenes are most likely evoking choruses¹⁷⁵ and therefore performances: one is obviously human, the other mythological. Earlier than the amphora in Berlin is a Siana Cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter in Amsterdam.¹⁷⁶ On this cup, dancing men are shown wearing headbands with vertical attachments to represent some kind of animal or satyr,¹⁷⁷ and their repetitious movements and the presence of a piper strongly suggest that a chorus is depicted here.¹⁷⁸

There are other examples of choruses and most of these show a piper, not a kitharist, as providing the musical accompaniment to the dancers. On a mastoid in Rome, a group of

¹⁷² Apollo's link to choruses is attested to in Pherekydes where a story is presented in which Apollo and Philonis produce the son Philammon, 'the first man to train choruses of maidens' (*FGrH* 1A, 3F120). Ovid, in his *Metamorphoses* also tells the tale: 11.301-27. For more information see Gantz (1993: 93-94).

¹⁷³ For a collation of examples of choruses, see Green (1985).

¹⁷⁴ Type B amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686: Berlin 1697; *ABV* 297.17; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 78; BAPD 320396*; **see fig.47.**

¹⁷⁵ This vase has understandably appeared in many publications. Rusten (2006: 45-46, 52-53) associates it with dithyramb perhaps showing some signs of very early comedy; Green (1985: 100, fig.6, cat.3) includes this vase in his catalogue of choruses, although only the 'knights' are mentioned; Moore and Schwartz (2006: 39) too use the vase to illustrate an early chorus.

¹⁷⁶ Amsterdam 3356; *ABV* 66.57; *Para.* 27; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300600*; **see fig.48.**

¹⁷⁷ Brijder convincingly argues that this headgear represents 'satyr ears' (1986: 75); *contra* Webster (1970a: 34) who suggests they may be phalloi, while the clothing of the dancers is feminine.

¹⁷⁸ Compare a scene on the shoulder of a hydria possibly by a painter from the Circle of Lydos (see Moore [2006: 45-49] on the attribution) in New York on which is depicted a line of four men wearing what might be satyr ears dancing for a piper: New York 1988.11.3; BAPD 12278; Moore (2006: fig.2); **see fig.49.** Moore (2006: 40), who discusses this vase in detail, concludes that the dancers are a part of a chorus although no firm conclusion is reached as to the identity of the participants. Green (1985: 100, fig.5, cat.2) comments that apart from the 'ears' (which also adorn the headband of the piper) there are no other signals that these men are intended as satyrs, although he draws a connection between this and the Siana Cup in Amsterdam. Brijder (1986: 72) also draws a comparison between the Amsterdam cup and this hydria in New York.

youths, some wearing masks (of women?) on their heads, are dancing to the accompaniment of a piper.¹⁷⁹ A later example shows a chorus of soldiers on dolphins on a cup near the Theseus Painter with a man playing the aulos.¹⁸⁰ There are some instances of a chorus performing to the kithara. A chorus of satyrs, in procession, are depicted approaching an altar to the sound of the kithara.¹⁸¹

The examples of choruses outlined above are related to dramatic choruses (or pre-dramatic choruses) and therefore show only male participants rather than women. Nevertheless there are scenes of women performing as dancers or taking part in a procession and these activities are most likely to have included singing in unison: a chorus.¹⁸² It is these actions, singing, dancing, playing music, along with sacrifices, that define proper festivities and therefore a civilised polis.¹⁸³ Scenes of women dancing to the lyre or kithara are not uncommon,¹⁸⁴ and Webster argues that the crane dance is only performed to the lyre, not the pipes.¹⁸⁵ The scenes of Apollo playing the kithara for

¹⁷⁹ Rome, Museo Artistico; BAPD 11358; Bieber (1961: 43, fig.182); **see fig.50**. On this vase see Webster (1970a: 32-33, pl.4a) who notes that three of the eight dancers are wearing girl's head masks on top of their own heads, and one of the dancers is depicted as a fat komast; all are dancing to the sound of the pipes. Webster discusses men dressing as women or girls in drama here with reference to this vase. Bieber (1961: 43), in her discussion of this vase, proposes that it shows 'some popular entertainment'.

¹⁸⁰ Louvre CA1924; *Para.* 259; *Add.*² 130; BAPD 351585*; **see fig.51**.

¹⁸¹ Five satyrs process from a herm to an altar while playing kitharai on a lekythos attributed to the Gela Painter, c. 490-480 BC: Taranto 6250; *ABL* 208.56; *Para.* 215; BAPD 340818*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 125*; **see fig.52**; Trendall and Webster (1971: 25-26, fig.1.18) illustrate the entirety of the lekythos in colour with a brief discussion of the scene. Another example can be found on skyphos fragments attributed to the Theseus Painter: Budapest 54.230; BAPD 14998. The Theseus Painter is well-known for his affinity for cult scenes; his representation of the ship-cart of Dionysos is the most obvious example of this: Bologna 16516 (130); *ABL* 253.15; BAPD 4321*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 829*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 81*; **see fig.53**.

¹⁸² On the combining of singing and dancing, and the processions as including song and music see Rutherford (2008: 80) and West (1992: 14-15) who discusses the *prosodion* or processional song.

¹⁸³ West (1992: 13-14 and bibliography 13n2).

¹⁸⁴ For a proto-Attic example see above, pp.74-75 and n.134; and on the neck of a geometric hydria Webster (1970b: 9) explains that the women are emphasised as singers rather than just dancers: Athens 18435; BAPD 9018340*. For a later example see the women holding hands and dancing on the shoulder of the Amasis Painter's lekythos in New York: 56.11.1; *Para.* 66; *Add.*² 45; BAPD 350478*. In the late geometric and proto-Attic periods, the lyre is the instrument of choice for chorus lines whether the dancers be men or women or both. Power (2010: 201-202 with bibliography) explains that the *prooimion* (on this term, see Power [2010: 187n5]) was played on the kithara (or lyre) to lead in the chorus, showing that the kithara was indeed used for choruses.

¹⁸⁵ Webster (1970b: 10). Bruneau (1970: 37-38) lists the inscriptions from the Hellenistic period which specify pipers as accompanying the girls' choruses, see also Calame (1977: 109-110). Setting aside the late date of these inscriptions, the evidence gathered from the vase scenes of Apollo with Muses or women dancing suggests that the kithara, too, could be used to lead the chorus, and the association of the chorus with Apollo may have led to the depiction of the chorus led by a kitharist.

several female figures, then, can be associated with choral activity, much of which occurred during festivals.

Depictions of groups of female figures listening to the kithara being played by the god can be divided into two different scene-types: those arranged in pairs framing Apollo, or those processing along in a line behind or towards him. The second of these types is often interpreted as a scene of Muses or a chorus because of their processional aspect;¹⁸⁶ this reading matches well with Apollo, the Muses, and the Delia so the focus here will be on the paired female figures. The first of these types, those in pairs,¹⁸⁷ can be dated from c.530 BC down to the end of the sixth century. This time frame, combined with the positioning of the figures on the vases in the same static positions as the Delian Triad, is indicative of a development on the theme of the Delian Triad. A typical example of this scene-type can be found on a neck-amphora in Agrigento from the last quarter of the sixth century, where Apollo is depicted in the centre playing his kithara with two pairs of female figures flanking him.¹⁸⁸ A reasonable assumption would be to see these figures as Muses, even though they are not shown with musical instruments in this portrayal; one can still assume that they may be accompanying the god with their voices.¹⁸⁹ But the strong similarity between the layout of these scenes and those of the Delian Triad contrasted with the striking addition of two extra female figures denotes that the scene of the pairs of female figures with Apollo must be read in conjunction with a familiarity of

¹⁸⁶ See for example, Queyrel (1985), and see above, p.81n171 and p.82n172. On lines and processions in choral lyric, see Calame (1997: 38-43).

¹⁸⁷ Some choruses, including the dance led by Theseus on Delos, were performed in a circle or at least in a circular form: see Calame (1997: 34-38, 53-54). The pairs of female figures may be suggestive either of two lines facing one another or of a kind of semi-circle, rendered in a stylised symmetrical form on the vase.

¹⁸⁸ Agrigento R138; BAPD 15752*; see fig.54. Other scenes of the same type by the Leagros Group include two neck-amphorae from c.520-500 BC, one in Rome and one in London: Villa Giulia 760; *ABV* 372.156; BAPD 302151*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 28a*; see fig.55; and London 1848.6-19.3 (B261); *ABV* 373.176; *Para.* 163; *Add.*² 99; BAPD 302171*; *LIMC* Mousa, Mousai 28b*; see fig.29. A later red-figure column-krater attributed to the Siren Painter shows a dramatic (?) chorus presented in pairs approaching an altar, a detail which may help to provide further support to the hypothesis that the groups of female figures, often shown in pairs, with Apollo kitharoidos may be interpreted as both a divine chorus (the Muses) and a mortal chorus of the Delian Maidens: Basel BS415; BAPD 260*.

¹⁸⁹ The goddesses are usually depicted as simply framing the god but sometimes a dance is implied through the inclusion of krotala, as on a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group which recalls Acheloos Painter: Orvieto, Faina Coll.; *ABV* 372.162; BAPD 302157*; see fig.56. A similar scene, also on a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group, shows Apollo standing with a deer behind him, while two pairs of female figures, one with krotala, frame him as he plays his kithara: Louvre F256; *ABV* 371.152, BAPD 302147*; see fig.57. With regard to song, the usual indicator is an open mouth. However, women are painted white over a black slip which would make the depiction of open mouths more difficult which may explain why such a phenomenon is missing here.

the Delian Triad and all that entails.¹⁹⁰ The depictions of the Delian Triad, with their likely evocation of the Delia, encourage a rather more complex interpretation of these scenes of Apollo framed by pairs of female figures: these too can be linked to the Delia and more specifically the singing of the Delian Maidens.

Apart from the choral contests in which the Athenians competed, it seems that the key defining element of the Delia was the performance (or performances) of the Delian Maidens.¹⁹¹ This essential component of the Delia would therefore have been one of the principal methods of evoking or recalling the Delia, as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* shows us.¹⁹² Apollo is the subject of at least some of the song sung by the Delian Maidens, and no doubt the god's connection with other artistic females would not have been lost on a Greek audience. The Muses, the epitome of skill in singing and dancing,¹⁹³ perform in the same manner as the Maidens just twenty lines later in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.¹⁹⁴ The close proximity in this text between the Delian Maidens and the Muses is beneficial in emphasising the skill of the Delian Maidens and also in creating a contrast between the mortal world and the immortal realm. Athenian vase-painters were well aware of this divide between humans and gods, but they preferred to focus on the divine examples of mortal experiences in order to elevate the human viewer of the vase to the same level as the gods. The best example of this is in black-figure wedding scenes; the bride and groom in the chariot are hardly ever identified, but if they are, it is almost always gods or heroes depicted. Thus the viewers of the vase may recall their own

¹⁹⁰ On some vases on which Apollo is depicted with two pairs of female figures, Dionysos and Hermes join the group. Adding these two gods into the picture creates an even more compelling similarity between the scenes of the Delian Triad and these. On a lekythos near the Gela Painter, c.500 BC, is a scene of the Delian Triad which includes Dionysos and Hermes: Geneva 12048; *ABV* 475; *Para.* 214.9; *Add.*² 120; BAPD 303363*; see **fig.58**. A similar layout is found on a neck-amphora from c.520-510 BC, in which two pairs of female figures are framed by Dionysos on the left and Hermes on the right: Paris, Cab. Méd. 231; BAPD 7840*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 779*; see **fig.30**. The same schema is depicted on a lekythos in the manner of the Edinburgh Painter, c.510-500 BC: Dublin 1917.36; BAPD 7839; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 779b*; see **fig.59**.

¹⁹¹ Kowalzig (2004: 50, 54) suggests that Delos exists for song and dance through choruses. On male choruses at Delos, see Bruneau (1970: 70-72).

¹⁹² The Maidens and their singing are described at lines 156-164,

this great wonder, the fame of which will never perish: The Maidens of Delos, the servants of the Far-shooter, who, after first hymning Apollo, and then in turn Leto and Artemis profuse of arrows, turn their thoughts to men and women of old and sing a song that charms the peoples. They know how to mimic all people's voices and their babble; anyone might think it was he himself speaking, so well is their singing constructed. Trans. West (2003: 82-83).

¹⁹³ See subsection 2.2.1, p.60.

¹⁹⁴ Lines 186-203. The women of the fabled Hyperborean peoples dance and sing for Apollo in a description of a celebration told in Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 10.30-44; see also *Shield of Herakles* 201-206.

weddings, especially if the identity of the figures is ambiguous, and in so doing compare their experience to the divine occurrence that is evoked in the scene.¹⁹⁵ The Delian Maidens are depicted on the vases in the same positions as Artemis and Leto, but their plurality and proximity to the god would also remind the viewer of the divine chorus of Muses. Thus the scenes of Apollo framed by pairs of female figures seem likely to have evoked the Delia and the Muses, and it is the Delian Maidens who bring these two aspects into the mortal and festival realm.¹⁹⁶

2.2.6 Summary

In effect, when choosing to paint the Delian Triad, the vase-painters (who were Athenian) picked out the essential elements of the festival, the aspects they would have been familiar with as reinforced by myth or the results of a recent contest at the Delia – the music, the honouring of Apollo and the special sacred place Leto held on Delos. They chose to represent a mythological event in order to evoke the festival which celebrates the same aspects of the god. In short, we can see at the same time the essence of the festival *and* the story behind it: that of Apollo's birth. They work together to create an image of the god and an evocation of the festival.

¹⁹⁵ On this aspect in black-figure representations of weddings, see Bissett (2007).

¹⁹⁶ Rutherford (2008: 80) points out that the Delian Maidens were one of a very few choral groups that were actually associated with a temple; see also Richardson (2011: 28). It is true that there are no examples of Apollo playing for more than two female figures with a palm tree included in the scene, but nonetheless the Delian Triad scenes appeared first, and some of the early examples did indeed have the marker for Delos added to the scene. It is therefore the composition of the scene and the fact that the framing figures are female that suggests that the setting can be taken as Delos in these examples of Apollo playing for pairs of goddesses. Delphi also had a chorus of women: see Power (2011: 102-110); Pindar, *Paean 2* 96-102. It is possible to argue that the scenes of Apollo flanked by pairs of female figures might have been interpreted as Apollo playing for the Delphides, but the similarity in composition between the pairs of goddesses, and Artemis and Leto, and the latter's association with Delos rather than Delphi undermines such a position. Furthermore, it seems that the Delphides were less readily recognised than the Delian Maidens: Power (2011: 102).

2.3 Delphi

Apollo as the young ephebe is the focus of vase-painters' depictions of the god at Delphi, most notably during the struggle over the Delphic Tripod. In contrast to Apollo the musician centred on Delos, the paintings of Apollo equipped with his bow and often dressed in short garments highlight his active and physical role. This may well be a reflection of the mythology and festivals associated with Delphi which are more clearly concerned with challenge and violence. In contrast to the trio so familiar from the Delian scenes, Leto is not a major participant in the portrayals of Apollo at Delphi, although Artemis the archer is a frequent companion. This chapter will concentrate mainly on those vases which depict the struggle for the Tripod, as there are few representations of the god in other situations that can be associated with Delphi. The attention paid to Apollo's competitive and active role in mythology and the emphasis on conflict found on the vases can be arguably related to the Septerion festival; thus once more festivals can be seen as a major influence on the vase-painters in the execution of their craft.

2.3.1 Delphic festivals

The major deities who presided over Delphi were Apollo and Dionysos, the former over the summer months and the latter over the winter months. The festivals held for Apollo included large Panhellenic celebrations and processions as well as smaller rituals.¹⁹⁷ The large Greek-wide festival, the Septerion, was held every eight or nine years and was a re-enactment of Apollo's fight with Python, his purification and his return with his signature laurel leaves.¹⁹⁸ A temporary hut was built in the sanctuary on the sacred threshing floor and at night a large procession which included many women holding torches was led by a *pais amphithales* up to the hut which was set alight, perhaps with fiery arrows. Possibly the hut was supposed to house Python who was the possessor of the oracle before Apollo took over by force. As the hut burned, all those in the procession turned and ran away.

¹⁹⁷ One of these smaller festivals was held every year on the seventh of Bysios, the birthday of Apollo, and its purpose was to welcome him back from the North among the Hyperboreans or Theoxenis where he had spent the winter. These festivities included a feast and a contest for poets, as well as a competition for the largest or best vegetable; in essence a celebration of spring. Hoyle (1967: 84) cites "an inscription [that] tells of the prize given to someone who exhibited the finest leek" for evidence for the vegetable show.

¹⁹⁸ Plutarch *Moralia* 293c. For this festival, see Calame (1997: 101-103) and Hoyle (1967: 85-86).

Following this destruction of the hut, the *pais amphithales* and his companions would walk to Tempe, which took about a week. Once there, the *pais amphithales* would collect some sacred laurel branches¹⁹⁹ and other sacred objects and make the long journey back to Delphi.²⁰⁰ He was accompanied by a piper, and the sacred laurel branches would be used to crown the victors of the Pythian Games.²⁰¹ On the way back the sacred procession stopped at many small towns or settlements, and the villagers joined in with the celebration; it was considered a great honour to provide for the participants returning to Delphi. In this way, a large portion of Greece was included in the commemoration of Apollo's victory over Python. Once the party arrived back at Delphi choral contests were held and Paeans were sung to the god.

The Pythian Games,²⁰² another large Panhellenic celebration of Apollo, were held every four years. Competitions for kithara players were a part of the festival program before the re-organisation of the Games after the Sacred War in 590 BC, approximately 586 BC.²⁰³ Added to the much older musical contests at this time were athletics, as well as one particular competition in which contestants had to compose and perform a song which followed a very strict pattern. Each performance had to consist of five prescribed parts, and the musical instruments used were required to be a combination of the aulos, kithara, and salpinx or trumpet. The five parts were a reflection of Apollo's victory over Python:²⁰⁴

1. Looking at the battlefield
2. Challenges and abuse
3. Fight scene

¹⁹⁹ Pausanias (10.5.9) writes that the first temple of Apollo at Delphi was built out of laurel from Tempe.

²⁰⁰ Plutarch *Moralia* 417f-418b.

²⁰¹ Plutarch *Moralia* 1136a-b.

²⁰² While the Games were a very important part of Delphi in the archaic period, the oracle was the reason for the sanctuary and was well-established before the athletic and musical contests: Davies (2007: 63-4). Valavanis (2004) discusses all of the major games and their sanctuaries; for the Delphic games see 162-267.

²⁰³ Pausanias (10.7.2-8) describes the order of events added to the Games after 586 BC and also gives the names of some of the victors. From Pausanias it appears that the musical contests with the kithara were older even than the re-organisation of the Games at this time. Herington (1985: 161-6, esp. 163-4) gives a brief outline of all the musical contests in festivals, and his section on Delphi states the date for Pausanias' victors as 582 BC. See also Hoyle (1967: 88-9). Lysias in the pseudo-Plutarch *On Music* (XIV 363 [1132E]) comments on the age of the musical contests in Delphi by stating that Terpander won four victories at the Games singing to his kithara.

²⁰⁴ Strabo 9.3.10; see also Richardson (2011: 26-27); Hoyle (1967: 87-9).

4. Hymn to celebrate Apollo's success
5. Dance of celebration

There is also evidence that prizes were given to artists, as well as musicians and poets.²⁰⁵

2.3.2 Pythian Apollo

It is Apollo's victory over Python, and thus the god's success in battle, that appears to be the central component in these festivals,²⁰⁶ expressed through re-enactment of the event or through the musical contests.²⁰⁷ It seems that the votives at Delphi from as early as the end of the eighth century coincide with this interpretation as Langdon states:

At Delphi, the source of the greatest number of striding and standing warriors, the figures may refer either to Apollo's warlike aspect or to the heroic but mortal worshipers who consulted the oracle before heading into unknown dangers of battle or colonizing expeditions.²⁰⁸

Identifying scenes set in Delphi in black-figure vase-painting might at first appear to be an easy task, but in fact the markers that are used for denoting the place Delphi are either late additions to the painters' repertoire or tend to have more than one meaning. The Tripod would seem to be an obvious choice,²⁰⁹ but it is continually confused with its equally important (if not more so) meaning as the prize for a victor, both actual and symbolic. It is

²⁰⁵ Hoyle (1967: 90).

²⁰⁶ Even the name of the place, Pytho, and Apollo's epithet Pythios relate to his victory as is explained in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (368-374) through the words of the god himself

"but you will be rotted away here by the dark earth and the blazing sun." So he exulted, while darkness covered her eyes. And there the sun's divine force rotted her down; hence the place is now called Pytho, and the people give the god the title Pythios, because it was just there that the keen sun's force rotted the monster away.'
Trans. West (2003: 98-101).

See also Pausanias (10.6.5-7) who explains that the most popular reason for the name Pytho comes from the word 'to rot: *pythesthai* (πύθεσθαι)', related to the rotting corpse of Python.

²⁰⁷ It is important not to overlook this aspect of the god at this particular sanctuary, as Shapiro (1992a: 57) points out, 'Of the four great Panhellenic festivals, all but the Olympic Games had some form of musical contest, and the Pythian Games at Delphi, in honor of Apollo, patron god of music, probably gave special prominence to such competitions'. Nevertheless, it seems that these musical contests are not as frequently depicted as scenes of the Delia. Power (2011: 94-95) discusses the descriptions of the Κηληδόνες on the bronze temple at Delphi built by Athena and Hephaistos; these 'singers' he interprets as an anti-chorus particularly contrasted to Delos.

²⁰⁸ Langdon (1993: 195).

²⁰⁹ But as Suhr points out, the tripod is not necessarily the exclusive attribute of any one god (1971: 216).

not until rather later than the sixth century that the *omphalos*²¹⁰ becomes frequently depicted, and the raven or crow is rare indeed in black-figure.²¹¹

With these complications, it is best to start from what we do know. In this case it is the fight for the oracular Tripod between Apollo and Herakles, which occurred at Delphi.²¹² In the BAPD there are 175 black-figure examples of this particular scene,²¹³ although some of these are quite fragmentary. The large majority of the depictions of the fight for the Tripod occur after 525 and the Siphnian Treasury's east pediment is often suggested as the influence for these scenes.²¹⁴ This is an aggressive and frequently, on the later vases, a physical contest, where Apollo is shown ready for action. He almost always wears the chitoniskos, unless it is discarded in favour of athletic nudity, and in the majority of the examples, Apollo is shown wearing his quiver, carrying his bow or holding an arrow.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Three examples of the *omphalos* can be found on the BAPD in black-figure. Two of these show mounds that can also be interpreted as tombs: Agamemnon's (?), BAPD 8879*; and a mortal's with omens depicted on top, BAPD 16211*. These two examples are late, the Sappho Painter and Theseus Painter respectively. The third example, a lekythos attributed to the Beldam Class, does indeed show Delphi as the action makes clear: Apollo shoots Python from the *omphalos* with a tripod placed in front: Louvre CA1915; *Para.* 294; *Add.*² 139; BAPD 352170; Carpenter (1991: fig.103). Again, however, this example is late, c.470 BC. As Carpenter (1991: 72) observes, a mound can be a tomb, but the presence of the tripod as well ensures the setting is Delphi.

²¹¹ There are eleven instances of a crow or raven in black-figure on the BAPD. Eight of these show Achilles waiting to ambush Troilos with a raven, usually on the spout of the fountain: BAPD 302019*, 303412, 310144, 330753*, 351608, 351609, 352035, 9004198. The dates of these range from the Tyrrhenian Group to late lekythoi. Two more show the raven as a shield device; the first is by Exekias on his fragmentary amphora depicting a warrior grazing his horse on the obverse, BAPD 310398*; the second shows a departure by the Long-Nose Painter, BAPD 351072*. The final example portrays Herakles fighting Acheloos watched by Hermes, with a bird perched on the palmette at the right of the scene, but it is not certainly a raven: BAPD 302396*.

²¹² Gantz (1993: 437-439) sets out the literary and artistic evidence for this particular myth. The earliest definite literary allusion to the myth is found in Cicero (*De Natura Deorum* 3.16.42), but the artistic representations begin possibly as early as 700 BC, but definitely by the middle of the sixth century we have the two participants iconographically identified so the story is clear. Boardman (1978: 229) agrees that the middle of the sixth century saw the beginnings of this schema for sure, with some instances found on Peloponnesian shield band reliefs.

²¹³ Bothmer (1977) includes 175 examples of the struggle, of which 142 are Attic black-figure vases.

²¹⁴ See Shapiro (1989a: 62-63); Bothmer (1977: 52). Boardman (1978: 229n5-6), on the other hand, sees the Treasury as 'idiosyncratic and not influential'.

²¹⁵ The one example of Apollo with his kithara in a scene with Herakles and the Tripod will be discussed below, p.91 and n.223.

We have several named versions; one neck-amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter is a particularly good illustration of the scene-type that is fairly common.²¹⁶ In the centre, Herakles (lionskin, quiver, sword, bow) holds his club aloft, while trying to make off with the Tripod in the other hand. Apollo (chitoniskos, winged boots, quiver) grabs hold of a leg of the Tripod to prevent the hero stealing it away. Herakles is supported by his deity Athena (helmet, spear, aegis), who holds one ring of the Tripod, while Apollo's sister Artemis (quiver, polos) stands behind him. Sometimes there is a deer present with these four characters, as on a neck-amphora in Compiègne.²¹⁷ These four characters are not the only options available to the vase-painters: the Amasis Painter, for instance, includes just Hermes on a neck-amphora in Boston.²¹⁸ Hermes (hat) stands behind the Tripod, while Apollo (quiver) stands on the left pulling the Tripod from Herakles (lionskin, quiver, bow). The contest feels slightly more equal here since the two seem matched, rather than Herakles threatening Apollo with his club and while dragging the Tripod away from him.

It is Zeus who stands behind the Tripod in the Treasury pediment,²¹⁹ and the king of the gods is found on vases too. One hydria attributed to the Leagros Group shows the struggle for the Tripod in the centre, framed by Athena and Artemis, who in turn are framed by Zeus on the left and Hermes on the right.²²⁰ The Antimenes Painter places Zeus behind the Tripod on a hydria in the British Museum, with Artemis behind Apollo and Athena with shield and Hermes behind Herakles.²²¹ Despite the variations that arise in the choice of figures, the focus on conflict is a central and constant aspect of this particular mythological narrative.

There is one exception to this depiction of the struggle for the Tripod. On a neck amphora in the Louvre, Apollo stands in long garments holding his kithara, while Herakles (quiver,

²¹⁶ Basel BS435 (previously Arlesheim, S. Schweizer); *ABV* 269.41; *Para.* 118; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320051*; see **fig.60**. Bothmer (1977: 54, no.41) places this vase in his group prefaced with, 'by sheer number and regularity the type of the struggle that has, in addition to Herakles and Apollo, Athena and Artemis may be considered the canonical type'.

²¹⁷ Neck-amphora: Compiègne, Musée Vivenel 974; BAPD 7611*; see **fig.61**.

²¹⁸ Dated to c.530 BC: Boston 01.8027; *ABV* 152.27, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310454*; *LIMC* 5 Hermes 538*; see **fig.62**.

²¹⁹ Ridgway (1965) argued convincingly that the central figure in the pediment was Zeus and not Athena as had been previously thought.

²²⁰ Dated to c.520-500 BC: Oxford 1948.236; *ABV* 360.9; *Para.* 161; *Add.*² 95; BAPD 302004*; *LIMC* 5 Hermes 539b*; see **fig.63**.

²²¹ Dated to c.520-500 BC: London 1836.2-24.108 (B316); *ABV* 268.24, 666; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320034*; see **fig.64**.

bow) in the centre walks towards the god holding the Tripod aloft.²²² Athena (Boiotian shield, spear, helmet) stands at the left of the scene. This scene seems to utilise Apollo's more peaceful musical persona to emphasise the god's lack of action in order to highlight Herakles' willingness to return the Tripod to its divine owner and therefore the peaceful outcome of the conflict.²²³ In contrast to the other versions of this scene, here Herakles has sole possession of the Tripod and appears to be returning it to Apollo in a peaceful manner. The depiction of the god in long robes and holding not a weapon, but his kithara, seems to be a deliberate choice to emphasise Apollo's rightful ownership of the oracle and the mutually beneficial conclusion of the mythological narrative.

If a large tripod in the midst of a fight between Herakles and Apollo sets the scene of the vase at Delphi, then the inclusion of a palm tree, the marker for Delos, in representations of the struggle would seem to be incongruous.²²⁴ Nevertheless, there are three instances of the challenge over the Tripod which do include palm trees. This anomaly may be partially explained through Plutarch's comment that the palm tree was appropriate for Apollo at both Delos and Delphi.²²⁵ This association of the palm tree with Delphi does not seem to have been represented by the vase-painters, however; on the vases extant, palm trees are not used as a marker of Delphi until rather late in the archaic period. It seems more likely that the palm tree (as opposed to a branch or wreath of palm) was associated with Delos, and what we have in these three instances is assimilation, which perhaps may reflect the merging of slightly divergent identities of the god from different locales into a more unified deity.²²⁶ The three examples of the palm tree added into a scene of the struggle for the Tripod are all attributed to painters from the end of the archaic period: an oinochoe

²²² Neck-amphora akin to the Painter of Vatican 365: Louvre F58; *ABV* 312.1; *Add.*² 84; BAPD 301610*; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1317*; see **fig.9**. There is some doubt as to whether this is in fact a fight over the Delphic Tripod, see Boardman in *LIMC* 4, p.796 (Herakles 1317*) who states, 'The scene is not the Struggle...nor need the tripod be Apolline.' In the catalogue in the *LIMC* it is placed under the category of Herakles the victor. Bothmer (1977: 61) excludes it from his list, explaining, 'This is a peaceful scene, not the struggle'. Certainly the painting is unique in the extant evidence, but the combination of Apollo, Herakles, and Athena with the tripod does suggest that the Tripod struggle is being evoked, perhaps, as Shapiro (1989a: 63-64) proposes, to show the peaceful outcome, or the god's power.

²²³ As Shapiro (1989a: 63-64) notes.

²²⁴ On the palm's association with Delos, see subsection 2.2.2, p.62.

²²⁵ *Moralia* 724a-b, *Table Talk* 8.4.4.

²²⁶ The Apollo of Delos associated with the palm tree seems to have been more readily equated with the Apollo of Delphi whose plant was the laurel as time progressed. This might be indicated in the fact that the Athenians set up a bronze palm-tree with fruit of gold at Delphi, although this was after the defeat of the Persians at the battle of the Eurymedon: Pausanias 10.15.4; Plutarch *Life of Nicias* 13.3. Equally, the laurel and the palm are brought together, this time on Delos, in a choral hymn in Euripides' *Hecuba* 458ff.

attributed to the Gela Painter,²²⁷ a hydria attributed to the Rycroft Painter,²²⁸ and a neck-amphora attributed to the Red-line Painter.²²⁹

The struggle for the Tripod is the most commonly depicted mythological narrative that is set at Delphi, but Apollo's vanquishing of Python is also portrayed by the vase-painters. Surprisingly, the pictorial representations of this story are late and rare, found on lekythoi from the first part of the fifth century. There are four examples in the BAPD and three of these show an infant Apollo shooting the Python from his mother's arms.²³⁰ The other shows Apollo shooting Python while seated on an *omphalos* which is behind a tripod.²³¹ Like the renditions of the contest over the Tripod, the dispatching of Python places Apollo's violent archer persona to the fore.

Apart from the myths discussed above, which are most likely imagined as occurring at Delphi, there is one other story that may be set in the oracular sanctuary: Apollo and Artemis' retaliation for Tityos' attempted rape of Leto. According to Homer, this episode took place as Leto was on her way to Delphi,²³² which may suggest that the setting of the story was Delphi, although the vase-painters do not choose to mark this.²³³ The other

²²⁷ This struggle for the Tripod, dated to c.500 BC, includes only Herakles and Apollo (both naked and equipped with quivers and swords) and is represented between palm trees: Brussels A1903; *ABL* 214.182; *ABV* 473; BAPD 330553*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2977*; see **fig.65**.

²²⁸ Athena and Artemis are present in this scene, and there is only one palm tree: Stuttgart 84.1; BAPD 14872.

²²⁹ Herakles (naked, quiver, sword) moves left with the Tripod, as Apollo (quiver, sword) grabs one leg and a ring. Two palm trees and two deer frame the scene: Club-foot Potter, c.510-500 BC: Berlin F1853; BAPD 6095*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2964*; see **fig.66**. Woodford (in *LIMC* 5, p.135 [Herakles 2964*]) suggests that the rather smaller figure of Apollo may have been an afterthought, although showing just Herakles with a tripod would rather defeat the purpose of representing the conflict over the Delphic Tripod.

²³⁰ Two white-ground lekythoi attributed to the Beldam-Python Group from the first to second quarter of the fifth century BC: one in Paris, Cab. Méd. 306; *ABV* 572.7; *Para.* 294; BAPD 330984*; *LIMC* 7 Python 3*; the other in Bergen VK62.115; *Para.* 294; BAPD 352169*; *LIMC* 6 Leto 29b*; and one red-figure lekythos attributed to the Leto Painter, second quarter of the fifth century BC: Berlin F2212; *ARV*² 730.8; BAPD 208984. This last example does not show the Python in the scene, but it is a reasonable assumption, in the light of the other two vases, that this can be read as an extract from this type of scene as Marstrander and Seeberg (1964: 31) suggest in their description of the lekythos in Bergen. These depictions of Apollo in his mother's arms differ from the account told in the *Homeric Hymn*, but later sources do place him at Delphi as an infant in Leto's arms, for instance Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians* 1239-58.

²³¹ White-ground lekythos attributed to the Beldam-Python Group, c.470 BC: Louvre CA1915; *Para.* 294; *Add.*² 139; BAPD 352170; Carpenter (1991: fig.103).

²³² *Odyssey* 11.576-581. Plutarch (*Moralia* 945b) states that Tityos also occupied Delphi and the oracle at one time.

²³³ For examples of Artemis and Apollo attacking Tityos, see a neck-amphora attributed to the Painter of Vatican 309: Villa Giulia; *ABV* 121.6; *Para.* 49; BAPD 300872*; *LIMC* 4 Ge 12*; and a lekythos attributed to the Theseus Painter: Armonk (NY), Pinney, (prev. Scarsdale (NY), private); *ABV* 518.1; *Para.* 256;

examples of Apollo with his bow are mostly mythological depictions and unrelated to either Delphi or Delos, such as Apollo fighting in the Gigantomachy,²³⁴ shooting the Niobids,²³⁵ engaged in the battle for Troy²³⁶ or showing his anger towards Herakles over Artemis' sacred deer.²³⁷ There are a few peaceful scenes in which Apollo is shown as an archer rather than the usual kitharist, such as at the birth of Athena,²³⁸ Herakles' apotheosis,²³⁹ or on his journey to Delphi from Delos,²⁴⁰ but these are rare.

BAPD 330666*; *LIMC* 8 Tityos 5*. A neck-amphora attributed to the Fallow Deer Painter in Tarquinia shows Artemis and Apollo equipped with bows and arrows running from left, a female figure in the centre performing the veil gesture, and a man and woman running out of the scene to right but looking back left at the approaching vengeful deities: Tarquinia RC1043 (T2); *ABV* 97.32; *Para.* 37; BAPD 310032*; *LIMC* 8 Tityos 3*. It was at first interpreted as Apollo and Artemis chasing the Niobids (Drago [1942: III.F.3 pl.1.1-3]), but is now recognised as the bearded Tityos escaping from Artemis and Apollo (see, for instance, *ABV* 97.32).

²³⁴ Apollo uses his bow in the fight against the Giants on a skyphos related to the Athena Painter: Tel Aviv Museum Ha'aretz; *Para.* 262; BAPD 351627. See also a little master band cup akin to the Lysippides Painter: New York, Daniel Abraham; *ABV* 265.1; BAPD 320002*; see **fig.248**. For further discussion on the Gigantomachy see chapter four, subsection 4.5.1.2, p.255.

²³⁵ *Iliad* 24.599-620. There are more red-figure examples of the slaughter of the Niobids, but there are two examples from the early archaic period (second quarter of the sixth century). Shapiro (1989a: 53) explains that these two black-figure examples attributed to the Castellani Painter are the only archaic examples: Hamburg 1960.1; *Para.* 40.35; *Add.*² 28; BAPD 350268*; and Leipzig T4225; c.570-560; *Para.* 40.35; *Add.*² 28; BAPD 350226*; *LIMC* 6 Niobidai 2*. Hoffmann (1960) provides excellent photographs and a description of the vase in Hamburg.

²³⁶ Most of the instances showing Apollo involved in the Trojan war are early red-figure or later, as, for example, on a red-figure volute-krater attributed to the Berlin Painter which shows Apollo, with Athena, framing Achilles and Hektor duelling: London E468; *ARV*² 206.132, 1633; *Para.* 343; *Add.*² 194; BAPD 201941*. However, Apollo does draw his bow against Neoptolemos (named) in a black-figure hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter of about 510 BC: Basel BS498; *Para.* 119.35bis; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 340473*.

²³⁷ This scene is illustrated on a black-figure plate in the manner of Lydos from about 560 BC: Oxford 1934.333; *ABV* 115.4; *Add.*² 32; BAPD 310237*; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1315*. Carpenter (1991: 44, 122, fig.74) suggests that this struggle between hero and god for a large deer is a variant story of Herakles' pursuit of the Keryneian hind, while Shapiro (1989a: 64) and (1990: 123) suggests a possible case of conflation between the struggle for the Tripod and the fight over the chase of the hind. For further examples see also a black-figure neck-amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter, c.510 BC: Florence 3871; *ABV* 383.2; *Para.* 168; *Add.*² 101; BAPD 302395*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2178*; and *LIMC* 2 Apollon 1045-1053. A conflation between the Tripod scenes and those of the hind seems less likely taking into account the variations of the story that Carpenter points out which could explain the divergent picture types (see above, p.57n41). Regardless, the aggressive stance of Apollo is well-suited to the scene, irrespective of the identity of the deer.

²³⁸ See for example a neck-amphora attributed to the Kyllenios Painter from the Tyrrhenian Group, c.565-550: Berlin F1704; *ABV* 96.14, 683; *Para.* 36; *Add.*² 25; BAPD 310014*; *LIMC* 5 Hermes 681*; see Schefold (1992: 7-8) for this scene. After the middle of the sixth century, it was much more common for Apollo to be depicted as a kitharist in this type of scene, but occasionally a later scene will portray Apollo as an archer not a musician: a pyxis from c.540 BC attributed to the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe shows both Artemis and Apollo equipped with bows: New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Coll. 105; BAPD 43278; *LIMC* Supplementum 1 Zeus *Add.* 177*.

²³⁹ As on Exekias' amphora depicting the hero seated amongst the deities: Orvieto 2748 (78); *ABV* 144.9; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310391*. For an analysis of this scene see Mackay (2010: 160-164); she suggests that Apollo is here depicted without his kithara, but with his other attribute, the bow, because of the complexity of superimposition and depth of field on this large amphora. Shapiro (1989a: 55) calls this

From the mythological narratives depicted on vases that can be identified as definitely set at, or at least related to, Delphi, it seems that Apollo the archer, not Apollo the musician, was most closely connected with the sanctuary. The vase-painters predominantly show the god with his bow in depictions of stories associated with Delphi and with his kithara in scenes associated with Delos. The exceptions to this can be found on a few late vases; these vases may well be examples of assimilation, as well as an indication that the attributes and divergent facets of the god were becoming more unified and therefore interchangeable.

Setting aside the depictions of Apollo fighting with Herakles over the Delphic Tripod, scenes that can be arguably associated with Delphi are few. This may be explained through the rather antagonistic relationship between the tyrant Peisistratos and the Alkmaionid-favoured oracular sanctuary, described by Aloni as ‘at best ambiguous when...not hostile’.²⁴¹ Delphi’s reduced status in Athens may have had an impact on the frequency and type of scenes produced by the painters simply because the mythological narratives set at Delphi may have fallen out of favour.²⁴² Despite his cool relations with Delphi, Peisistratos was aware of the importance of Pythian Apollo and his Delphic oracle and so he introduced Apollo Pythios to Athens.²⁴³ Boardman states that this was ‘certainly no compliment to Delphi but a demonstration that Athens could have its own oracular Apollo without the approval of the Alkmaionid-bought priests of Delphi’.²⁴⁴ The placing of emphasis on the power within Athens is an indicator of the growing pride in the city-state, which will be discussed below in section 2.4.

nude illustration of the god ‘curious’, pointing out that in this rendition, the god has dispensed with his usual musical occupation.

²⁴⁰ Neck-amphora, c.540-530 BC: Louvre CP10619; *ABV* 685.8; *Para.* 53; *Add.*² 35; BAPD 306550*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 381*; see **fig.14**; for more information on this vase see above, p.54n28. A very similar scene is found on a red-figure hydria attributed to the Berlin Painter, although Apollo plays a lyre and wears the quiver; the tripod is winged; the goddesses are omitted and the sea is depicted: Vatican 16568; *ARV*² 209.166, 1634; *Para.* 343; *Add.*² 195; BAPD 201984*; Beazley (1964: 9-10, pl.6) discusses these two vases in his treatise on the Berlin Painter.

²⁴¹ Aloni (2009: 56); see also Shapiro (1989a: 49-50, 50n13).

²⁴² Shapiro (1989a: 48-50) has explored the influence of Peisistratos on the cult and art of Apollo in the sixth century, and the tyrant’s foreign policies do seem to be reflected in the vase-painting.

²⁴³ The connection between Pythian Apollo worshipped in Athens and Delian Apollo has been discussed by Wilson (2007: 175-182 with bibliography).

²⁴⁴ Boardman (1978: 234).

If stories set in Delphi were not commonly represented in vase-painting, the relatively large numbers of the struggle for the Tripod need to be explained. These scenes of a conflict between Herakles and Apollo are arguably a reflection of the hero's popularity during the sixth century, possibly because of Peisistratos' active association with Herakles.²⁴⁵ The Tripod scenes become frequent only after Peisistratos falls from power, so any interpretation of the struggle as related to the tyrant's relationship with Delphi is not convincing.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, that Herakles and his deeds were favoured because of Peisistratos' attempts to correlate himself with the hero is indeed plausible. In addition, Herakles' nature as an athlete can potentially be seen as an underlying motivation for the number of scenes of the struggle.

Herakles was famous for his athletic prowess: he did set up the Olympic Games after all. The vase-painters were no doubt well aware of the myriad of meanings that could be achieved through a clever use of symbols and markers. The tripod, while definitely the seat of the oracle at Delphi, was also a prize,²⁴⁷ which created a link to the heroic past.²⁴⁸ It was obviously still seen as a legitimate symbol for a prize in the archaic period, since there are multiple instances of competitions depicted occurring literally over a tripod.²⁴⁹ It is also frequently used as a shield device in fight scenes, arming scenes, and departure

²⁴⁵ Boardman discusses the link between the tyrant and Herakles in several articles (1972; 1975a; 1984: 240-1; and 2001: 208) see chapter one, p.28n99. This is particularly relevant to Peisistratos' triumphant return to Athens with a mock-Athena (for this story see Herodotus 1.60.3-5).

²⁴⁶ Shapiro (1989a: 61-62) outlines the various interpretations of this scene.

²⁴⁷ Suhr describes the three uses for the tripod: mantic or prophetic, votive offering, and prizes (1971: 217).

²⁴⁸ Pedley (2005: 101-2). Suhr comments that as a trophy or prize 'it always commands respect' (1971: 216).

²⁴⁹ A youth is shown with an aulos while draped figures stand around on a type B amphora dated to the middle of the sixth century: Lucerne, Market, *Ars Antiqua*; BAPD 24051*; see **fig.67**. There are several examples of boxers fighting over a tripod, one of which is a Type B amphora attributed to the Swing Painter, c.540-530: Tarquinia RC2421; *ABV* 306.45; *Para.* 132; *Add.*² 81; BAPD 301525*. Contests between horsemen are depicted, for example on a Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Painter of London B76: Bonn 589; *ABV* 86.7; BAPD 300796*. Tripods were given as prizes for choral contests and this is shown on a type B amphora attributed to the Swing Painter which shows a large decorated palm tree in the centre of the scene, flanked by two tripods and finally framed by two men: Munich 1395; *ABV* 305.24; *Add.*² 80; BAPD 301504*; see **fig.68** and above 77n146. Beazley (1931-1932: 13.9) identifies the tripods as probably prizes and the men as probably judges, but he does not advance a theory as to which competition or sanctuary. Webster (1972: 139) suggests that the setting is Delos, while Shapiro (1989a: 60) adds that it could be the Pythion in Athens because of the amalgamation of two sides of Apollo (Delos and Delphi) into one scene. For an Athenian, the tripod as prize would be even more apparent because of the Street of Tripods, on which monuments were erected for dramatic victories by *choregoi*: Suhr (1971: 221). This might suggest that the setting would be more likely to be Delos (if one is driven to choose just one interpretation, which may not necessarily be the appropriate approach) if a plurality of tripods is more closely associated with prizes than Delphi.

scenes, and sometimes even for the goddess Athena.²⁵⁰ Here the aim is surely to suggest that the warrior with the shield is, or will be, a victor, rather than creating any link with the oracle at Delphi. The tripod is therefore both a symbol of victory and a marker for the oracle at Delphi, thus the scenes which show Herakles' fight with Apollo for the Delphic Tripod gain an added meaning. The hero is the best of all athletes; this is clear from his impossible labours, and so his struggle with Apollo, also a well-rounded athlete,²⁵¹ becomes an athletic contest, in which Herakles almost defeats the god.

This focus on the athletic aspect of the struggle is further corroborated by the large number of warrior and athletic scenes shown elsewhere on the vases decorated with the hero and god fighting over the Tripod. There are 77 examples of the struggle for the Tripod scenes with an image on the other side, and 30 (38.9%) of these show warrior scenes or athletic scenes. Most frequently it is a fight or warrior departure scene that is depicted, often on the shoulder of a hydria, like the one attributed to the Antimenes Painter in London, which shows warriors departing.²⁵² As well as the battle scenes and warrior scenes, there are three examples of chariot races,²⁵³ and one example of athletes and a trainer.²⁵⁴ Other examples that also contribute to the feeling of competitiveness (but are not included in the percentage above) are two later lekythoi which add cocks onto the shoulders above the struggle for the Tripod,²⁵⁵ and a cup which shows a seated man with a staff in the interior, who could be taken as a judge.²⁵⁶ Therefore one of the purposes of

²⁵⁰ Athena is shown with a tripod on her shield on the obverse of several vases. For example, her shield is emblazoned with a tripod in a scene in which she watches Herakles vanquish the Nemean Lion on a neck-amphora near the Painter of Munich 1519: London 1836.2-24.100 (B217); *ABV* 394.2; *Add.*² 103; BAPD 302952*. Sometimes a tripod is used as a shield device on scenes of Athena in her promachos stance on Panathenaic amphorae (or pseudo-Panathenaics). See, for example, an unattributed pseudo-Panathenaic amphora with youths on horseback on the reverse: Tampa (FL), Mus. of Art 1986.024; BAPD 16557; another can be found in Paris: Cab. Méd. 243; BAPD 1047*; **see fig.163**; for a discussion of the reverse of this vase, see Lissarrague (2001: 76-77, figs.62-63).

²⁵¹ Pausanias 5.7.10.

²⁵² London 1836.2-24.108 (B316); *ABV* 268.24, 666; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320034*; **see fig.64**.

²⁵³ Two are attributed to the Group of Vatican 424, illustrated on the shoulders of hydriai, c.510-500 BC: London, Market, Christie's; BAPD 20318; and Bremen, Zimmermann (previously Utica (NY), Manson-Williams-Proctor Institute 66.8); *Para.* 164.9bis; BAPD 351197*. The third is also a hydria, this time attributed to the Leagros Group: Oxford 1948.236; *ABV* 360.9; *Para.* 161; *Add.*² 95; BAPD 302004*; **see fig.63**.

²⁵⁴ A neck-amphora attributed to the Red-line Painter and Club-foot Potter shows athletes wrestling between trainers, c.510-500: Berlin F1853; BAPD 6095*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2964*; **see fig.66**.

²⁵⁵ The lekythoi are unattributed: London, Market, Christie's 30.4-1.5.1974, pl.16.279; BAPD 3657; and London, Market, Christie's 16.7.1985, 89, no.397; BAPD 12979.

²⁵⁶ Cup attributed to the Caylus Painter, Leafless Group: Düsseldorf 1954.8; BAPD 7189*.

these scenes may be to emphasise the athletic prowess of both the hero, who battles on an equal footing with a god, and by extension the warriors and athletes presented alongside.

2.3.3 Summary

Delphic Apollo is the expression of the god's hunting and fighting ability, and this facet of the deity is revealed through the festivals and reflected in the vase-painting. The divergence between the musical god and the archer god is evident, particularly in the different mythological narratives chosen in which to represent Apollo. The musical god is placed in peaceful settings while the archer god is depicted in mythological scenes which involve violence, even though it is clear that from early times military manoeuvres were accompanied by music.²⁵⁷ For an ancient Greek then, it seems that Apollo's musical side was associated with peaceful and celebratory activities, as is shown in the *Homeric Hymn* when Apollo plays his lyre for the Olympians,²⁵⁸ while his athletic and combatant character was brought out in the scenes of contest such as over the Tripod.

The festivals, particularly the Septerion, are a re-enactment of the god's taking of the oracle from Python and thus reinforce the sentiment of physical violence and contest that seems to underlie some of the rituals of Delphi. Of course, the images on vases are a reflection of Athenian views of Pythian Apollo, and the popularity of the renditions of the struggle for the Tripod may well stem from an Athenian perception of the centre as a point of conflict.²⁵⁹ Herakles, as Apollo's adversary, provides an insight into how the vase-painters may have selected the hero to illustrate a character capable of engaging with the gods. Commonly, mortals are not shown mixing with deities in black-figure, but the well-known and well-loved hero Herakles, who does after all become a god, is the perfect choice for such a scene. In fact the similarity between Herakles and Apollo is quite striking. Both are archers, both are shown playing the kithara in later vase-paintings and both want ownership of the oracle at Delphi. The resemblance between the two is evident

²⁵⁷ On the stand of the Flowery Ornaments bowl in Berlin from the Orientalising Period, there is possibly a lyre-player and flautist helping keep the army in step: Berlin A41; Morris (1984: fig. 8, p.46). The so-called Chigi Vase, a polychrome Protocorinthian olpe, shows a flute-player between two lines of armoured hoplites engaging in battle: Villa Giulia 22679; BAPD 9004217*. On the use of music in military procedures by the Spartans, see Thucydides 5.70.

²⁵⁸ *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 186-193.

²⁵⁹ See above, p.95.

when vase-painting scenes of both are analysed; however, Herakles seems to be represented as a mortal crossing the divide between human and divine. His apotheosis completes this transition, and while he remains a 'real' hero from the historic past, he is nonetheless depicted among the gods.

2.4 Athens

The painters that have been used in this study so far are almost all Athenian, and thus the views of Apollo, Delos, and Delphi are all Athenian at heart. The Athenians themselves celebrated many festivals in honour of Apollo which were not associated with Delos or Delphi. If the scenes of the Delian Triad can be interpreted as evoking the Delia through Athenian eyes, what of the scenes of mortal kithara players? Apollo is associated in black-figure with his mother and sister or other groups of goddesses or women (Muses, chorus of Delian Maidens), and so when a kitharist is depicted playing for male figures, this seems to be an indication that the musician is not intended to be taken as primarily as Apollo, even if there is the comparison to the god implicit in the scene.

These scenes of a kitharist with male listeners were extracted from the BAPD by searching for 'kithara' in black-figure. Within the number of scenes that show the audience of the kithara player as male were many competition scenes (identified as such through the inclusion of the *bema*, judges, or cocks on columns).²⁶⁰ Contests for kithara players were held at the Panathenaia,²⁶¹ a festival no doubt the vase-painters would have all been familiar with. The majority of the scenes of unidentifiable kithara players can be connected to the Panathenaia rather than Delos or Delphi; this observation further encourages the premise that festivals provided much more of an inspiration for black-figure vase-painting than has been previously realised. In addition, that the mortal kithara players are not frequently overtly compared with Apollo as a god in black-figure emphasises the vase-painters' desire to uphold the divide between humans and deities.

2.4.1 Athenian festivals

The festivals in Athens in honour of Apollo are here outlined, with the Panathenaia included since that is the most obvious setting for kitharist competitions. In Athens, according to Simon, Apollo's oldest festivals can be dated back to the second millennium

²⁶⁰ On these items as evoking competition, see subsection 2.4.2.2, p.105.

²⁶¹ For a thorough discussion on musical contests at the Panathenaia, see Shapiro (1992a).

BC,²⁶² and it seems that two of his major roles included the god of purification and father of the Ionian peoples. This latter part of his identity meant that he was worshipped privately in all the citizen households in Athens.²⁶³ Of the festivals in Athens, two are of importance to our studies and were dedicated to Apollo: the Thargelia and the Pyanopsia.²⁶⁴ There were other celebrations primarily for Artemis, although Apollo is sometimes included in these.

Of the two festivals, Thargelia and Pyanopsia, the former consisted of a purification and fertility festival while the latter constituted fertility rites. In the Thargelia, celebrated on the 6th and 7th of Thargelion (May), two ugly and poor members of the polis were chosen as scapegoats for the city and cast out. These two people represented both male and female, distinguished by the colour of their fig necklaces (dark fig necklace for the male, light or white fig necklace for the female), and by expelling them, the polis was cleansing itself from pollution. On the following day, the 7th, offerings of first fruits, corn and vegetables were put in a pot and offered to the god. This can be seen as a fertility rite, to encourage Apollo to bring the crops to sufficient ripeness at harvest time. There were also dithyrambic chorus competitions for men and boys from each tribe,²⁶⁵ the prize for which was a tripod, which was then dedicated at the Pythion near the Ilissos.²⁶⁶

The Pyanopsia were held on the 7th of Pyanopsion (October) and were at heart focused on fertility. The offering for this festival was a pot of beans boiled up together, from which the name comes.²⁶⁷ The Eiresione ritual was a part of this festival, and while usually an olive branch wrapped in wool was used for supplication, in this case it seems to have been decorated with symbols of fruitfulness as a request for a good harvest. These branches were hung up over the door of the sanctuary and also placed near the door of each

²⁶² Simon (1983: 73). Contra Parke who writes ‘Apollo...is to be regarded as a new-comer compared with these [Demeter; Athena], most likely arriving from Asia via Delos in the eighth century or so’ (1977: 148). Parke sees the Thargelia as the festival which commemorates the acceptance of Apollo into Greek culture (1977: 148-149).

²⁶³ Simon (1983: 74).

²⁶⁴ There is also a smaller festival held on the 6th of Munichion, whereby maidens of Athens go to the Delphinion near the Ilissos and supplicate Apollo and Artemis. This practice may have its origins in the myth of Theseus: Parke (1977: 137).

²⁶⁵ As Graf (2009: 39) notes in his work on Apollo, the dithyramb was particularly associated with Dionysos, but was performed with the kithara. This creates both a link and a tension between the two.

²⁶⁶ For more detail on these festivals, see Simon (1983: 77-78) and Parke (1977: 146-149).

²⁶⁷ The name is derived from πύαννα, the stew of beans cooked up for this festival.

Athenian house. This date is shared with the Oschophoria in honour of Dionysos (or Athena).²⁶⁸

From these two festivals, it seems that in Athens the primary function of Apollo was as a purificatory god,²⁶⁹ and the deity to whom one prayed in supplication. The aim of the removal of pollution and the supplications seems to be agricultural in nature, asking him for a good harvest. Apollo's role as god of poetry and music is included in the choral competitions held during the Thargelia, and is perhaps also a part of the Pyanopsia in that children sang a song in exchange for a gift,²⁷⁰ but on the whole competitive music is not the focus of his festivals in Athens. In contrast, the Delia on Delos has as its main highlight the musical performances and contests, and the competitions, including all manner of musical ones, are the focus of the Panathenaia. At Delphi, too, we are told that the musical aspect of the god was celebrated through many contests, although this feature of the festivals held at Delphi was not depicted at all frequently in black-figure.

In light of the vase-painting scenes that show kitharists performing in the context of the Panathenaia, this section will be dedicated mostly to uncovering what *mortals* holding the kithara can tell us about cult. The Panathenaia were held on 28 Hekatombaion; after 566 BC, the Greater Panathenaia were celebrated every four years, culminating in the presentation of the newly woven peplos to the cult statue of Athena. The four-yearly festival proceeded as follows: a procession carrying the peplos started off from the Pompeion and wound its way up to the Akropolis and concluded with a sacrifice and the giving of the peplos to Athena. A torch race was held to bring fire to the altar,²⁷¹ and after the sacrifice a feast was held. All-night celebrations (the *pannychis*) followed the feasting, which included choral dances by women; these may have been competitive.²⁷² The

²⁶⁸ Simon (1983: 76); Parke (1977: 75-77).

²⁶⁹ This creates a link between Athens and Delphi, where the specialty of the oracle may have been in prophecies outlining how to be purified, particularly for murder: Davies (2007: 64-5).

²⁷⁰ Parke (1977: 76).

²⁷¹ Boegehold (1996: 96-97); Simon (1983: 64).

²⁷² Lefkowitz (1996: 79); Boegehold (1996: 97). Even though women were a part of this aspect of the festival, it is still unlikely that the female figures with Apollo kitharoidos were intended as associated with the Panathenaia. Apart from the fact that these possible competitions were only a small part of the festival, while the Delian Maidens were the highlight, the absence of Athena also works against an interpretation of the scenes of Apollo with many women as relating to the *pannychis*.

following day the athletic competitions²⁷³ began, as did the musical competitions. From later inscriptions (early fourth century BC) we can ascertain what competitions were held at the Panathenaia,²⁷⁴ and the Panathenaic vases generally validate what the inscriptions specify.²⁷⁵ In the musical contests there were at least six competitions, although there may have been more.²⁷⁶ These included competitions for both boys and men in the performance of a singer accompanied by the aulos and the playing of the kithara. In addition men were able to compete in the solo playing of the aulos and in the performance which included singing while playing the kithara.²⁷⁷ This latter contest was the most prestigious if one judges by the prize money given (1500 drs.).²⁷⁸ There were also team or tribe events and, of course, the rhapsodes competing. While very early singers of the epics sang to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument, it seems that by the time of the Panathenaia, rhapsodes recited the epic works with no musical accompaniment,²⁷⁹ and so are not depicted with the kithara. As with most festivals, the Panathenaia was extremely visual with its great, colourful procession and public contests. In addition, the Panathenaia instigated the production of a large number of prize amphorae, visual reminders of the games, the contests, and the victors. It is through the recollection of this visual background that one can see the Panathenaia evoked in the scenes of youthful competing kitharists.

²⁷³ These included the usual contests as found in other Games at festivals: running races (including the one in armour), the pentathlon, the pankration, wrestling, boxing, field events (such as the javelin) and horse races. For the list of contests see Shear (2003: 87); Boegehold (1996: 97) also provides a comprehensive catalogue. Neils (2007: 42) discusses the evidence for influence from other games.

²⁷⁴ Shear gives a detailed account of one of these inscriptions (2003: 87).

²⁷⁵ Neils discusses the evidence that can be gained from the early prize amphorae (2007: 46-49).

²⁷⁶ Shear (2003: 90-96) examines the number of prizes given in the musical contests discussing the implications of the fragments and their positioning within the inscription for when each competition was held, what might have been given as prizes, and to how many place holders.

²⁷⁷ On the terms kitharist, aulete, and kitharode, see West (1992: 18n23). In Liddell and Scott *κίθαριστής* is 'a player on the cithara'; *κίθαρωδός* is 'one who plays and sings to the cithara'; *αὐλητής* is 'a flute-player'.

²⁷⁸ The Panathenaic amphorae filled with sacred oil were given as prizes to the winners of athletic competitions, oxen were given to the winners of the tribal events, and wreaths of gold and money (when coins were introduced) were given to the winners of the musical competitions. For information on the sacred olive trees see Lysias VII: *Before the Areopagus: Defence in the Matter of the Olive-Stump*. Shapiro discusses the prizes for the musical competitions (1992a: 58), while Shear (2003: 90-96) analyses the inscription which covers the prizes for other contests, as well as discussing how many place-getters were awarded. The Panathenaia was unusual in that it awarded more than just a wreath to its victors, and also frequently awarded prizes to second and third placed competitors: Neils (2007: 43).

²⁷⁹ Shapiro (1992a: 72).

2.4.2 Mortals playing the kithara

In the discussion that follows, the focus will remain on the Panathenaia and mortal kithara players in order to explore how often the Panathenaia may have been evoked in certain black-figure scenes. It is here suggested that the Athenians, when viewing an image of a kitharist that has no direct link to Delos or the Triad, would see their own most obvious competitive occurrence – the Panathenaia. That an Athenian may have seen a mortal competitor rather than the god of music is implied through the role of Apollo in Athens: his festivals were not centred on musical competitions, but rather purification rites. The musical contests were held in honour of Athena, and in terms of choruses, for Dionysos.

2.4.2.1 Parameters of the sample of vases

This section of the thesis will focus on the scenes of a kithara player playing for either a solely male audience which does not include gods,²⁸⁰ or scenes that do not seem to be Delian in any way (without a palm tree or deer, for instance). Also excluded are scenes that show a kithara player alongside a chariot, since usually the participants are gods;²⁸¹ the thirteen examples of a female figure playing the kithara which are almost all late lekythoi produced by the Sappho Painter or others like him;²⁸² and the examples which presented a named or identified mythological figure.²⁸³ There are also nine fragmentary scenes of kithara players which are impossible to identify beyond doubt.²⁸⁴ In addition to these, there are 35 scenes which are arguably related to the Panathenaia and six which show bearded kithara players, indicative of a mortal rather than the youthful god, and so these may also be related to the Panathenaia.²⁸⁵ The remaining 21 vases can be divided

²⁸⁰ On the BAPD there are six instances of Apollo playing for Hermes alone (BAPD 6809*, 17733, 43168, 301564, 305646*, 330912); four showing Apollo playing for Dionysos alone (BAPD 7834*, 17011, 20402, 19082); nine depicting Apollo playing for both Dionysos and Hermes (BAPD 29*, 6852*, 7869, 18908, 43046, 301788*, 301792*, 352195*, 9026847); and one with Apollo playing for Zeus alone (BAPD 16608).

²⁸¹ Out of the scenes where Apollo is clearly identifiable alongside a chariot that is not either a wedding or Herakles' apotheosis, there are 28 scenes which show Apollo playing his lyre or kithara for Athena mounting a chariot (without Herakles present), 126 which depict Apollo playing for a female figure mounting a chariot (most likely Artemis), and eleven which show Apollo playing for a male figure in the chariot (sometimes Dionysos).

²⁸² BAPD 6421, 41422, 306473, 361436*, 2660, 302070*, 1220*, 1221*, 1225*, 1228*, 43164, 46917*, 330201*.

²⁸³ BAPD 2434* [Orpheus?], 10982* [Paris], 303344 [Orpheus].

²⁸⁴ BAPD 351094*, 16611, 302118*, 28229, 7755, 301584, 330171*, 44720, 301991.

²⁸⁵ There were, of course, both kithara players and kitharodes competing at the Panathenaia, but telling the difference between them is not always easy. Shapiro (1992a: 58) states, 'in Archaic art, the distinction was often obvious, because the portrait of the kitharode in performance, his head thrown back and mouth open, was a favorite image'. His evidence for this is a red-figure, late archaic Panathenaic-shaped amphora

into symposion or komast scenes and processions. This final group occasionally includes women in the scene as listeners.

2.4.2.2 Recognising the Panathenaic elements

The following section will describe the elements used to identify kithara players in the Panathenaic competitions, and to distinguish clearly between the god and the mortal competitor. As outlined in the introduction, each scene can be interpreted by analysing each of the signs that have been included in the picture, and then taking into account the possible changes that the context of the scene as a whole and the horizon of expectation of the viewer may bring to each meaning. In this way, several layers of understanding can be seen in the picture at any one time.²⁸⁶ The signifiers for competition appear in several scenes which show mortal kithara players, and it is these ‘contest markers’ that encourage a viewer to recall the Panathenaia. In establishing a connection between the Panathenaia and the archaic portrayals of a kitharist, the theory that the kitharist (and possibly kitharode) competitions were a part of the original reorganisation of the Panathenaia in 566 may gain some further support.²⁸⁷ The emphasis on Athens and the celebration of their patron deity on these vases might add further evidence to the view that the Athenians

attributed to the Berlin Painter dated to c.490-480 BC: Louvre MNE1005 (prev. Texas, Hunt Coll. 10); BAPD 8798; Shapiro (1992a: fig.37); **see fig.69**. Scenes of this kind, depicting a kitharode, are much rarer than those displaying a kitharist. In the Panathenaic contests it appears that the kitharodes were considered the most skilled of the musicians, thus from this it would seem a reasonable assumption that this event was the most memorable of the musical competitions, which suggests that perhaps the vase-painters were more likely to paint scenes of kitharodes than just kitharists. If true, then it is possible that the scenes of kitharists may in fact be scenes of kitharodes. In more general terms and in other situations, musical instruments were frequently accompanied by singers; Apollo is described as singing to his own accompaniment on the kithara or lyre in lines 499-503 of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*

Then taking the lyre on his left arm, Leto's glorious son, the far-shooting lord Apollo, tried it out with a plectrum in a tuned scale, and it rang enchantingly below, while the god sang beautifully to its accompaniment.
Trans. West (2003: 152-153)

However, if Apollo is intended as singing while playing his kithara, this action, indicated by having the figure's mouth open, is not clearly shown in black-figure scenes (*contra* Shapiro [1992b: 65] who states, ‘Apollo...is frequently depicted as *kitharoidos* in Attic black-figure’). Richardson (2011: 18) comments that male gods are not often ‘portrayed as singers in early hexameter poetry’ and does not believe that Apollo sings to his own accompaniment in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (186-203) when he plays on Olympos. This distinction is not one that can easily be observed in poetry or art; in this chapter, therefore, the term kitharist will be used throughout in preference to kitharode, although the latter may be a viable interpretation.

²⁸⁶ On this method of interpretation, see chapter one, subsection 1.1.4.3, p.23.

²⁸⁷ Shapiro (1989a: 65) discusses the importance of the identity of Apollo as opposed to a mortal player in the Panathenaia in discovering when the kithara was introduced as a major competitive aspect in the Greater Panathenaia. He points out that we have definite aulos competition scenes in the 550-530s BC, but no definite depictions of kithara competitions (1989a: 61).

saw themselves as a worthy and proud polis. Peisistratos' role will also be addressed,²⁸⁸ but the difficulty of accurately ascertaining how much of an influence he actually had on the areas of society necessitates that these ideas be treated very much as hypotheses.

An obvious place to begin this analysis is with the one Panathenaic amphora that both depicts a kitharist competing and has the inscription labelling it as a prize from the Panathenaic Games.²⁸⁹ This is the only extant actual Panathenaic in this period for a musical contest²⁹⁰ since the prize for kitharists and kitharodes was a crown and money, at least from the fourth century.²⁹¹ As is usual, Athena stands in her aggressive promachos stance,²⁹² framed by columns surmounted by cocks. Her shield device is a wreath. On the reverse, a youth stands on a platform playing his instrument for two listeners: a wreathed youth sits on the right while a man holding a staff stands on the left. This scene presents some of the components that signal 'contest' from other scenes of music making: the platform (*bema*) and the draped man holding the staff who signifies a judge.²⁹³

The other five scenes that are presented on Panathenaic-shaped amphorae from this period all present the same elements. On all of these pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae, Athena is presented on the obverse in promachos stance framed by columns topped by cockerels. These amphorae range in date from c.540 BC to the beginning of the fifth century. The earliest is Near Group E and shows on the reverse a draped youth playing the kithara

²⁸⁸ Brandt (1978: 17-23) discusses the Panathenaic amphorae from the sixth century and comes to the conclusion that Peisistratos had much less influence in the Panathenaia than is supposed, and under his rule the Panathenaia suffered, but it was revived under the rule of his sons. Moore (1999: 49-50) also analyses some of the early Panathenaic amphorae and disagrees, pointing out that some of the events Brandt argues were introduced after 530 BC under Hippias and Hipparchos were in fact a part of the program from c.550 or earlier.

²⁸⁹ Connected with the Robinson Group, c.430 BC: St Petersburg 17295 (17794); *ABV* 410.2; *Add.*² 107; BAPD 303118*; see **fig.70**.

²⁹⁰ Maas and Snyder (1989: 61) describe this as the only known amphora with a musical contest as well as a prize inscription.

²⁹¹ Hill (1959: 182) argues that the appearance of pseudo-Panathenaics and the one Panathenaic vase mentioned in p.106n289 above suggest that perhaps at some earlier stage the prize for musicians did include prize amphorae. Shapiro (1992a: 57) notes that there were musical contests from the sixth century which continued through the classical period, and that it is probable that the particulars changed over time (including the prizes awarded), which may explain the difference between the later inscription and the earlier pseudo- and Panathenaic vases.

²⁹² For a discussion of this pose and the appropriateness of this label for Athena's stance, see Ferrari Pinney (1988).

²⁹³ Maas and Snyder (1989: 61), in their comparison between two scenes of competitors, suggest that a *bema* makes the contest more formal, but even the scenes without platforms can still be contests if they include judges.

between cocks on columns.²⁹⁴ This particular schema, depicting the competitor performing between the two columns, is another indicator that this contest should be taken as evoking the Panathenaia, since the columns provide a visual echo of the scene on the obverse prompting a comparison between them. The columns, with their adorning cocks, also augment the competitive spirit in the scene in addition to acting as a signifier for the Panathenaia itself. The cocks as represented on columns become very common after about 540,²⁹⁵ and seem to be particularly related to the Panathenaia. The columns themselves are usually (but not always) Doric in shape, but their function in the scene has been debated by scholars;²⁹⁶ regardless, most scholars agree that the cocks represented on the columns are symbols of the competitive spirit of the games.²⁹⁷ It seems that these cockerels became particularly associated with the Panathenaic Athena and the games, even in non-aggressive contests like the musical competitions, and thus serve as another marker for the Panathenaic festival.

A further two Panathenaic-shaped amphorae of the five which show kitharists on the reverse include different elements that can be used to identify other scenes that seem to be Panathenaic, even if they may be standard neck-amphorae or do not include Athena on the obverse. The earlier of the two, in Reggio, shows the kitharist performing while standing on a platform, watched by two seated and draped men.²⁹⁸ The platform is an indicator of the competitive nature of the scene, while the draped, seated men can be seen as an audience or perhaps judges, even though they lack the usual staffs.²⁹⁹ On the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in the Louvre a youth playing his instrument is depicted standing between draped men with staffs.³⁰⁰ This attribute of the staff identifies these men as judges of a competition. There are a further two Panathenaic-shaped amphorae that show Athena on the obverse and a kitharist competing on the reverse. These are later, but they

²⁹⁴ London 1849.11-22.2 (B139); *ABV* 139.12; *Para.* 57; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310344*; see **fig.71**. Shapiro (1992a: 66) discusses this vase and the Panathenaic context established through the use of columns and cocks.

²⁹⁵ Tiverios (2007: 5). On early Panathenaic vases see Moore (1999) and Brandt (1978).

²⁹⁶ Mackay briefly discusses the two major schools of thought around the issue of columns (2010: 147).

²⁹⁷ Mackay (2010: 147-148). Tiverios (2007: 5-7) discusses the meaning of the cocks with references.

²⁹⁸ Reggio Calabria 4224; BAPD 44136; the entry listed in the BAPD for *Add.*² (106) refers to a vase in Reggio also found on page 409 of *ABV*, but there is no number specified and the description in *ABV* records a footrace on the reverse.

²⁹⁹ Shapiro (1992a: 65) sees the *bema* (or platform) and an audience as the keys to interpreting scenes as musical competitions, and of these, the *bema* is not always depicted (1992: 201n65). On the *bema* see also Boardman (1975b: 11).

³⁰⁰ Louvre ELE84; BAPD 43392.

show the same elements – judges, a platform, onlookers.³⁰¹ A final example should be discussed here, a neck-amphora from the last part of the sixth century.³⁰² Even though it is not the typical Panathenaic shape, it does fit with the other criteria: on the obverse Athena stands between two columns topped with dinoi,³⁰³ while on the reverse a bearded kitharist plays on a platform with onlookers, one of which holds a staff.³⁰⁴

By using these six examples, the actual Panathenaic amphora, complete with inscription (303118*), and the five pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae discussed above (310344*, 44136, 43392, 10730*, 15205), we gain a set of criteria with which we can identify other less obvious scenes as possibly representing the Panathenaia. From these examples, it is not unreasonable to expect that an Athenian viewing a scene which portrays some or all of these Panathenaic markers would indeed see that festival and competitors in that festival first, rather than just the god Apollo. That is not to say that a comparison with the god is not implicit in the scene, but rather that the primary interpretation of the scene would be the competitors in the Panathenaia. One other example needs to be addressed here, and that is a music contest represented on a fragment of an amphora of Panathenaic shape.³⁰⁵ The obverse does not represent Athena in promachos stance; in fact both sides show a musical contest. A man mounts the platform with his kithara, while judges and onlookers listen.

Going beyond the standard Panathenaic-shaped amphorae with Athena on the obverse, there is less support for seeing these kithara players as mortals and participating in the festival. However, given the examples discussed above, reading other vases which depict

³⁰¹ These pseudo-Panathenaic vases show Athena in promachos stance framed by cocks on columns: the first is in Paris: Louvre F282 (Campana Collection 176); BAPD 10730*; **see fig.72**; the second can be compared with the Eucharides Painter: Baltimore 48.2107; BAPD 15205; Hill (1959: pl.47.3-4); **see fig.73**. The former shows a man playing the kithara for draped onlookers, one of whom is seated. The presence of an altar further suggests that this is a ritual or festival context. The latter of the two vases shows a more typical contest, with the man on a platform framed by judges; Shapiro (1992a: 67) points out that this vase is missing only the inscription and is a little small, otherwise it could be taken as a Panathenaic amphora.

³⁰² Berlin F1873; *ABV* 407; *Add.*² 106; BAPD 303074*; **see fig.74**.

³⁰³ The dinos can also be seen as a symbol of a prize, and is therefore appropriate to the Panathenaia. These prizes were sometimes dedicated on columns (frequently funerary), as is specified by an inscription on a column from the third quarter of the sixth century BC from Troizen. McGowan gives the inscription and explains it (1995: 621). The link between funerary columns and turning posts is also explored throughout this article.

³⁰⁴ Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006: 161-162) discusses this vase and observes that the staff or stick signifies that the figures are in the midst of a long discussion or are watching something with intense interest.

³⁰⁵ Panathenaic fragment: Malibu 81.AE.204.2; BAPD 23877*; **see fig.75**.

kithara players with the Panathenaia in mind may provide further evidence for seeing vases as evoking the festival. In identifying the kithara players as mortal competitors rather than Apollo, the god's characteristics as depicted in vase-painting must be taken into account. After the middle of the sixth century he is depicted as mostly a youthful figure rather than a bearded man, and so it is youthful figures playing the kithara that will be the focus of this analysis. Youths are shown competing in the contests for best kitharist (or kitharode), as it is youths who are shown playing on the reverse of the inscribed Panathenaic amphora.³⁰⁶

2.4.2.3 Identifying the Panathenaia in scenes depicting kitharists

The elements identified as indicators for the Panathenaia on vases include the promachos Athena on the obverse, columns topped by cocks, the *bema*, and an audience of judges. The columns topped by cocks provide an obvious reference to the Panathenaia,³⁰⁷ and there are four examples of a kithara player performing between such columns. These four vases are all neck-amphorae, but despite the lack of Athena and the different shape of these vases, it seems likely that they are related to or inspired by the Panathenaic musical contests.³⁰⁸ Taking into account the considerable number of Panathenaic vases that would be required for each large festival, and thus the exposure of the decoration, it would appear plausible to assume that an Athenian viewing the scene would respond to the evocation of the Panathenaia, and see the kitharist as a mortal in that competition. One of these four neck-amphorae shows the same scene on both obverse and reverse, which is

³⁰⁶ St Petersburg 17295 (17794); *ABV* 410.2; *Add.*² 107; BAPD 303118*; **see fig.70**.

³⁰⁷ See the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in London near Group E which depicts a promachos Athena flanked by cock-topped columns on the obverse and a kitharist playing between similar columns on the reverse: London 1849.11-22.2 (B139); BAPD 310344*; **see fig.71**.

³⁰⁸ These four neck-amphorae all show a kitharist framed by columns topped by cocks dated to the end of the sixth century: Toronto 919X25.2; BAPD 23118*; **see fig.76**; a black-figure, white-ground neck-amphora attributed to the Class of Cabinet des Médailles 218: Vienna 3607; *ABV* 319.10; *Para.* 140; *ARV.*² 11, 1618; *Add.*² 86; BAPD 200049*; **see fig.77**; a neck-amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter: Würzburg L222; *ABV* 405.20; *Add.*² 105; BAPD 303061*; Kunze-Götte (1992a: Cat. I 21, pl.11); **see fig.78**; and a neck-amphora near the Painter of Munich 1512: Boulogne-sur-Mer, Chateau Mus. 9; BAPD 43388; Kunze-Götte (1992a: Cat. III 5, pl.50.1); **see fig.79**; Lissarrague (2001: 80, fig.65 colour) also places this kitharist in the Panathenaia, but emphasises the ambiguity between the mortal and the god. This comparison between the god and the mortal is without a doubt a part of the reading of black-figure scenes, but here it seems likely that the kitharist would be seen as primarily a mortal competitor.

even more indicative of a contest, in that there could be the suggestion of two competing.³⁰⁹

From an analysis of the Panathenaic amphora, and the pseudo-Panathenaic examples, it seems that not just columns with cockerels are signifiers of the competition within the Panathenaia, but also platforms and judges or male onlookers. After the middle of the sixth century, the maturity of the kitharist also seems to be a marker for a mortal musician as opposed to the god; a bearded male is unlikely to be immediately interpreted as the god. With these indicators, there are several more scenes that seemed at first less likely to be scenes from the festival, but can now be proposed as further examples of evocations of the musical contests in honour of Athena.

There are, for instance, three examples of a figure playing the kithara on a platform flanked by columns. These can be interpreted as evoking the festival of the Panathenaia even though the columns are unadorned,³¹⁰ because the *bema* is another marker for contest and competition. Two of these examples show bearded males playing the instrument,³¹¹ while one depicts a youth.³¹² The latter shows the same scene on both obverse and reverse; by placing two kitharists on platforms on both sides of the same object, the vase-painter may have been stressing the competition between the two performers. And it is during the Panathenaia that this competitive spirit is most commonly and, most significantly, visually represented through the contests themselves as well as the prize amphorae.

³⁰⁹ Neck-amphora dated to the end of the sixth century BC: Toronto 919X25.2; BAPD 23118*; see **fig.76**. Of the remaining three, one has an episode from the Trojan War on the reverse (BAPD 200049*), one has a Dionysian scene (BAPD 303061*), and the last is not decorated on the other side (BAPD 43388).

³¹⁰ There are Panathenaic amphorae that depict athletic events with columns that are unadorned: for instance in the foot race on the Panathenaic amphora in Taranto: 4319; BAPD 13829*. McGowan (1995: 624n57) notes that the Doric column that stands at the left of this scene is more common in horseracing than running races; those in footraces can be 'tall or short, plain or fluted stone markers'. There are also scenes which include turning posts or *termata* (as opposed to columns); Boardman and Robertson (1979: 10) observe that *termata* are usually found in scenes of long-distance races rather than sprints. See for instance in a footrace on a Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Berlin Painter, c.480-470 BC: New York L1982.102.3; *ABV* 408.1; *Add.*² 106; BAPD 303085*; and in a chariot race on the reverse of a Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Leagros Group: New York 07.286.80; *ABV* 369.114; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302109*. For turning posts see McGowan (1995).

³¹¹ Type B amphora: Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale; BAPD 30408; Fiammenghi (1985: fig.8); see **fig.80**; and a neck-amphora connected with the Sappho Painter: Vienna 234; *ABL* 112; *ABV* 507; BAPD 305506.

³¹² Type B amphora: Salerno, Museo Nazionale; BAPD 42030.

Even if columns are not included in the scene, the Panathenaia may still be evoked, since the performer is on a platform watched by judges, and there are no signifiers to justify an identification of the kitharist as Apollo. Of the eight examples of a musician on a platform performing without columns, half have at least one judge watching and six present the kitharist as bearded. These two markers seem to work against an interpretation of the god, and suggest that these types of scenes can also be taken as Panathenaic contests. Indeed, of the six instances of music contests shown on pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae discussed above, three (including the actual Panathenaic example) show a kitharist on a platform performing for watching judges.³¹³ A neck-amphora by the Leagros Group exemplifies this type of scene as presented on non-Panathenaic amphorae.³¹⁴ The obverse shows a kithara player mounting a platform watched by three draped men, each one holding a staff. One of these wreathed judges sits on a chair. The Gigantomachy on the reverse can perhaps corroborate the identity of this scene as Panathenaic since Athena's fight alongside the other gods against the giants is celebrated in her major festival.³¹⁵ Three other examples follow this pattern of a kitharist mounting a platform watched by judges; one depicts a youthful musician,³¹⁶ one shows a mature kitharist,³¹⁷ while the last is fragmentary and so it is impossible to tell.³¹⁸

The remaining four examples show a kitharist mounting a platform without any onlookers or judges. The inclusion of the *bema* in these scenes highlights the competitive nature of

³¹³ BAPD 303118*, 44136, 15205.

³¹⁴ Dated to the third quarter of the sixth century: London 1926.6-28.7; *ABV* 375.211; BAPD 302206*; see **fig.81**. Walters (1926: 68), in his description of this scene when it was first acquired by the British Museum, suggests that this vase may show a competition from the Panathenaia because of the judges and the *bema*; on this see also Maas and Snyder (1989: 61).

³¹⁵ For the Gigantomachy and Panathenaia, see below, p.115n337 and chapter four, subsection 4.5.1.2, p.255.

³¹⁶ Pelike attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter: Bologna 1431 (PU199); *ABV* 393.13; BAPD 302930*; see **fig.82**.

³¹⁷ Pelike attributed to the Eucharides Painter: Samothrace 57.565; *ARV*.² 232.1; *Para.* 174.23bis; BAPD 202274*; see **fig.83**. Price (1971: 434, pl.94.6-7) suggests the kithara player is stepping up onto a 'pedestal or chest' but it seems most likely that it is intended as a competitive platform.

³¹⁸ Black-figure, white-ground alabastron fragment dated to early in the fifth century: Cambridge (MA), Harvard Univ., Arthur M. Sackler Mus. 1977.216.2397 (2397); BAPD 13412*. This vase shows another kind of musical performance or contest alongside the kithara player with two figures standing on a *bema*. Shapiro (1992a: 71, fig.49a-b) proposes that the frieze-like illustration on this alabastron brings the two events into close proximity, as if they were happening together in time and space. Taking into account the rather clumsy execution of the decoration on this vase, Shapiro (1989a: 47) suggests that while the less than exemplary vases (like the one under observation here) are not created for the Greater Panathenaia, they are nonetheless evocative of it.

this kithara player, and, using the evidence on a pelike from New York, still indicates that these examples can be interpreted as inspired by the Panathenaic contests. On the obverse of the pelike in New York, a youth in a chiton is depicted standing on a platform with his kithara.³¹⁹ On the reverse two draped men are shown on a platform; one plays the pipes while the other sings. This juxtaposition of two contests that were held during the Panathenaia strongly implies that this is the context of the kitharist on the platform. With this comparative evidence, the other three examples, none of which has a second scene because of their shape, can be more confidently understood as evocations of the Panathenaia.³²⁰ Furthermore, three of the four depictions of a kitharist on a platform show the musician to be an older man.

There are a further twelve examples of a kitharist playing for an audience of men, probably judges, so these too may be evoking the Panathenaic contests. Judges can be shown around a competitor who is not standing on a platform as is shown on two of the pseudo-Panathenaic examples discussed above. Both of these pseudo-Panathenaic amphorae are in the Louvre; the first shows Athena between cocks and columns on the obverse and a youth, standing on the ground, playing the kithara between draped men with staffs.³²¹ The other shows Athena in promachos stance on the obverse, while the reverse shows a man playing the kithara, also not mounting a *bema*, watched by onlookers.³²² With these two as examples, other scenes that are similar can also be interpreted as related to the Panathenaia. In addition, of the twelve non-Panathenaic-shaped amphorae, nine show the kitharist as bearded, an indicator that the competitor is a mortal rather than the god Apollo.³²³ In the scenes of the two that show a youth playing

³¹⁹ Dated to about 500: New York 07.286.72; BAPD 4093; Shapiro (1992a: 52, 71, no.19); see **fig.84**. Mertens (1998: 17-18) discusses this vase in reference to the pairing of a stringed instrument player and a piper in tombs or on objects intended for (or found in) tombs. The question of provenance for these vases is of course, of importance, but was outside the scope of this thesis.

³²⁰ Black-figure lekythos attributed to the Gela Painter: Syracuse 2367; *ABL* 209.74; BAPD 390108; a black-figure lekythos attributed to the Gela Painter: Collection unknown; *ABL* 209.75; BAPD 390109; and a black-figure, white ground oinochoe: Villa Giulia 20839-20840; *ABV* 673; BAPD 306460. This final oinochoe has a *kalos* inscription (Polykles), the name of a piper on the reverse of Euphronios' krater in the Louvre: G103; *ARV*² 14.2, 1584, 1619; *Para.* 322; *Add.*² 152; BAPD 200064*. Shapiro (1989a: 42-43) states that this is a famous musician of the time based on the recurrence of the name on another vase of the time which also shows a musician.

³²¹ Louvre ELE84; BAPD 43392.

³²² Louvre F282 (previously Campana Coll.); BAPD 10730*; see **fig.72**.

³²³ Type B amphora near Exekias: Philadelphia 4841; *ABV* 148.1; BAPD 310421*; see **fig.85**; Cup A attributed to the Group of London B460, Segment Class: London B460; *ABV* 212.1; *Add.*² 57; BAPD 302683*; see **fig.86**; Neck-amphora: Bristol H802; BAPD 14549; Vermeule and Bothmer (1956: pl.113.36-112

the kithara,³²⁴ there are other indicators that suggest that these can be taken as Panathenaic. The first example shows the young kitharist on the obverse playing for seated judges.³²⁵ On the reverse is a youth playing the pipes, again for seated judges. This combination of two contests familiar from the Panathenaic festival is a convincing reason to see this kitharist as a mortal competitor. The second shows the youth playing on the reverse, while the obverse depicts athletes and their trainers or judges.³²⁶ Again this combination of Panathenaic events contributes to an interpretation of this vase as influenced by the festival. There were, of course, other festivals, both Athenian and otherwise, which included contests, but for an Athenian vase-painter and an Athenian audience, the size, visual spectacle, and comparison to the images on prize amphorae may well have encouraged them to recall the Panathenaia when viewing this vase.

Thus far the examples examined have not included any elements (apart from the kithara itself) that may have caused a viewer immediately to interpret the kithara player as Apollo rather than a mortal. Rather, the signifiers all pointed towards competitive performances, often evocative of the Panathenaia. There are surprisingly few scenes of kitharists which do not include either indicators to identify the god as the musician, or a mortal contestant as the musician. And the markers for competition (cocks on columns, platforms, older performers, judges or onlookers, or any combination of these) are all directly related to, or evocative of, the Panathenaia. As one of the major festival for the Athenians, it should be no surprise that the competitions would be reflected on the pottery of the time.

37); see **fig.87**; Type B amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686: Orvieto, Museo Civico; BAPD 24089*; see **fig.88** (discussed further below, p.115); Pelike attributed to the Leagros Group, c.500 BC: Kassel T675; *Para.* 167.233bis; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 351233*; see **fig.89**; Neck-amphora attributed to the Diosphos Painter: Louvre F389; *ABL* 239.134; BAPD 390402*; see **fig.90**; Kantharos: New York, Market, Sotheby's; BAPD 7102 (discussed further below, p.122); Plate fragments: Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2455; BAPD 8534; Callipolitis-Feytmans (1974: 396.6, pl.87.6); Amphora attributed to the Princeton Group in the manner of the Princeton Painter: Palermo; *ABV* 300.15; BAPD 320439.

³²⁴ There is one scene of a kitharist playing for an audience (one man is shown in the fragment, and another should be placed on the right hand side according to Clark [1990: 70]), but it is fragmentary, and so the age of the player cannot be established: stemless cup fragment attributed to the Segment Class, c.510-500 BC: Malibu 86.AE.184; BAPD 44511*; see **fig.91**.

³²⁵ Pelike attributed to the Acheloos Painter: New York, Market, Emmerich; BAPD 12323.

³²⁶ Neck-amphora attributed to the Group of Würzburg 221: Louvre F264 (S1268); *ABV* 401.2; BAPD 303023*; see **fig.92**.

2.4.2.4 Some anomalies

As is often the case, there were a small number of anomalies. Of these fourteen vases that contain irregularities,³²⁷ two may still be inspired by the Panathenaia, although they differ from the usual format for Panathenaic musical contests. The first is a neck-amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter in Geneva.³²⁸ This shows the rape of Cassandra on the obverse and a kitharist with Athena and a tripod on the reverse. Shapiro describes the conundrum of interpretation for this scene: it can be seen either as the god Apollo with his half-sister with the tripod as a marker for the Delphic facet of the god, or it could be a representation of a victorious kitharist with the patron goddess with him and alongside his prize of a tripod.³²⁹ The tripod is more likely to be an illustration of a triumphant mortal kithara player because of its symbolism as a prize as found in vase-painting.³³⁰ While the struggle for the Tripod is one example of a scene that does show the Delphic Tripod, it is equally possible that the god and Herakles were also seen as engaged in an athletic contest with the Tripod as an indicator for physical prowess. The rarity of Apollo playing for Athena alone is another reason to interpret the scene as evoking Athens rather than Delphi; the goddess' inclusion here must have been a careful decision. Even though the vase-painters are Athenian, there are only eighteen examples of Apollo playing for Athena (excluding scenes of Herakles' apotheosis) in the presence of one or two other deities,³³¹ and just one of the god playing only for Athena.³³² Finally, there are almost no examples of the god playing his kithara with a tripod in the same scene,³³³ indicating that the figure with the kithara on this example in Geneva is perhaps more likely to be interpreted as a mortal first, and then compared with Apollo. On the other hand, the Panathenaic amphorae are usually decorated with a mortal kitharist on the reverse and Athena on the obverse, rather than in the same scene, as is illustrated here.

³²⁷ There are some other vases that are difficult to identify or are fragmentary; they are not included here.

³²⁸ Neck-amphora: Geneva HR84; BAPD 7475 (repeated in the BAPD as 31865); **see fig.93**.

³²⁹ Shapiro (1992a: 65) does not present an opinion, but rather outlines the problem.

³³⁰ For a discussion of the tripod as a prize, see subsection 2.3.2 *passim*.

³³¹ Apollo playing for: Athena and Hermes: BAPD 1853*, 7841*, 19396, 302925*, 351081*; 303033*; Athena and Dionysos: 5184, 13478, 302162*, 306722; Artemis and Athena: 7891*; Athena, Dionysos and Hermes: 12477*; 302046*; 307004; Athena, Artemis and Dionysos: 351037*; Athena, Hermes and Artemis (?): 45140; Athena, Poseidon, and a goddess: 24044; Athena and a helmeted female: 16732.

³³² Unattributed neck-amphora, c.520: Como 23; BAPD 1792*; **see fig.94**.

³³³ For an exception, see above, p.54n28.

A rather different interpretation would be to see this scene as indicative of a victory of another sort of musical contest. Tripods were the prizes for choral and dithyrambic competitions, particularly in the Thargelia. The dithyrambic contest winners in this festival were awarded tripods which were then dedicated to Apollo at the Pythion on the Ilissos.³³⁴ Athena included in this scene can be taken as a signifier for the city of Athens, placing the scene within an Athenian frame of reference, so the tripod may have been an indicator for the Pythion, rather than Delphi.³³⁵ If this is the case then the kitharist may be a mortal, but at the same time a depiction for the god to whom this victory was dedicated. Thus there are two possible interpretations of this scene (but they must nonetheless remain hypotheses): one in which the kithara player is a winner at the Panathenaia with Athena appearing as the deity for whom the contests were undertaken, while the other would be to read this as an illustration of the victor of the dithyrambic contest at the Thargelia with Athena as the marker for the city of Athens in which the Pythion was situated.

The second atypical scene can be found on a Type B amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686 in Orvieto;³³⁶ an interpretation may be advanced if the obverse, on which is depicted the Gigantomachy, is taken into account in the reading of the reverse. Most scholars now agree that the Gigantomachy is closely associated with the Panathenaia,³³⁷ and that the Athena in promachos stance found on the obverse of Panathenaic amphorae is

³³⁴ One example of the god in this temple on the Ilissos is found on a neck-amphora in London: 1856.3-12.10 (B49); *ABV* 326, 715; *Add.*² 88; BAPD 301738*. The deity has been identified as Cybele in the past, but as Shapiro (1989a: 59) points out, it is more likely to be Apollo. On the neck-amphora in Geneva only one tripod is shown, unlike the neck-amphora in London, but the sole tripod may have two meanings: to represent the triumph of the kitharist as well as to situate the scene at the Pythion. If two tripods were represented, perhaps the emphasis on victory for the musician may have been weakened, hence the inclusion of a single tripod.

³³⁵ This may particularly have been the case if relations with Delphi were sour at the time, and the oracular sanctuary was infrequently depicted (as seems to be the case).

³³⁶ Orvieto, Museo Civico; BAPD 24089*; see **fig. 88**.

³³⁷ Neils (2007: 44); Moore (1995: 633), (1985: 21); Shapiro (1990: 129); and Ferrari Pinney (1988: 473) discuss the connection between the beginnings of the illustration of the Gigantomachy on vases and the reorganisation of the Panathenaia into the Greater Panathenaia in 566/5. On the illustration of the Gigantomachy woven into the new peplos given to Athena at the Panathenaia, see Plato, *Euthyphro* 6b-c; Zenobios 1.56. Robertson (1996: 56-8) discusses the Mycenaean origins behind the story of the Gigantomachy, and its relation to the weather gods; Lefkowitz discusses women's role in the festival including the weaving of the peplos (1996: 79).

a visual reminder of this.³³⁸ Therefore when a Panathenaic competition is shown on one side of a vase and a Gigantomachy on the other, the two may be intended to be understood together.³³⁹ An example of this juxtaposition is illustrated on the neck-amphora discussed above by the Leagros Group which shows a music contest on the obverse (platform, judges) and a Gigantomachy on the reverse.³⁴⁰

On the obverse of the Type B amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686, Zeus, Herakles, and Athena are depicted on their way to the Gigantomachy (Herakles is in the car of a chariot while Zeus mounts), while the reverse shows two figures, both draped, one bearded, playing kitharai. Despite the lack of *bema* or judges to signal these musicians as competitors, it is possible to use the Gigantomachy on the obverse to make a connection to the Panathenaia. The ambiguous nature of the scene on the reverse with no definite setting indicated may in fact have encouraged several different interpretations, all of which relate to the festival of Athena. The kitharists may be seen as two competitors; the difference in age between the two may be explained through the different contests, one for youths one for men. Alternatively, since the musicians are facing right, they may be interpreted as participating in a procession in the Panathenaia. In fact, these two dissimilar readings can be combined when the practice of including the competitors in the procession is recalled. Finally, the Gigantomachy on the reverse may not simply be a marker for the Panathenaia, but may also conceivably be the subject of the song of the kitharodes. Thus depending on the context of the viewing experience, and in particular which side was viewed first, the combination of the Gigantomachy on the obverse, and kitharists on the reverse, may still provide a compelling reason to read this particular vase as a representation of the wider events of the Panathenaia.

A word of caution must be added here; while the Gigantomachy has been used to create a connection between the Panathenaia and the scene on the vase, it is perhaps prudent to point out that the fight between the gods and giants is also simply an often depicted scene,

³³⁸ Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Roman Antiquities* 7.72.7) attributes the pyrrhic dance to either Athena or the Curetes; Ferrari Pinney (1988) makes a case for the promachos stance as a representation of the dancing at the victory of the gods over the Giants.

³³⁹ Mackay has addressed this issue of the interpretation of a scene in relation to the other images on the vase in her monograph on Exekias (2010: 376-378).

³⁴⁰ London 1926.6-28.7; ABV 375.211; BAPD 302206*; see **fig.81**.

used for the decoration of a vessel for any number of reasons. Having searched the BAPD for ‘Gigantomachy’ and ‘black-figure’, the types of scenes that were found on the other picture field on the vase were collated and categorised. There were in total 167, since many of the illustrations of the Gigantomachy are painted on late lekythoi with only one picture field available to the artist. The results were as follows: warrior scenes, including arming and departure scenes, made up 27.4% of the scenes;³⁴¹ Dionysian scenes, including just satyrs and/or maenads celebrating, made up 22% of the scenes; Panathenaic scenes only made up 19.4% of the total, even when all scenes of Athena, chariots, and horsemen (which may or may not be related to the festival) were included; after these three categories, scenes including Herakles made up 8.4%, while scenes set in Troy made up another 8.5%. The remaining 14.3% of scenes were difficult to categorise or contained only one or two scenes in each group. Thus, while it would be helpful to be able to use the Gigantomachy as an indication of the Panathenaia, it appears that, while in some cases it may strengthen the identification, it cannot stand on its own as a marker for the festival.

Of the vases collated thus far in this section on Apollo, there have been surprisingly few ambiguous scenes which are difficult to interpret as either *primarily* the god, or *primarily* a mortal (not forgetting the implicit comparison between the two). In identifying Apollo as the kithara player, certain markers have been singled out: the deer, a Delian setting (palm tree), an audience of goddesses (usually Artemis and Leto) or gods, and the scene-type of Apollo playing his kithara framed by two (or more) female figures, or any combination of these. By contrast, mortal kithara players have been identified through the competitive setting, the audience of men, and the often mature age of the musician. There are, however, four examples which seem to show Apollo in what looks like a competition setting, while also seeming to suggest Delos. The first of these is a neck-amphora in Rouen dated to the end of the sixth century BC.³⁴² On the reverse, a youth is shown mounting a two-tiered platform playing his kithara, while a deer stands prominently on the platform and a female figure holding branches stands to the right and extends a wreath towards the musician. The obverse shows Athena fighting the Giant Enkelados (both named). This particular scene shows a kitharist accompanied by a deer and a female

³⁴¹ This in itself is an interesting juxtaposition, since it would suggest a link between the mortal or perhaps heroic battles and the immortals fighting with the giants.

³⁴² Rouen 9820032; BAPD 7597; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 723*; see **fig.95**.

figure, which would therefore imply the musician is Apollo, perhaps on Delos, but the use of the platform places the picture in the competitive mortal realm. The Gigantomachy on the obverse may create a connection to the Panathenaia, but the two scenes may just as equally be unrelated, in which case it is merely an atypical representation of Apollo in a competitive environment. If the figure with the kithara can be taken as Apollo, then perhaps this scene may be some reference to the musical contests on Delos.

The ambiguity of this scene encourages several interpretations that work together to elevate the kithara player to immortal status, as was so often the case in black-figure when the mortal, through comparison to a hero or god, is raised to a divine or heroic level because of his success.³⁴³ One could see this scene as depicting Apollo as the best of all kithara players, emphasised through the addition of a competitive setting and a wreath as the symbol of his skill. This whole scene is then presented in terms of his most famous musical home, Delos,³⁴⁴ which explains the presence of the deer and the female figure as Artemis. Taking into account the obverse, there may a comparison between the two gods: Athena is shown as victorious in her endeavour against Enkelados, while Apollo is shown as victorious in his.³⁴⁵ On the other hand, the kithara player may also be interpreted as a mortal victorious in a contest. If the setting is understood as Delos, then the kitharist may be representing a choregos, and thus standing in for a whole chorus. The female figure crowning the musician may be Nike (although she is not winged), or perhaps an evocation of the Delian Maidens. If the scene is suggestive of Athens and the Panathenaia, then perhaps what is presented here is an example of the blurring of mortal and immortal which seems to be so popular in some scenes in black-figure. Here the mortal kithara player, indicated as a competitor in a festival contest by the use of the *bema* or platform, is identified with the god, and becomes god-like. Therefore, it is appropriate to show a female figure, perhaps Artemis, crowning the victor, as she would her brother.

³⁴³ This is also seen in poetry: Sappho's *Epithalamia* are a good example: fr.44.21 compares Hektor and Andromache to gods on their wedding day and fr.111 compares an unnamed bridegroom to Ares. Pindar's songs in honour of victors frequently compare the winner with a god or hero.

³⁴⁴ Delphi was, of course, a famous site for musical contests in honour of Apollo, but in the archaic period the vase-painters do not emphasise this aspect of the sanctuary.

³⁴⁵ The vase-painter is not known, so it is impossible to discover whether he depicted the Gigantomachy frequently, or paired scenes of victory, or even contrasted scenes of peace and war on his vases. All of these suggestions might provide an explanation for the Gigantomachy on the obverse.

A further two more examples are similar to the last; they depict a kitharist in competitive scenes that also contain elements which suggest the musician can be understood as the god. The first is an oinochoe on which is shown Apollo stepping up on a platform accompanied by a deer and a female figure (probably Artemis), who is holding a wreath out to Apollo.³⁴⁶ The other example is a late olpe which shows Apollo mounting a platform while Dionysos, seated, looks on.³⁴⁷ The late date of this piece should be taken into consideration (perhaps assimilation in the placement of the *bema* with the god), but Apollo is shown playing for only Dionysos on three other vases,³⁴⁸ which may suggest that in this instance the kitharist is more likely to be Apollo than a mortal kitharist.

The final example of these four is on a fragmentary plate in the Akropolis collection: a kitharist plays, watched by a deer and men leaning on staffs, with branches in the background.³⁴⁹ This combination of the deer and the humans (citizens, or possibly judges) is unique in the material consulted for this thesis. The deer refers to an Apollo-like figure, while the men leaning on their staffs suggest a mortal situation. The symposium depicted on the exterior of the cup may be either divine or mortal, since there are many examples of both. The plate fragments (BAPD 19082), with their inclusion of the deer with the kitharist and the symposium on the exterior, encourage an interpretation that blurs the mortal and divine elements; they are compared and contrasted with the aim of elevating the mortals to the level of the gods. The late date of this plate needs to be taken into account, but there are other vessels that provide evidence for this kind of mixing of mortal elements and divine markers to enhance the status of the musician. The musicians here can be seen as god-like, and their skill compared to that of the god himself.³⁵⁰

In addition to these four just discussed, there are two neck-amphorae from the third quarter of the sixth century that possibly depict competition scenes, but include female figures in the audience. In the scenes that are definitely competitive scenes, none have

³⁴⁶ London, Market, Sotheby's 9.13.1974, no.114; BAPD 3485.

³⁴⁷ New York, Market, Royal Athena 1985, 26, no.76; BAPD 17011.

³⁴⁸ BAPD 7834*, 17011, 20402, 19082.

³⁴⁹ Plate fragments: Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2456; BAPD 7946; Callipolitis-Feytmans (1974: 397.14, pl.89.14); see **fig.96**. Paquette (1984: 134, 135.Cb1) provides a close up illustration of the instrument itself, commenting on the form of the kithara with its large rounded base. Fehr (2009) discusses the citizen figure (man leaning on stick) in red-figure and its connection to the growing middle class.

³⁵⁰ For some examples, see above, p.118n343.

women as observers or bystanders. The first of these neck-amphorae is in the Vatican and presents on the obverse a bearded and rather tubby man playing the kithara for a seated man, while a woman stands behind him.³⁵¹ The reverse is difficult to identify, but possibly shows a courting or supplication scene. A seated man at left reaches up to touch the chin of a woman standing in the centre of the scene. At right a youth walks out of the scene. The age of the kithara player on the obverse rather rules out an immediate identification as the god Apollo, even though a female figure is present, which leaves a mortal situation. The other neck-amphora is similar, since the obverse depicts a man playing the kithara for a youth and a woman; the reverse shows two warriors.³⁵² The age of the kithara players in each of these examples counts against a divine musician, while the inclusion of the female figure undermines an interpretation of the scene as a competitor in the Panathenaia as the representations of the festival contests do not include women. One possible explanation could be that the female figures may represent a Muse, depicting the kitharist's (or kitharode's) ability, although at this stage a firm interpretation cannot be proposed.

The final six vases discussed here depict bearded men playing the kithara without an audience. These instances are likely to be mortal kithara players since all of these examples can be dated to after the time when Apollo is typically represented as a youth. Of these six, only one seems to evoke a competition; it shows a man playing the kithara between two columns topped by sphinxes.³⁵³ The columns surely reminded a viewer of the Panathenaic cock-topped columns, but the sphinx is a rather unusual choice. A search for sphinxes on top of columns on the BAPD produced predominantly scenes of the Theban Sphinx atop a single column surrounded by men or youths.³⁵⁴ The dates of these

³⁵¹ Attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter: Vatican 366; *ABV* 224.3, 318.5; BAPD 302820*; **see fig.97**.

³⁵² Neck-amphora: New York, Market, Royal Athena 17, 2006, no.95; BAPD 9019226.

³⁵³ Neck-amphora, c.550-540 BC: London B260; BAPD 7848*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 668a*; **see fig.98**. For sphinxes on columns see Moret (1984: chapter IV, esp. 70-71).

³⁵⁴ Two of these vases include a figure likely to be Oedipus, one on an unattributed Type B amphora: Lucerne Market; BAPD 24052*; the other can be found on hydria fragments attributed to the Leagros Group: Basel, Cahn HC855; BAPD 43112; *LIMC* 7 Sphinx 184*. A white-ground lekythos attributed to the Emporion Painter is a good example of the large number of late lekythoi which depict this scene of the Theban sphinx: Oxford 1927.4455; *ABL* 264.29; BAPD 30372*; Moret (1984: pl.36.1-2).

representations are almost all after Peisistratos' period, at the very end of the sixth century and into the fifth.³⁵⁵

Apart from these Theban scenes, there were two examples (aside from the vase in London under discussion) of competitive scenes set between sphinxes atop columns. One of these is an unattributed Panathenaic amphora from the first half of the second century which shows Athena flanked by sphinx-topped columns,³⁵⁶ but the date of this vessel reduces its relevance here. The other shows Herakles fighting the Nemean Lion between columns with sphinxes crouching on them.³⁵⁷ Columns framing the action in this manner are most familiar from the Panathenaic vases, so perhaps there is a connection here between the athletic prowess of Herakles and the contests of the festivals. This association is strengthened when the reverse is viewed; it shows a lyre player between cocks on columns. When looking at this vase, the repetition of the columns encourages an interpretation that takes both sides into account. The pictures, when viewed together, focus on the contest, one physical, the other musical.³⁵⁸ The columns with cocks evoke the Panathenaia, but the sphinxes are a less obvious choice. Perhaps the sphinxes represented on columns may have reminded an ancient viewer of the sphinx at Delphi gifted by the Naxians, an indicator that Athenians once more had access to Delphi. It is more likely, though, that the sphinxes were chosen because the painter liked them; the hybrid creatures were painted on vases since the orientalisising period. On the obverse of this neck-amphora Apollo is depicted with his kithara; he is joined by his sister Artemis, who holds her bow. This juxtaposition of the god playing his kithara on one side and the mortal musician on the other creates a connection between the two. The mortal kitharist is compared to the god, thus his music and skill are divine.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ There are four examples that might just fall at the end of the tyranny: BAPD 24052*, 302992*, 331199, 331203.

³⁵⁶ Berlin 4950; BAPD 512*; *LIMC* 2 Athena 152*.

³⁵⁷ Type B amphora attributed to Group E: San Antonio 86.134.40; BAPD 45350; Shapiro (1992a: 65, no.20); see **fig.99**.

³⁵⁸ Shapiro (1992a: 65) suggests that Herakles may be the subject of the kitharode's song. If this is correct, then the competition is situated even more clearly in the Panathenaia. Perhaps the columns were one way for vase-painters to add an extra emphasis or nuance of competitiveness to the scene, since these architectural elements (topped with cocks or other motifs) framing the action were an evocation of the Panathenaic Games.

³⁵⁹ Shapiro (1992a: 65-66) describes this comparison as praise for the mortal kitharist. Steiner (1993: 207) discusses the way repetition works in providing a comparison between mortals and heroes. For examples, see above, p.118n343.

In the remaining five examples of a lone kithara player, four do not have any features that would mark them as presenting a contest,³⁶⁰ but the fifth shows a man playing the kithara on one side and a youth strumming on the other.³⁶¹ This last example may be representative of the two kitharist competitions held in the Panathenaia: the youth or boy and the man. The repetition of the subject of the scene draws attention to the differences, and as Steiner points out this repetition encourages the viewer to understand the scenes in relation to one another.³⁶² The kitharist is repeated, but with a difference, one is mature, the other a youth; interpreting the two scenes together reminds the viewer of occasions when such an event would occur. Most probably this would be during a festival, possibly at the Panathenaia.

2.4.3 Summary

Apollo, when worshipped in Athens, was a god of purification and fertility, rather than a god focused on music. Instead of Apollo's festivals, it is the Panathenaia that celebrates the playing of the kithara. As with the separation between Delian Apollo and Delphic Apollo, mortal musicians are clearly distinguished, for the most part, from the deity. Apollo as kitharist is shown in scenes with female figures as his audience, with a deer or palm tree, or with identifiable gods. Competitors in the Panathenaia, by contrast, are recognised because of their male audience, competitive setting, and mature age. This implies that the Athenians, after the influence of Peisistratos at Delos and possible also with the Panathenaia, viewed Apollo the kitharist as most closely associated with Delos, and the Delia, but their own kitharists with the Panathenaia and therefore Athena. This conclusion is further corroborated when the other picture fields on the vases that call to mind the musical contests at the Panathenaia are examined: Apollo, god of music and the kithara, is quite rare. The scenes on the other side of the 27 examples that are here

³⁶⁰ Neck-amphora: Tarquinia RC2800; BAPD 14106*: the obverse shows a draped man playing his kithara between large eyes; the reverse shows Dionysos with a female figure (possibly Ariadne). Olpe fragment (compare the Leagros Group): Louvre CP12683; BAPD 41416: a draped man plays the kithara. Lekythos, Class of Athens 581: Athens E1297; *ABV* 496.169; BAPD 305289: a draped man plays the kithara. Lekythos decorated with Six's Technique attributed to the Sappho Painter: Basel, Market *MuM* 1975, pl.32/145; BAPD 188; Brijder (2008: 38, fig.4): a draped man plays the kithara.

³⁶¹ Kantharos: New York, Market, Sotheby's 9.12.1981, no.201; BAPD 7102.

³⁶² Steiner (1997: 157). On repetition used to emphasise messages and support the comparison of a mortal to a hero or god, see Steiner (1993: esp. 211).

presented as evoking the Panathenaic competition,³⁶³ eight show Athena in promachos stance (29.7%), seven show a musical performance of either the pipes or the kithara (26%), three show scenes from Troy (11%), four show Dionysian scenes (14.8%), two are of the Gigantomachy (7.4%), one depicts Hermes with pipes (3.7%), one illustrates a scene of athletics (3.7%) and one is of a frontal chariot (3.7%). What this seems to illustrate is the centrality of the Panathenaia in the Athenian mind, almost, it seems, at the expense of Apollo, even though the central figure is a kitharist. Thus Apollo, as the musical god, was situated most frequently on Delos and associated with the Delia; in Athens the kitharists were performing in a contest in honour of the goddess Athena and to the Athenian festival of the Panathenaia.

³⁶³ There are nine examples that have no image on the other side or are fragmentary. These 36 examples are all discussed above in subsection 2.4.2.3, p.109.

2.5 Conclusions

The analysis of scenes of Apollo in black-figure provides some indications that vase-painters in the archaic period were influenced by festivals, not just those in Attica, but also those from other sanctuaries that were patronised by Athenians, such as Delos. Furthermore, the actions of the leader of the polis did have an indirect impact on the choice of scene for the vases;³⁶⁴ if one particular festival was favoured above another, it gained a more visual profile, supplying the painter with more material to present on his vases. Those purchasing the wares would also recall more often the most spectacular festivals should the scene support such a reading. Crucially, in the representation of the festivals, the vase-painters chose to depict the mythological narrative that best exemplifies either the starting point or the spirit of the celebrations rather than the events which occurred. This allowed the vase-painters to present both the god in the myth and the mortals in their re-enactment at the same time, thereby encapsulating the most memorable or significant aspects of the festival.

This interpretation of the vases is best demonstrated by the scenes of the Delian Triad. The Delia of Delos seems to have been reflected through the depiction of a family group centred on Apollo as kitharist. This triad is a constant reminder of the relationship between the three figures, that of mother and son, brother and sister. Delos was famous as the birthplace of Apollo, and the vase-painters seem to have chosen to represent the three members of that particular episode of the god's mythology as both the starting point of the festival and as a scene of emulation for the competitors. Thus the scenes of the Delian Triad, and those with a similar layout that depict Apollo playing for more than two female figures, show the first enactment of the festival: Apollo playing for his mother and sister or the Muses as seen in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.³⁶⁵ The female audience of Apollo calls to mind the chorus of famous Maidens on Delos, the mortal equivalent of the Muses and a highlight of the Delia celebrations. And finally the central kitharist may have

³⁶⁴ Peisistratos' favour towards Delos rather than Delphi is an example of this kind of involvement: given that we can only work with the extant vases, it nevertheless appears that there are more Delian scenes than Delphic scenes. Davies explores the categories and ways of spreading cult titles, especially of Apollo, and Peisistratos' work with the Ionian cities can be seen in this light (2007: 61-2). For more information, see above, p.95.

³⁶⁵ Particularly lines 179-203.

reminded the viewer of a choregos, thus reflecting the musical contests held on the island. In this way scenes of the Delian Triad illustrate the mythological beginnings of the Delia and simultaneously evoke the Maidens and the festival competitions; the festival in its entirety is neatly represented on the vase.

When depicting Delphic Apollo, the vase-painters tended to emphasise a sense of conflict and victory on their vases; this is precisely the same spirit that can be found in the festivals celebrated at Delphi. Taking the Septerion held at Delphi as an example, it is apparent that the festival was a re-enactment of a central moment of triumph for the god, in this case the acquiring of his famed oracular seat and sanctuary. In the mythological narrative, Apollo challenges and kills Python for the oracle, then is cleansed and begins to give prophesies through his priestess. Mortal worshippers honoured the god by re-living his trials and moment of success and then celebrating his victory in song. This underlying idea of challenge, violence and then profitable resolution is accentuated by the vase-painters in their choice of story set in Delphi: the struggle for the Tripod. In these scenes, Herakles challenges Apollo and threatens his oracle, there is a physical struggle as depicted on the vases, and finally reconciliation with a positive outcome for all involved.

The depictions of the Panathenaia also follow the pattern of those of Apollo in Delos and Delphi: they do reflect the underlying sentiments of the festival. The victory of the gods, and particularly of Athena, over the giants seems to be the starting point for the Panathenaia, and Athena's stance on the obverse of the Panathenaic amphorae is an illustration of this triumph.³⁶⁶ These prize amphorae are gifts presented to winners and so the emphasis on victory is surely well-chosen; it is the reflection of *Athenian* victory that is of particular relevance here. The pride in Athens and the celebration of the citizens' competitive spirit is portrayed in these images: the very presence of Athena on one side with an inscription stating the origin of the prize shows the growing sense of Athenian identity, while the depiction of the contest on the reverse highlights the competitive nature of the festival. And most importantly, the vase-painters created many unofficial amphorae which evoked the festival as well as scenes of the contests on other shapes. Thus the

³⁶⁶ Whether or not Athena was intended to be as dancing the pyrrhic to celebrate her success on the vases or merely in the pose of vanquishing the enemy is not directly relevant here; either way her victory is achieved or imminent; on Athena's pose see Ferrari Pinney (1988) and above, p.115n337.

Panathenaic vessels, and those intended to mimic or recall them, reflect the sense of Athenian identity and pride in their polis that can be found in the festival itself with its focus on the Gigantomachy and Athena's protection of Athens from chaos.³⁶⁷

The examples analysed in this chapter provide evidence for Athenian perspectives of Apollo, the most striking of which is the separation of Apollo the musician and Apollo the archer. Furthermore, these different facets of the god appear to be associated with particular locales, and the god performed varying functions at these different places. Evidently, judging from the vase-painting, the Athenians connected the musical Apollo with Delos, and the archer Apollo with Delphi and his slaying of Python. This dual relationship of the god with two sanctuaries may perhaps be a reflection of the theory that a very early version of Apollo was created by the amalgamation of two different gods.³⁶⁸ Conceivably, a fighting archer god was carried down from the North, and was meshed with a musical god from the East.³⁶⁹ This might be an explanation for the large number of military votives found at Delphi,³⁷⁰ Apollo's connection with the northern people, the Hyperboreans,³⁷¹ and the emphasis on his aggressive actions in the mythology of the site of Delphi. The musical aspect does seem to be particularly associated with the East and particularly the islands in the Aegean,³⁷² which may be an indicator that a very ancient god known for his lyre playing or musical skills was revered in this area. Apollo's journey as told in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* may, therefore, be more than merely a tale of the founding of his oracle. Despite this distinction between the archer and musical components of Apollo found on vases, it is unlikely that the Greeks consciously thought of him as two gods combined into one deity, but rather that his influence over several separate areas provided a versatile deity, who was therefore worshipped in diverse guises at different sanctuaries for varying reasons.

³⁶⁷ See chapter four, subsection 4.5.1.2, p.255, for a full discussion of this aspect of the Panathenaia.

³⁶⁸ Davies discusses other instances where Apollo has merged with "an originally distinct divine entity" (2007: 61).

³⁶⁹ Nilsson outlines the positive and negative views on seeing Apollo as a god from the East (1925: 132).

³⁷⁰ See above, p.89.

³⁷¹ In addition to Apollo's journey north to Tempe in order to become cleansed of his killing of Python (Plutarch *Moralia* 418a-b), Apollo's link to the Hyperboreans is outlined by Pausanias: the first temple at Delphi was constructed with sacred laurel branches from Tempe in the north, and the second was built out of beeswax and feathers and was a gift from the Hyperboreans (10.5.9). The third temple was of bronze: on this temple and the singing Κιληδόνας, see Power (2011).

³⁷² Lyre seals from the Orientalising period have been found on Delos, which suggests there is a link between the two: Morris (1984: 101). Boardman's work on gemstones, however, shows that there is apparently little in the way of lyre-players (1970a: 199-200).

The scenes of the god Apollo are differentiated from those which depict mortal kitharists, an observation that is supported when the signifiers in the scenes are analysed. Apollo is often accompanied by a deer, is sometimes placed by a palm tree, and is surrounded by goddesses; mortal kitharists are frequently bearded, shown mounting a *bema* or between columns (or both), and play for a male audience.³⁷³ These differences ensure that the viewer will be able to identify the god in some scenes and a competitor in others, keeping the mortal sphere separate from the immortal, even if there is at times an implicit comparison between the two. The vase-painters and poets of the sixth century and earlier seem frequently to compare humans to gods on special occasions like weddings or victories,³⁷⁴ but otherwise it is only heroes who have any proximity to the Olympic deities.

This division between gods and mortals is also evident when assessing the images on the other side of the scenes mentioned above. Although the vase-painters frequently seem to paint two non-related scenes, there are examples where the two sides can be read together. When looking at the subject matter paired with depictions of the god Apollo playing for an audience, the percentage of mortal scenes (courting scenes, sacrifices, mortal contests, but excluding warrior scenes, which can be construed as heroic) is 9.5%, or 21 examples out of 221. When compared with scenes juxtaposed with renditions of mortal kithara players, the same category is 30.45%, or seven out of 23 examples. If Athena in promachos stance is added to this category as an evocation of a festival celebration (or conceivably a statue) that percentage is increased to 56.55%, or thirteen out of 23 examples. It seems, then, that at least in these instances, the vase-painters often paired scenes of mortal life with other representations focused on mortals on the one vase. It is a reasonable inference then that the painters, when depicting the gods engaged in the same activities as mortals, portrayed the deities as remaining firmly in the divine sphere. For

³⁷³ The god plays for a male audience in only 7% of non-narrative scenes (see above, p.79n158), while mortal kitharists (identified through their association with the Panathenaia) play for men or youths in 85% of scenes. There are 26 scenes of a mortal kithara player with an audience, of which 22 or 84.6% show the musician with only male listeners. Of the remaining four scenes, one is of dubious identification since the female figure listening is Athena. In the calculation of these figures for mortal kithara players, fragments on which the audience is often missing or unidentifiable, scenes in which all figures are involved in playing some instrument or singing, all sacrificial or procession scenes and the symposion or komos scenes were excluded.

³⁷⁴ For some examples, see above, p.118n343.

Apollo this means that when he is shown playing the kithara, an instrument mortals also play, his audience comprises of his divine family and the other Olympian gods. Mortal players, on the other hand, do not perform for the gods, or even mortal women (except very infrequently), even if the vase-painters wanted to elevate the musician to the level of Apollo.

Herakles, as the greatest hero, is the one exception who does seem to cross this boundary between the gods and humans, and is depicted playing the kithara in the presence of female gods, particularly Athena, *and* in a competitive stance with one foot up on a platform.³⁷⁵ The hero is shown with his iconic weapons, bow and club, but performing with an instrument of music, thereby combining his violent nature and the more peaceful pursuit of music-making. Herakles' occupation of the space between mortals and immortals is an example of the Greek concept of the divide between humans and gods with heroes placed somewhere in the middle.

Apollo, as presented in black-figure, is a god of two contrasting characteristics: the violent hunter and the peaceful musician. Studying the vases which represent him has provided further evidence for the evocation of festivals on vases and for the (indirect) influence of the leaders of the time on the scenes produced by the painters. Comparing the portrayals of the god with those of non-divine kitharists reveals the vase-painters' desire to separate humans from the gods, while in some cases they seem to be drawing a comparison between the two to elevate the mortal to the level of the gods.

³⁷⁵ Herakles' victory in this contest of kithara playing is emphasised by the portrayal of the hero playing the kithara with one foot up on a *bema* on a Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter, c.510-500 BC: Munich SL459; *ABV* 369.121; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302116*; see **fig.100**. The shape of the vase is a direct correlation to the contests held and the prizes given in the Athenian festival. On Herakles as a kithara player, see Schauenburg (1979).

CHAPTER THREE

DIONYSOS

Dionysos, god of wine, is the most frequently depicted deity in black-figure vase-painting with 4071 black-figure instances catalogued in the BAPD.¹ This frequency is hardly surprising given the number of vessels required for a symposion and therefore related to the drinking of wine. In this chapter, the theory, explored in chapter two, that many examples of festival practice can be identified in black-figure, will be examined in the depictions of Dionysos. During the analysis of the scenes of Apollo, it became apparent that the representations of the god were influenced by the visual performances, public processions, and mythological narratives celebrated during the festival. Thus the images of the Delian Triad reflect both the major event of the Delia (the choral performances, especially of the Maidens) and the mythological origin of the festival (Apollo's birth and patronage of the island). Similarly, the depictions of Dionysos seem to have been inspired at least in part by the varied and frequent celebrations of the god and his gift of wine to mankind.²

In order to explore the influence of festival practice in black-figure scenes of Dionysos, the BAPD was once again the main source for the assembling of the primary evidence. The vast number of scenes which include the god made a comprehensive study of all the instances incompatible with research into other deities for the purposes of this thesis, but

¹ Correct at the time of writing, November 2012. Athena appears in 3023 examples, Hermes in 1589, and Apollo in 1067.

² As Chryssoulaki (2008: 267) notes, the festivals of Dionysos at Athens were large official celebrations, as important as those for Athena and Demeter, reflecting the importance of the god himself.

analysis of typical Dionysian vase-paintings found many elements which could be related to festival practice or performance: these components included the pipes, goat, ivy, vine, and various drinking vessels (see section 3.3). The Dionysian scenes that included any one of these elements were then collated and investigated with regard to festival practice. Therefore this chapter is structured around each of these components, creating a series of differing sections with a joint primary aim: to discover the extent of the reflection of Dionysian festivals on vases. In addition, analysis of the various aspects in the Dionysian scenes provided support for a further theory: that komasts and satyrs can be understood as the mortal and mythological manifestations of the worshippers³ of the god of wine. A parallelism between satyrs and human performers is reflected in the way both satyrs and mortals worship the god of wine. The mythological followers of the god of wine are noted for their love of wine and their response to it: dancing, singing, playing instruments, and chasing maenads or nymphs.⁴ The popularity of satyrs on vases and their frequent proximity to Dionysos suggest that they be seen as ideal worshippers of the god – mediating exemplars through which his power can be viewed and appreciated as the mortals themselves partake. And when men drink they respond in the same way, and thus they can be aligned with the satyrs as worshippers of Dionysos.⁵

The analysis of the various elements in the Dionysian scenes provided support for the interpretation of the scenes as evoking festival practice but also encouraged a review of the vases bearing in mind the strong connection between satyrs and komasts as Dionysian worshippers, the humour these figures (and their actions) often add to black-figure scenes, and the performance aspect of satyrs.⁶ Satyrs, as they are more numerous on vases and well established followers of the god, are the basis from which the komasts are assessed

³ The terms ‘worship’ and ‘worshippers’ are employed in this chapter in a very broad manner. These terms are used to refer to the action of celebrating the god at festivals and in ritual, as well as honouring or paying respect to the god. In ancient Greek culture ‘worship’ of the god is a communal or group activity and so there is a clear difference between the modern understanding of the word ‘worship’ and the ancient. However, the term does cover all aspects of celebrating the god and honouring him and so has been chosen here.

⁴ For example Silenos in Euripides’ *Cyclops* (123-124) laments that without Dionysos’ gift of wine the land knows no dancing and the chorus of Euripides’ *Bacchae* (140-165), although human rather than satyr, sing and dance for the god and shout of the wine, the dance, and the pipes, and Dionysos claims that as he passes through the lands the people dance (23).

⁵ Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 59-63) discusses the rituals associated with drinking, suggesting that the symposium is a part of this series of transitions; in the process of drinking and revelling the mortal man turns into a satyr, another ritual transition.

⁶ This will be discussed in full below, section 3.2, p.148.

as appropriate worshippers of the god of wine.⁷ The festivals in honour of Dionysos are summarised in section 3.1 below in order to provide the basic information on festival practice that will allow for comparisons to be drawn between the vases and the ritual events. Finally, the cumulative evidence garnered from the various sections will be combined in the concluding section, 3.4.

⁷ Dionysos' association with satyrs goes back to the François Vase where they are depicted as his retinue along with figures labelled nymphs: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*. For an overview of the debate about the connection between satyrs and komasts, see below, subsection 3.2.1, p.148. For a discussion of the naming of the followers of Dionysos as silens or satyrs see Hedreen (1992: 1, 10n2); see also Padgett (2003: 29-30); similarly see Edwards (1960: 80n11) for the use of the labels nymph or maenad. In this thesis the terms satyr and maenad are used throughout (in preference to silen and nymph); as Padgett (2000: 43) points out in relation to satyrs and silens, 'the names are essentially interchangeable until the Hellenistic period'.

3.1 Dionysian Festivals

The public Athenian festivals of Dionysos occurred from autumn, through winter, and into spring; understandably they revolve around the life of the grapevine and the production of wine. Each of the festivals listed in the table below will be briefly summarised in turn, divided into several sections outlining the time, place, mythological purpose or aetiological narrative, the activities, and possible signifiers found in vase-painting.

Festival Name	Ancient Date	Modern Date
Oschoiphoria (the harvest)	7 Pyanopsion	End of October
Rural Dionysia	Second half of Poseideon	December
Lenaia	Middle of Gamelion (12 th ?)	End of January
Anthesteria	11-13 Anthesterion	End of February
City Dionysia	9-13 Elaphebolion	Second half of March

3.1.1 Oschoiphoria⁸

Time

The Oschoiphoria were held on the seventh of Pyanopsion, which roughly correlates with the end of October.⁹ Apollo shared the same day with the festival of Pyanopsia.¹⁰

Place

The *pompe* wound its way from the Dionysian sanctuary (which one or the location is unspecified in the ancient sources) to Phaleron, sanctuary of Athena Skiras.¹¹

Mythological Basis/Purpose

Scullion argues that this festival had more to do with Athena than with Dionysos,¹² and its aetiological basis is in the myth of Theseus and his trip to Crete.¹³ Simon states that the Oschoiphoria were held to celebrate the wine-pressing and were a thanksgiving to

⁸ Major primary sources for the Oschoiphoria include Demon (*FGrH* 3B, 327F6) on Plutarch, *Theseus* 23.2-4; Proclus *Chrestomathia* 87-92 in Photius *Bibliotheca* 239, 322a. On the festival of the Oschoiphoria see Scullion (2007: 196-201); Parker (2005: 211-217); Simon (1983: 89-92); Kerényi (1976: 144-146); Deubner (1966: 142-147).

⁹ Scullion (2007: 198); Simon (1983: 89); Deubner (1966: 142).

¹⁰ Simon (1983: 89).

¹¹ Photius *Bibliotheca* (*FGrH* 3B, 383F9). Scullion (2007: 196); Simon (1983: 91); Deubner (1966: 143, 144) describe the procession as leaving from the Dionysian sanctuary and heading to Phaleron, but on the various problems with the identification of the *pompe* start point, see Scullion (2007: 201).

¹² Scullion (2007: 199). Under Oschoiphoria in the *Souda*, the festival is described as for Athena Skiras.

¹³ The story and its relationship to the Oschoiphoria are told in Plutarch's *Theseus* 23.2-3. Theseus took two extra youths with him to Crete, but disguised them as girls. When they arrived back, Theseus instituted the Oschoiphoria featuring the cross-dressing youths. Scullion (2007: 196-197); Deubner (1966: 142).

Dionysos.¹⁴ Scullion maintains the festivities were based on agricultural practices, but the god being thanked for the season's fertility was Athena, and that the connection of Dionysos with the cult has more to do with the immediate link between the god and the vine rather than as a celebration of the harvest and wine.¹⁵

Activities

A procession was held at the Oschophoria, headed by two *oschophoroi*: youths who were dressed as women with branches of grape-bearing vine.¹⁶ The procession went from a Dionysian sanctuary to Phaleron, sanctuary of Athena Skiras, patron goddess of the Salaminioi, from which clan the youths were chosen.¹⁷ The two youths dressed as maidens led a procession that may have contained a choir singing 'oschophoric' songs,¹⁸ and the *deipnophoroi*, women carrying food.¹⁹ At the Oschophorion within that sanctuary, offerings were made and myths retold.²⁰ There were races held for the ephebes.²¹

Possible markers or symbols

A branch of vine with bunches of grapes hanging from it might be seen as a possible marker for the festival on vases. The well-known Type A amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter in Würzburg has been associated with the Oschophoria; satyrs are shown pressing and harvesting grapes on the obverse and Dionysos samples the wine and dances with other satyrs on the reverse.²²

¹⁴ Simon (1983: 90, 92) maintains the wine-pressing was a part of the festival which was itself based on a Mycenaean vegetation cult. The Oschophoria are certainly held at the time of the harvest and the grapevines were carried in the procession.

¹⁵ Scullion (2007: 197, 199) cites the practice of the Salaminioi of sacrificing a pregnant sheep to Athena Skiras, a victim associated only with fertility goddesses.

¹⁶ Plutarch, *Theseus* 23.3; in the *Souda* (s.v. *Oschophoros*) two high-born youths are specified as carriers of the grape-laden branches. See also Scullion (2007: 196); Simon (1983: 90-91); Deubner (1966: 142). Scullion (2007: 198) puts forward some evidence to show that transvestism sat a little uncomfortably with ritual.

¹⁷ Simon (1983: 91).

¹⁸ A fragment of an Oschophoricon by Pindar was found on *POxy.* 2451 B fr.17, see Rutherford and Irvine (1988: 49) for transcription and translation. The placement of these songs during the procession has been questioned by Rutherford and Irvine (1988: 47-48) in their analysis of Proclus' *Chrestomathia* 87-92 in Photius 239, 322a. If the *oschophoric* songs were intended as praise for victors of the footrace as Rutherford and Irvine (1988) argue, then perhaps the choruses were held after the footraces; as Athenaeus (495f-496a) records from Aristodemos (*FGrH* 3B, 383F9) the winners of the footrace celebrated with the chorus.

¹⁹ This is related to the aetiological beginning of the festival as mothers brought food to their sons and daughters who were to be sent off to Crete: Scullion (2007: 196); Deubner (1966: 144).

²⁰ Scullion (2007: 197); Simon (1983: 91) states that at the sanctuary of Athena Skiras happy and sad songs were sung, typical of vegetation deities who died.

²¹ On the evidence for races held for ephebes, see Rutherford and Irvine (1988); see also Scullion (2007: 196); Deubner (1966: 144).

²² Dated to c.530 BC: Würzburg L265; *ABV* 151.22; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310451*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 38*; see **fig.101**. Hedreen (1992: 87-88) interprets the vase in this way, and Simon (1983: 90) connects this scene with the festival through the presence of the piper providing the music (a large part of the festivities) for the satyrs pressing the grapes. The reverse of this amphora has also attracted much comment from scholars since Dionysos is shown *dancing* among satyrs; Schöne (1987: 100 [cat.220,

3.1.2 Rural Dionysia²³

Time

The Rural Dionysia were held in midwinter, in the second half of Poseideon (December),²⁴ but exact times varied from village to village.²⁵

Mythological basis/Purpose

The festivities were in honour of Dionysos of the countryside,²⁶ probably held to encourage agricultural fertility and to ensure spring followed winter.²⁷

Activities

The Rural Dionysia were celebrated by all; slaves were included as with the Anthesteria.²⁸

The procession included at the very least a basket-bearer or *kanephoros*, a large wooden phallus, and revellers who sang songs to the god and Phales,²⁹ and Plutarch claims that it also included a wine-jar, a branch of vine, a goat,³⁰ and a basket of dried figs.³¹ The

pl.16.1-2]), for example, describes the god's energetic movement as an indication of the ecstatic element that he usually bestows on his followers. On this vase, see Bothmer (1985: 113-118, no.19).

²³ See Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 42-56); Simon (1983: 101-104); Deubner (1966: 134-138); Habash (1995: 560-567).

²⁴ Theophrastus, *Characters* 3.5; Hesychius, s.v. Dionysia; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 42); Deubner (1966: 134). The name of this month suggests that a large festival was held for Poseidon at this time of year, although little evidence survives.

²⁵ Plato *Republic* 5.475d; see Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 43); Simon (1983: 101). Belknap (1934) suggests that the smaller rustic festivals held for Dionysos in the countryside as exemplified by the description by Dikaiopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (241-279) were held in spring after the Lenaia, while the larger, more spectacular versions were celebrated in winter. The Rural Dionysia held at Peiraeus were among these more lavish celebrations: Demosthenes (*Against Midias* 10) lists it alongside the City Dionysia and Lenaia. Habash (1995: 561) proposes that the Rural Dionysia may have come in two sizes: the more rustic, local affairs, and the larger versions that included drama. Regardless, the exact timing of these festivities is of less importance here than the various activities and components of the rituals.

²⁶ Simon (1983: 103). The god apparently came into Attica through Ikarion and so this village was considered the birthplace of comedy and tragedy. A fifth-century fragmentary inscription at Ikarion is also our earliest epigraphic evidence for drama: Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 48).

²⁷ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 42-43) explains that the Rural Dionysia is probably very ancient and may not have been always associated with the god of wine, although in historical times the festivities were held in honour of Dionysos. Deubner (1966: 135-136) points out that the god of fertility, Phales, is not the same as Dionysos and was absorbed into the god's cult, so from the earliest times it was fertility that was the essence of the festival. Habash (1995: 575) compares the Rural Dionysia and the Anthesteria as presented in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and concludes that the Rural Dionysia are focused on peace and fertility, while the Anthesteria are a celebration of the bounty of that fertility. Kerényi (1976: 296) suggests that the Rural Dionysia are just a prolonged Lenaia for those in the wider Attic community, see also above, p.134n25. The performance aspect is common to both festivals, but Dionysian celebrations generally included some form of performance or choral activity. This similarity therefore highlights the importance of performance to Dionysian rituals, something that will be discussed in greater detail below, in subsection 3.2.2, p.159.

²⁸ Plutarch, *Moralia* 1098b-c. Xanthias' participation in Dikaiopolis' procession (Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 243-244) as the phallus bearer is an indication of this; see also Deubner (1966: 135).

²⁹ The best evidence we have for this procession is Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, in which a small procession is enacted at 241-279. Also mentioned is a flat cake and some sauce or porridge which is poured over it (245-246). See also Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 43-44). Pausanias (10.19.3) describes the finding of a wooden sculpture of Dionysos Phallen off the coast of Lemnos near Methymna, which suggests that at one time and in some places Dionysos was worshipped as Phales, but here Phales is a separate entity.

³⁰ Simon (1983: 102) sees this as the sacrificial animal, as does Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 123).

pompe probably also included taunts or jokes, as there is evidence to suggest that Dikaiopolis, in his song to Phales in the *Acharnians*, ridicules some characters,³² and Aristotle claims that comedy arose from iambic verse (a genre which also included the lampooning of various people) and from the phallic songs.³³ This festival does have its basis in performance, definitely from as early as the middle of the sixth century,³⁴ and this performance was probably dramatic in nature.³⁵ Some inscriptions from the classical period and later mention comedies, tragedies and dithyramb.³⁶ One of the activities frequently ascribed to the Rural Dionysia is the *askoliasmos*.³⁷ This game required one to ‘jump or stand on an oiled and full wineskin’, but not all scholars connect it exclusively to the Rural Dionysia.³⁸

Possible markers or symbols

A procession including some of the following, a wine-jar, grapevine, goat,³⁹ basket, or wooden phallus, may well be an evocation of the Rural Dionysia. There is one rendition on an unattributed black-figure lip cup in Florence, c.540 BC, which has been put forward as a depiction of the phallic procession in the Rural Dionysia.⁴⁰ The obverse shows six

³¹ Plutarch, *de cupiditate divitiarum* 527d. Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 44) notes that this procession may relate to Boiotia, rather than Attica. Deubner (1966: 136) sees the phallus and the figs as the older aspects of the *pompe* and the wine-jar, grape branch, and goat as later Dionysian additions. Ephebes were involved in the procession and took part in the sacrificing of the victim: see Simon (1983: 102); Deubner (1966: 137).

³² Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 263-279; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 43). Habash (1995: 563) interprets Dikaiopolis’ teasing of his daughter (255-256) as a part of this tradition.

³³ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449a1-14; Habash (1995: 563-564); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 43).

³⁴ The earliest ‘theatre’ space from the demes of Attica is the one at Thorikos dated to the end of the sixth century, which indicates that an audience gathered to watch some form of performance probably well before this time: see above p.42n182.

³⁵ Travelling actors went from place to place and there is evidence that at the end of the fifth century Aristophanes and Sophocles went to Eleusis to present their plays: Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 43, 48). See also Simon (1983: 101). However, the drama may not have been presented in all of the demes; more likely the plays were put on only in the larger demes, particularly Peiraeus: Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 45-46). We know, for instance, that Socrates went to Peiraeus to see plays of Euripides: Aelian, *Varia Historia* 2.13. Deubner (1966: 136-137) discusses the importance of these rural performances to comedy and choruses.

³⁶ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 46-47) notes that at Peiraeus the inscriptions name tragedy and comedy, but not dithyramb, while at Eleusis we have evidence for tragedy, comedy, and dithyramb.

³⁷ Deubner (1966: 135) discusses this game, the prize of which was a full wineskin; see also Parke (1977: 102).

³⁸ See, for example, Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 45).

³⁹ The goat may be a marker for the Rural Dionysia; Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 123) argues there is justification to see the goat as a part of the festival, probably the sacrificial victim.

⁴⁰ Florence 3897; BAPD 547; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 120*; see **fig.102**. Lissarrague (2012: 575-577, fig.29.5) discusses this unique example, drawing attention to the evocation of the *Phallophoria*. For interpretations of this scene, see Hedreen (2004: 51, pl.7a); Carpenter (1986: 89-90, pl.22) who believes that the vase represents a Dionysian occasion and something that is humorous; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 43-44). Whether a particular festival can be identified here is not the central issue (the possibilities include the Rural Dionysia, City Dionysia, or Anthesteria as there is evidence for phallic processions in all of these, see below, subsections 3.1.4, p.138 and 3.1.5, p.143); what is clear is that the men are involved in one method of worship of the god and at the same time are illustrating the extent of his power, thereby evoking the procession and the worthiness of the deity.

men and youths carrying a platform on which a much larger and fatter man stands holding a massive phallus pole out in front of him. He also holds branches of ivy. The reverse shows a similar scene, although the fat man has been replaced by a hairy satyr, who has on his back a seated youth holding a drinking horn. There are also two more men holding up the slightly more elaborate platform, although it is possible that they are in fact trying to manoeuvre it in some way. The phallus pole on both sides of the cup is decorated with dots and spirals up the shaft and has a large eye painted near the tip, with garlands attached to the end.

3.1.3 Lenaia⁴¹

Time

The Lenaia were held in about the middle of Gamelion,⁴² when the seas were still too rough for travel, so the audience for the dramatic contests was Athenian.⁴³

Place

The festival was held in the Lenaion, but the precise location of this site is not known for certain; it may have been held outside the walls, or in the agora.⁴⁴

Mythological basis/Purpose

The name of the festival, Lenaia, is associated with the winepress,⁴⁵ but the middle of January is not an appropriate time to honour the winepress.⁴⁶ Rather it seems more likely that it is related to the maenads, the female followers of Dionysos.⁴⁷ It is possible that the

⁴¹ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 25-42); Simon (1983: 100-101); Deubner (1966: 123-134).

⁴² Towards the end of January: see Simon (1983: 100); Deubner (1966: 123) suggests the 12th of Gamelion, with the dramatic performances taking up some extra days.

⁴³ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 504; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 40).

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the problems with the location of the Lenaion see Wycherley (1965); Deubner (1966: 124). Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 37-38) gives the evidence for both views, and includes, but discounts, the placement of the festivities of the Lenaia as at the sanctuary of Dionysos in the marshes. Simon (1983: 100) states that the place where the Lenaia was held is uncertain but suggests the agora near the Stoa Basileios; see also Travlos (1971: 566) who suggests that the Lenaion was in the agora.

⁴⁵ According to the *LSJ* the word ληνᾰῖος means 'belonging to the wine-press', from ληνός, a wine-vat.

⁴⁶ The Oschophoria were held in honour of the harvest and wine-pressing.

⁴⁷ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 29-30). There are several other interpretations put forward, collected and discussed by Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 34-35), including a celebration of the birth of Dionysos, a connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries (since the officials of this cult helped in the organisation of the *pompe*: Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 57.1), or the devouring of the god. Simon (1983: 100) states that the Lenaia is the festival of the maenads and the mask of Dionysos on a column, pillar, or stick. Deubner (1966: 125-126) discusses the ties between the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Lenaia, before considering the maenadic aspect of the festival. On these vases, see also Moraw (1998: 187-189).

Lenaia, with its seemingly orgiastic worship of the god, came from Macedonia or Thrace.⁴⁸

Activities

As with most festivals, there was a procession during the Lenaia.⁴⁹ It included wagons, a sacrifice, a goat,⁵⁰ and σκώμματα (jokes, jests), but not, as far as can be ascertained from the sources available, phalloi, or a komos.⁵¹ There is, however, very little evidence to provide information about the festival, apart from the vases discussed below. We know that there were dramatic contests, as Dikaiopolis, in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*,⁵² says that the play is being performed at the Lenaia. Both tragedy and comedy were performed, but the inscriptional evidence only allows for dating back to approximately 440 BC; before then it is possible the plays were on a very small scale, or that there were no state-funded dramatic competitions at all.⁵³ Comedy was probably more important than tragedy at this festival, and this may have come about from the presence of jokes and lampooning during the procession.⁵⁴ There is no evidence for dithyramb at the Lenaia until the beginning of the third century.⁵⁵

Possible markers or symbols

Most scholars now follow the interpretation of scenes showing women dancing ecstatically (or on later vases, standing) around a mask of Dionysos on a pillar or column as representing the Lenaia.⁵⁶ Pickard-Cambridge outlines the arguments for seeing it as

⁴⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 35) suggests that it may have come through Thebes on the way to Athens, and Deubner (1966: 133) notes the similarity between the column and form of the idol of Dionysos on vases and the Dionysos στῦλος from Thebes.

⁴⁹ Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 57.1 states that the Lenaia included a procession and competition.

⁵⁰ Simon (1983: 100) asserts the goat is the sacred animal at the Lenaia. It is plausible, therefore, to place a goat in the procession as well.

⁵¹ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 36). Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 25-29) lists all the relevant literary evidence for the Lenaia at the start of his discussion of the festival; see also Deubner (1966: 125).

⁵² Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 504.

⁵³ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 40). See Csapo and Slater (1995: 403-406) for a table of the chronology of dramatic events. Marshall and Willigenburg (2004: esp. 102-103) provide a model for the judging of the plays.

⁵⁴ Hamilton (1992: 29). Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 40-41) cites an inscription that shows only two tragedies by each playwright were performed at the Lenaia, and no satyr-play, but as with the City Dionysia, five comedies were put on.

⁵⁵ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 42).

⁵⁶ Hamilton (1992: 9) discusses the problems with the passage on which some scholars base their argument for seeing the vases as associated with the Anthesteria, and concludes, 'In view of all these difficulties it is disturbing that this passage is the basis on which a number of scholars interpret the so-called Lenaia Vases as representations not of the Lenaia but of the Anthesteria.' See also Simon (1983: 100). Hamilton's thorough investigation of the sources available to us concerning the Anthesteria has provided a valuable resource on the festival, and while his work shows that much of what we have is confusing or contradictory, his point here about the Lenaia vases is sound. Peirce (1998) argues that the Lenaia vases do not in fact depict a particular festival of Dionysos, but rather the preparation and carrying out of a ritual *theoxenia* for Dionysos. That Dionysian cult is portrayed on these vases, however, is agreed on by all parties.

the Lenaia, or conversely, following Nilsson, the Anthesteria.⁵⁷ Frickenhaus' early collation of the fifth-century examples led him to see the vases as depicting the Lenaia, while Frontisi-Ducroux gathers more examples and summarises the vast scholarship on the topic.⁵⁸ The possible markers for this festival, therefore, may include a mask of Dionysos on a column, ecstatic maenads, or a goat.

3.1.4 Anthesteria⁵⁹

Time

The Anthesteria were held in early spring⁶⁰ on the 11-13 Anthesterion, correlating to the end of February.⁶¹

Place

There were various locations for the activities of the Anthesteria. The Pithoigia were held at the Limnaion in the Ilissos area,⁶² the drinking contest in the Thesmotheteion,⁶³ the

⁵⁷ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 30-34); Deubner (1966: 127-134) examines the evidence for seeing the vases as examples of the Lenaia in great detail. He argues against Nilsson and points out that the nature of the scenes on the vases, particularly the ecstatic dance, is more in keeping with the Lenaia. Burkert (1983: 236-238) suggests that the vases are linked to the sacred marriage of the *basilinna* and the god during the Anthesteria. His evidence is based on an anthropological approach rather than on the material evidence. Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 33) concludes that the interpretation as the Lenaia has a little more evidence, although he stresses the lack of conclusive proof either way.

⁵⁸ Frickenhaus (1912: 33-34 for black-figure examples); Frontisi-Ducroux (1991: 17-63).

⁵⁹ Hamilton (1992) collates all the evidence for the festival, and points out the many inconsistencies and inaccuracies that have come down to us; see also Parker (2005: 290-316); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 1-25); Simon (1983: 92-99); Burkert (1983: 213-247).

⁶⁰ The name is associated with flowers (see Kerényi [1976: 300-301]), although the name Anthesteria has not come down to us in any evidence before the second century: Hamilton (1992: 5). Burkert (1983: 214) writes that it is the flowering of the vine that is important here. Many of the vases from the celebration of the Anthesteria show young children garlanded: Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 9). See also Simon (1983: 101).

⁶¹ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 1); Simon (1983: 92).

⁶² Pickard-Cambridge gives all the evidence and arguments available to him in a discussion of the sanctuary of Dionysos *en limnais* to try to place the temple (1968: 9, 21-25); see also Simon (1983: 93); Burkert (1983: 215). The Limnaion sanctuary is apparently where this part of the festival was held, but other evidence states that for only one day a year the sanctuary was open, and it is not the same day on which the Pithoigia were celebrated: Hamilton (1992: 9). All other temples were shut on the day of the Choes: Burkert (1983: 219). For a plan of the Ilissos area, see Travlos (1971: 291, fig.379).

⁶³ The exact location is not known, although some scholars associate it with the South Stoa; this building may be as late as the fourth century: Hamilton (1992: 20-21); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 10). On the South Stoa (I and II) see Travlos (1971: 534-536). Camp (1986: 105-107) suggests the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios as a likely candidate for the Thesmotheteion; Travlos (1971: 2, 578, 8, fig.5, no.18) places the Thesmotheteion on his sixth century plan of the Agora, surmising that it was near the Prytaneion. Burkert (1983: 219) states that it was near the Areopagus. Despite the difference in opinions with regard to the position of the Thesmotheteion, it is agreed that it was some kind of dining room.

sacred marriage probably took place in the Boukoleion near the Agora,⁶⁴ and the Hydrophoria near the Olympieion in the precinct of Ge.⁶⁵

Mythological basis/Purpose

The Anthesteria were the last of the winter Dionysian celebrations and therefore completed the Dionysian cycle that began with the Oschophoria (the City Dionysia were held at a time when visitors could come and watch the plays in honour of the god). The Anthesteria overall were essentially a vegetation cult, and one of the oldest festivals dating to the late bronze age,⁶⁶ but each of the activities was conducted for different reasons. The Pithoigia were held in celebration of the drinking or tasting of the wine from the previous harvest and to remove any possible malevolence from the new food and drink.⁶⁷ Dionysos' arrival at Athens by boat is one likely mythological origin of the ship-cart procession that was probably held during the Anthesteria.⁶⁸ The Choes was a day of celebration and drinking contests and feasts, and may, in the evening, have included the marriage of Dionysos and the *basilinna*, a re-enactment of the divine marriage of Dionysos and Ariadne.⁶⁹ The Chytroi seem to have been associated with chthonic Hermes and the flood.

Activities

Disentangling the evidence for the many and varied events of the Anthesteria is a difficult task. Hamilton describes the festival as 'arguably the most complicated set of rituals recorded for classical Athens. Taking all of the literary and archaeological evidence together, we are presented with a festival of astounding richness, mirroring the complex

⁶⁴ Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 3.5; Hamilton (1992: 55-56); Simon (1983: 96); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 12); Burkert (1983: 233). The Boukoleion housed the archon basileus and was situated near the Prytaneion in the south-east corner of the Agora; Travlos (1971: 2, 8, fig.5 [no.16]).

⁶⁵ Simon (1983: 99). See Travlos (1971: 292, fig.380) for a detailed plan of the Olympieion and the shrine of Olympian Ge on the south-west corner.

⁶⁶ Simon (1983: 92); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 1) calls the Anthesteria 'the oldest of the festivals of Dionysus at Athens' and Burkert (1983: 213, 213n2) discusses the common Ionian origin of the name of the month Anthesterion following the scholiast on Thucydides, stating that the Anthesteria must therefore predate the Ionian colonisation. Thucydides (2.15.4) mentions Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις as having been celebrated in the Limnaion from very ancient times. Hoorn (1951: 15) states that at the Anthesteria Dionysos was worshipped as a god of vegetation.

⁶⁷ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 9); Simon (1983: 92); Burkert (1983: 216-217).

⁶⁸ See Simon (1983: 93); Mackay (2010: 232-233). Hamilton (1992: 57-58 on the *katagogia*) notes that the testimonia are late and only associate the ship-cart procession with the month of Anthesterion rather than the festival. Some scholars prefer to place the ship-cart procession in the City Dionysia; see for example Kerényi (1976: 170-173). Although the evidence for the placement of this *pompe* is inconclusive, the basis of the Anthesteria, with its celebration of the new wine and focus on drinking, fits better with a commemoration of the first arrival of the drink.

⁶⁹ Simon (1983: 97).

and contradictory Dionysos we meet in Euripides' *Bacchae*.⁷⁰ As stated above, there were three events, each possibly allocated one day,⁷¹ the Pithoigia, Choes, and Chytroi.⁷² The Pithoigia⁷³ included the opening of the pithoi, libations of the new wine to Dionysos, and the consumption of the drink.⁷⁴ The chorus in Euripides' *Bacchae*⁷⁵ tell us that wine is a pleasure that is given to all, and there is evidence to suggest that slaves were included in this celebration of the drinking of wine.⁷⁶ Simon places the *pompe* including Dionysos in a ship-cart on this day,⁷⁷ in a procession possibly called the *katagogia*, although the literary evidence for this is inconclusive at best.⁷⁸

The second day was the Choes,⁷⁹ during which were the drinking contests, both state-organised and private. Our best evidence for this day of the festival is from Aristophanes' *Acharnians*.⁸⁰ Dikaiopolis prepares a massive and varied feast and is summoned by the priest of Dionysos to a dinner. He heads off with his chous and food to the dinner and competes in the drinking contest. He returns from the celebrations, inebriated, and accompanied by some women, claiming to have been the first to empty his chous of the unmixed wine. He calls to the king for his prize, a skin of wine. The state contest began at the sound of the trumpet and was completed in silence, each contestant drinking from his own vessel, and the winner was given a full wineskin.⁸¹ Burkert sees the drinking contest

⁷⁰ Hamilton (1992: 1). On the complex nature of the Anthesteria, see also Parker (2005: 313).

⁷¹ A religious day ran from sundown to sundown rather than from sunrise to sunrise: Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 1). Some of the scholia place the Choes and the Chytroi on the same day, and Hamilton (1992: 35, 42-50) argues that it seems more likely that in fact the Choes and the Chytroi were held on the same day. Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 13) agrees that there is some confusion over the different activities and their time frame, but keeps the two days separate, emphasising the difference in the atmosphere between them: the Choes sacred to Dionysos and revelry, the Chytroi sacred to Hermes and the dead. Burkert (1983: 215) too keeps the days separate, although he notes that the evening to evening 'day' was a 'hazy distinction' that 'occasionally caused confusion.'

⁷² Hamilton (1992: 5); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 1); Simon (1983: 93).

⁷³ Hamilton (1992: 6-7) presents all the literary evidence for this part of the festival.

⁷⁴ Hamilton (1992: 6) states that we do not have a large amount of evidence for this part of the Anthesteria, although it probably did include the opening of the pithoi of new wine; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 9).

⁷⁵ Euripides, *Bacchae* 421-423.

⁷⁶ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 9). Hamilton (1992: 8), however, points out that the scholiast suggesting the slaves were included may well be conjecture, but he does discuss other evidence in detail, which is more conclusive (1992: 30, 32).

⁷⁷ Simon (1983: 93-94); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 12).

⁷⁸ On the testimonia relating to the ship-cart procession in the *katagogia*, see Hamilton (1992: 57-58).

⁷⁹ This part of the festival may have been confined to Athens, even though the Anthesteria were more widespread: Hamilton (1992: 32-33).

⁸⁰ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 959-1234.

⁸¹ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1000-1004, 1224-1225. This use of separate drinking vessels is apparently associated with Orestes' arrival in Athens while he was polluted with his mother's murder; everyone had their own jug so no one would spread the pollution: Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 947-961.

as a ritual sacrifice and focuses on the guilt and evil aspects of the day,⁸² but Hamilton prefers the more joyous occasion laid out in the *Acharnians*.⁸³ It seems from the play that there were also private functions or parties held, such as the one Lamachos seems to be organising when he sends a messenger to purchase food from Dikaiopolis.⁸⁴ The private wine drinking competitions had cakes and garlands as prizes.⁸⁵ The garlands given to the winners of drinking contests were put around the neck of their choes. The revellers then went to the priestess in the Limnaion, undoubtedly in a drunken state as in a komos,⁸⁶ and dedicated their garlands there and performed a sacrifice.⁸⁷

Hamilton discusses the tradition of joking from wagons that seems to have been a part of this festival as well as the Lenaia. There is evidence for this practice, although it may be that the jokes from carts began at the Lenaia and were simply copied for the Anthesteria.⁸⁸ Children were important in this part of the festival.⁸⁹ It was probably in the evening that the sacred marriage was held, which began with the preparatory rites at the Limnaion, open only on this day, the 12th Anthesterion. The *basilinna* and the fourteen *gerarai* took oaths, then a procession wound up to the Boukoleion where the queen would spend the night with the god.⁹⁰

⁸² Burkert (1983: 220-226).

⁸³ Hamilton (1992: 14-15, 24-25) suggests that Euripides may have made up the rather gloomy atmosphere that he attaches to the drinking contest in his *Iphigenia in Tauris* 947-961.

⁸⁴ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 959-962. There is also evidence for private parties in the saying, 'Get out, you Kares/Keres! The Anthesteria is over!' which suggests that there were dinner parties held within citizens' houses to which Kares or Keres were invited and then, after the Anthesteria, unwelcome. For a discussion of the Kares vs Keres argument see Burkert (1983: 226-230) and Hamilton (1992: 50-51).

⁸⁵ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 10); Hamilton (1992: 23).

⁸⁶ Hedreen (2004: 50) describes the drunken procession during the Anthesteria. See also Hoorn (1951: 32-35) on the komos and drinking contest.

⁸⁷ Hamilton (1992: 23). Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 10) includes a libation from the chous of the reveller when he arrives. See also Burkert (1983: 231-232) who dwells on the drunken procession that must have wound its way to the precinct of Dionysos in the marshes.

⁸⁸ Hamilton (1992: 26-27). Hamilton (1992: 26-27, 61) is quite clear that there were no masked mummers at the Anthesteria, *contra* Burkert (1983: 228-229). Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 12-13) places the jesting in the *katagogia* procession.

⁸⁹ Hamilton (1992: 30-31, cf 61); Simon (1983: 94-95); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 10-11); Burkert (1983: 221).

⁹⁰ Simon (1983: 96). She states that the priest of Dionysos probably played the role of Dionysos (1983: 97). Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 11-12); Burkert (1983: 233-235). Hamilton (1992: 53-56) is very cautious of this particular rite as a part of the Anthesteria and what exactly it contained. Our most extensive source is from ps.-Demosthenes 59 (*Against Neaera* 73-78), and his only reference to the Anthesteria is the date to the 12th Anthesterion (76). Since this is a speech against Neaira, Hamilton sees some of the claims as combined and exaggerated to further Demosthenes' point of view.

The Chytroi were probably celebrated on the last day in remembrance of the flood⁹¹ with the cooking of grain or beans (*pansperma*) in a pot for the chthonic Hermes, and are therefore connected in some way with the dead.⁹² The ephebes were of central importance on this day.⁹³ There is some evidence for the honouring of Dionysos at the Chytroi through choruses and mockery, and perhaps even full-scale comedy. Certainly, some form of spectacle seems to have been expected.⁹⁴

The Hydrophoria were also celebrated: water from hydriai was poured out to commemorate the flood; perhaps this activity is a more likely candidate for the rituals in honour of those killed in the flood.⁹⁵ Another rite is also attached to the Anthesteria, or more particularly the Chytroi: the Aiora, the swinging to appease the soul of Erigone.⁹⁶

Possible markers or symbols

In looking for renditions of the Anthesteria, choes, and other vessels, torches, the ship-cart and possibly fountainhouse⁹⁷ scenes may be markers. The most likely depiction of the Anthesteria, apart from the scenes found on choes, is the ship-cart procession found on the Theseus Painter's skyphos in Bologna, c.500 BC (if the ship-cart can be associated with the festival).⁹⁸ The wheels of the 'ship' are clearly shown; Dionysos and satyrs sit inside the boat. Associated with this, although dated to c.530 BC, is Exekias' magnificent cup in

⁹¹ Burkert (1983: 240) discusses the appropriateness of the flood to the other celebrations at the Anthesteria.

⁹² Simon (1983: 93); Hamilton (1992: 33-35); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 13-14); Burkert (1983: 238-239).

⁹³ Burkert (1983: 241).

⁹⁴ Hamilton (1992: 38-42). Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 15-16) follows [Plutarch]'s *Lives of the Ten Orators* (*Vitae decem oratorum* 841f) which states that Lycurgus, in the fourth century, introduced (or re-introduced) comic contests to the Chytroi; these comic contests Pickard-Cambridge interprets as competitions between comic actors. The victor of the comic *agon* would perform at the City Dionysia. While Hamilton sees these performances (whatever form they might be) as quite important to the Chytroi, Pickard-Cambridge suggests that they were held at this time simply for convenience. Burkert (1983: 240-241) states that the performances were always 'hopelessly overshadowed by the Dionysia and the Panathenaia.'

⁹⁵ Hamilton (1992: 37-38).

⁹⁶ Simon (1983: 99); Burkert (1983: 241-242); Kerényi (1976: 156-160). Hamilton (1983: 61) discounts the Aiora as a part of the Anthesteria.

⁹⁷ Simon (1989: 99).

⁹⁸ Bologna 16516 (130); *ABL* 253.15; *BAPD* 4321*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 829*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 81*; **see fig.53**; see Chryssoulaki (2008: 270, fig.1) for a colour photo.

Munich which shows the god in a sailing ship.⁹⁹ This is interpreted as the mythological arrival of Dionysos (and wine) in Attica which lies behind the ship-cart procession.¹⁰⁰

3.1.5 The City Dionysia¹⁰¹

Time

The City Dionysia took place on the 9-13 Elaphebolion,¹⁰² the second half of March when the weather was more conducive for watching plays.¹⁰³ Until the sixth century, the festivities were very similar to those of the Rural Dionysia.¹⁰⁴ In the middle of the sixth century, probably because of Peisistratos' activities,¹⁰⁵ the City Dionysia became a major festival, alongside the other two large celebrations in Athens, the Panathenaia and Great Mysteries.¹⁰⁶

Place

The celebrations in honour of Dionysos probably took place in the Agora in the sixth and early fifth centuries although during the latter stages of the reign of the Peisistratids the slope on the south side of the Akropolis was used as a theatron for watching performances.¹⁰⁷

Mythological basis/Purpose

The City Dionysia were held for Dionysos Eleuthereus. His cult statue was initially brought from Eleutherai to Athens, possibly by a man called Pegasus,¹⁰⁸ and then carried

⁹⁹ Munich 8729; *ABV* 146.21; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAPD 310403*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 788*; see **fig.7**; understandably, this vase has been widely published and discussed, see the extensive bibliography in the BAPD, and also Mackay (2010: 221-241).

¹⁰⁰ Mackay (2010: 233-234). The scene has also been interpreted as a representation of the myth in which Dionysos turns the pirates into dolphins as related in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysos* 7 (51-53): see Gasparri in *LIMC* 3, p.502 (Dionysos); Hatzivassiliou (2010: 12).

¹⁰¹ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 57-125); Simon (1983: 101-104); Deubner (1966: 138-142).

¹⁰² Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 63-67) discusses the duration of the festival at different periods in Athenian history, arguing for a length of five full days in times of peace, from the 10th to the 14th, with the 9th as a time for the first procession and other preparations. Deubner (1966: 142) states that the *pompe* was held on the 9th, followed by the choruses by men and boys, and the komos, while the comedies were performed on the 10th, and the tragedies on the 11th to 13th.

¹⁰³ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 58-59) highlights the importance placed on the arrival of visitors during this season as a way of showcasing Athenian glory and talent. See also Simon (1983: 102).

¹⁰⁴ Deubner (1966: 138) sees the basic cultic form of the City Dionysia as created on the pattern of the Rural Dionysia.

¹⁰⁵ Simon (1983: 101) states that Peisistratos added the dramatic competitions to the City Dionysia; see also Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 58); Deubner (1966: 139).

¹⁰⁶ Simon (1983: 24).

¹⁰⁷ Travlos (1971: 537, 540, fig.677).

¹⁰⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 57); Kerényi (1976: 163-164). The reason behind the transfer of the cult idol to Athens is unclear although there was at some stage a plague on the Athenians caused by their resistance to Dionysos which was only cured by the creation of phalluses for the god.

annually to and from the precinct near the Academy.¹⁰⁹ Simon sees the City Dionysia as honouring Dionysos as the god from inland, the deity in charge of the rural areas, as is the case with the Rural Dionysia.¹¹⁰

Activities

There were two processions in the City Dionysia. The first escorted the idol of Dionysos Eleuthereus to a very small temple in the Academy, where songs were sung and a sacrifice performed and then the statue was taken from there to the theatre on the south slope of the Akropolis by torchlight.¹¹¹ Ephebes were a major part of this procession.¹¹² The second procession, the *pompe* proper, was probably held on the 10th of Elaphebolion.¹¹³ The *pompe* included a bull which was being led to sacrifice, along with many other victims, and there were also vessels carried in the procession containing wine or other items for offering. There was, as always, the basket-bearer, as well as those who carried wine vessels, such as wineskins.¹¹⁴ As with most Dionysian processions, wooden phalloi were included¹¹⁵ and in the classical period the robes of the participants were colourful and extravagant.¹¹⁶ The procession may well have also included a goat, but it is not clear what the purpose of the animal may have been: it may have been a sacrificial victim, or the prize for the tragedies, or both.¹¹⁷ Significantly, there was also a komos in a

¹⁰⁹ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 60). Kerényi (1976: 165-167, 170-173) associates the ship-cart procession with this transfer of the statue of Dionysos Eleuthereus rather than the Dionysos celebrated in the Anthesteria, but his arguments are not convincing since the evidence for connecting the ship-cart to the month Anthesterion (if not to the festival itself) is persuasive; see Hamilton (1992: 57-58).

¹¹⁰ Simon (1983: 103, 104).

¹¹¹ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 60); Deubner (1966: 139) places this procession on the 8th Elaphebolion, but it may well have been the 9th.

¹¹² Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 60); Simon (1983: 104); Deubner (1966: 139) places the importance of the ephebes in the Hellenistic period using a late inscription, but this does not preclude their participation in earlier times.

¹¹³ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 63). He includes further discussion of the reasons for choosing the 10th over the 9th, a change from the first edition of *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, with new inscriptional evidence to support the slightly later date (1968: 65-66). Deubner (1966: 142) argues for the 9th.

¹¹⁴ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 61).

¹¹⁵ Deubner stresses the importance of the role of the phallus in the festival (1966: 139, 141); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 62); Simon (1983: 102).

¹¹⁶ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 61-62).

¹¹⁷ Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 69) analyses the evidence we have to see the goat as either belonging to the *pompe*, or as a prize. The evidence is from the third century at the earliest, so it may be a Hellenistic invention, but Pickard-Cambridge suggests that the goat was indeed a part of the City Dionysia (1962: 77, 123).

kind of drunken procession,¹¹⁸ probably held on the evening of the 10th Elaphebolion, but very little is known about it.¹¹⁹

Apart from the processions, there were the performances of tragedies, satyr-plays, comedies and dithyrambs,¹²⁰ and all of these were competitions,¹²¹ although the dates for the inclusion of these are debated. Prior to the beginning of the festival proper, the tragic playwrights would announce the subject of their plays at the Proagon, possibly held on the 8th Elaphebolion, but this practice may have been introduced as late as the classical period.¹²² As well as tragedies, the festival included dithyrambic choruses of men and boys, ten of each with 50 members in each.¹²³ There is some evidence to suggest that the first dithyrambic chorus of men was produced in 509 or 508.¹²⁴ By the end of the fifth century the men's dithyrambic chorus was hugely expensive, more so than those of a tragedy and comedy combined, because of the training and the spectacular costumes required for victory.¹²⁵ During the performance the men danced in a circle in the orchestra, but unlike the comic and tragic choruses did not wear masks.¹²⁶ The prize for the victorious choregos was a tripod and possibly a procession back to his deme; a bull as a prize may not be an Athenian custom.¹²⁷

¹¹⁸ On the komos, see Hedreen (2004: 48-50). Deubner (1966: 140) contrasts the revelling of the komasts with the solemnity of the *pompe* proper.

¹¹⁹ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 44). The komos is related to the City Dionysia, but not, at least in the sources available to us, to the Rural Dionysia.

¹²⁰ Simon (1983: 102) explains that the dithyrambs were performed on the first day after the *pompe* and on the next day the comedies were held and then the three days of tragedies and satyr-plays. Pickard-Cambridge, on the other hand, notes that when the festival included the komos, there would be little room for twenty dithyrambic choruses to be performed, and during peacetime when five comedies were performed, it would be more logical to have five days dedicated to performances, on each a comedy, with three of those showcasing tragedy and the other two dithyramb choruses: Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 66).

¹²¹ Marshall and Willigenburg (2004) describe a possible voting procedure for the picking of the winners; in their discussion of the dithyramb (2004: 104), they stress the importance of the tribe as it was the tribe that was written down when voting, not the chorus master.

¹²² Our major source for this is in Plato's *Symposium* (194a-194b) when Socrates describes Agathon's composure and manliness when he steps up to tell the audience about his play; see Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 67-68); Deubner (1966: 142).

¹²³ Each of the ten tribes provided a men's chorus and a boy's chorus. Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 75-77) covers the steps required for a dithyrambic chorus to be prepared for the festival.

¹²⁴ According to the evidence (*Marmor Parium*, FGrH 2B, 239F46) it was produced by Hypodikos, and this may be the starting point for the *Fasti* inscription, which claims it records the winners of dithyramb, tragedy and comedy from 'the beginning of the κῶμοι in honour of Dionysos'. The komoi of Dionysos may refer to the festival as a whole or more specifically to dithyramb; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 72, 101-103) discusses the possibilities.

¹²⁵ We are told in one of Lysias' speeches dated to the end of the fifth century that the men's chorus apparently cost 50 minae, while a tragic chorus cost 30 and a comic chorus cost 16: Lysias 21, *Defence against a Charge of Taking Bribes* 1-5. See also Demosthenes 21, *Against Midias* 156; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 77, 87-88).

¹²⁶ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 77).

¹²⁷ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 77-78).

The date for the introduction of the tragedies performed at the City Dionysia is much debated. From the inscriptions grouped together under the heading *Didaskaliai*, there are ten lines missing before the record that Aeschylus won in 484,¹²⁸ and there is other evidence to suggest that Thespis was successful in 534.¹²⁹ The tragedies offered in the fifth century numbered three from each playwright as well as a satyr-play. This changed in the fourth century, when an individual satyr-play was performed first, and a varying number of tragedies may have been put on.¹³⁰ The choregos was the financial backer for the choruses¹³¹ of the tragedies or comedies, and he was chosen by the eponymos archon. His task could be a very weighty one, paying for the costumes and the trainers for the chorus.¹³² By contrast, the early tragedians were in charge of training the chorus themselves, both in music and dance, although they may have had some help.¹³³ Thespis, Aeschylus, Sophocles and probably Cratinus also acted in their own plays before they began to employ actors. The state took over this role of choosing actors possibly around 449.¹³⁴

Records for the contest of the comedies began in 486 with the first victor Chionides,¹³⁵ and so therefore comedies may have been a later addition than tragedy,¹³⁶ although Aristotle points out that before the state funded the comedies, they were performed by volunteers.¹³⁷ The usual number of comedies in the fifth century was five, each written by a different poet.¹³⁸ In the fourth century, old tragedies and comedies began to be re-performed as part of the program.¹³⁹

¹²⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 72-73).

¹²⁹ *Marmor Parium* (FGrH 2B, 239F43); Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 72).

¹³⁰ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 79-82).

¹³¹ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 90) notes that the choregos does not appear to be in charge of the payment of the actors or their costumes.

¹³² Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 86).

¹³³ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 91).

¹³⁴ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 93).

¹³⁵ *Souda*, s.v. Chionides; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 73).

¹³⁶ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 82).

¹³⁷ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449b1-2.

¹³⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 82-83).

¹³⁹ From 386 BC onwards for tragedy and from 339 BC for comedy, although there was also evidence of revisions being made in the fifth century: Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 99-101).

Possible markers or symbols

As with the Rural Dionysia, a large wooden phallus, possibly decorated, may be an indicator of the City Dionysia; also a billy goat; and even perhaps the mask of Dionysos on a column,¹⁴⁰ although that is more often associated with the Lenaia. Sourvinou-Inwood sees a cup in Oxford with two satyr masks on the exterior, a symposion on the interior, and a phallic base as a possible representation of the City Dionysia since the procession of the phallus was of particular importance for this festival as was the wearing of masks.¹⁴¹ This must remain speculation, however, since this cup pre-dates the direct correlation between tragedy and representations on vase-painting.

Likely symbols for each Dionysian festival:

Festival Name	Likely Symbols
Oschophoria	Branch of vine with grapes; vineyard scenes; see p.133.
Rural Dionysia	Procession including some or all of: an amphora, grapevine, goat, wooden phallus; see p.135.
Lenaia	Mask of Dionysos on a column; goat; see pp.137-138.
Anthesteria	Choes; ship-cart; fountainhouse scenes; see p.142.
City Dionysia	Wooden phallus; masks; goat; see p.147.

¹⁴⁰ Simon (1983: 103).

¹⁴¹ Sourvinou-Inwood (2002: 84). Type A cup in the manner of the Andokides Painter: Oxford 1974.344; BAPD 396*; see **fig.103**; see True (2006: 258-259, fig.74.1-74.3) for colour illustrations; on this vase see below, p.157n199.

3.2 Connecting Satyrs and Komasts

Komasts¹⁴² and satyrs have much in common, although to what extent they are equivalent is fiercely debated, as is their connection to Dionysos. This section will present the arguments for interpreting the satyrs and komasts as performing a similar function but representing the immortal and mortal perspectives respectively. It will be argued that the scenes of Dionysos and satyrs run in parallel to the komast scenes, not replacing them, but rather providing two different means for the vase-painters to evoke the celebration of Dionysos. To explain this view, the roles that are common to both satyrs and komasts will be discussed in subsections 3.2.1-3.2.3: these functions are honouring the god, providing humour in the scenes (and presumably, therefore, in the situations evoked by the scenes), and expressing some kind of performance. In section 3.2.1 the evidence and arguments regarding the connection (or lack of) between satyrs and komasts will be outlined, providing the basis from which this hypothesis of satyrs and komasts as immortal and mortal worshippers of the god will develop.

3.2.1 Views on the connection between satyrs and komasts

In contrast to earlier views, komasts and satyrs are now interpreted as separate entities, rather than as two equivalent figures or one as precursor to the other.¹⁴³ The padded dancers in particular were taken as representations of performers dressed as satyrs and wearing masks, but while there are some examples of frontal-faced and bearded komasts, the evidence to suggest these dancers are displaying a satyr mask is tenuous.¹⁴⁴ Satyr heads are represented on vases (although in profile) from around the beginning of the sixth century,¹⁴⁵ thus it could be argued that these were intended to evoke the masks worn by men impersonating satyrs. However, the depiction of heads of all kinds was popular,

¹⁴² Padded dancer is included under the label komast (see Smith [2010: 3]) and the focus is mainly on earlier renditions of komasts; for definitions of komasts and a list of the kinds of dancers see Csapo and Slater (1995: 89).

¹⁴³ On the view of komasts as equivalent to satyrs, see Webster (1970a: 30-32) and (1970b: 12-14). In response to this opinion see Carpenter (1986: 184, 189-190); Smith (2010: 65).

¹⁴⁴ Korshak (1987: 11-14) analyses the examples of frontal-faced komasts, and while she draws a connection between satyrs and komasts, this has to do with their similarity, more than with the wearing of a mask. Smith (2010: 66) also rejects the idea that komasts are dressed in satyr masks.

¹⁴⁵ See for example an oinochoe in the manner of the Gorgon Painter: Athens, Agora P24945; *Para.* 8.1*bis*; *Add.*² 3; BAPD 350312*; Thompson (1956: 136, pl.50.5) describes the scene as 'a pair of grotesque satyr-heads glaring at each other across a floral ornament'. This 'grotesque' characteristic of the satyrs may be a part of their humour, but it does not indicate that these are satyr masks.

particularly horse heads,¹⁴⁶ so it is just as likely that the rendition of a satyr head was one way of representing a satyr, working from the common method of painting scenes of horse heads. Most importantly, the satyrs and komasts existed side by side through the first part of the sixth century and are rarely found in the same scene.¹⁴⁷ If the two were connected, one might expect that more evidence would be found of both in close proximity. However, this expectation does not take into account the desire of the vase-painters to keep the mortal realm separate from the immortal in their art.¹⁴⁸ Both satyrs and komasts would seem to be celebrating Dionysos, but some are mythological and some are mortal, so they are painted in separate scenarios.¹⁴⁹ Finally, the fact that they do occasionally show up in the same scenes despite their differences, indicates a connection between the two.¹⁵⁰ This relationship between satyrs and komasts as argued in this thesis is based on their similarity of function and character as presented on the vases.

¹⁴⁶ As Alexandridou (2011: 66) points out, 'The use of protomes was a common feature of the early sixth-century iconography, and silenoi were suitable for ladling vessels used for wine and drinking.' Of all the scenes in the same period (625-575) in the BAPD that included 'head*' as a part of the decoration, eleven showed horse heads, three depicted a man's head, three a woman's head, one a frontal bull face, one a lion and of course one showing the two satyrs. For an example of an amphora on which is painted a horse head, see a Type B amphora from the Horse Head Amphorae: London 1964.4-15.1; *Para.* 10; *Add.*² 6; BAPD 350019*; Boardman (1974: 18 [fig.18]) suggests these vases may have been prizes since there are over 100 examples known. For protomes generally, see Alexandridou (2011: 75-76).

¹⁴⁷ Smith (2010: 65); Carpenter (1986: 86, 89-90); Csapo and Slater (1995: 92). Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 14-16) points out that both the proto-satyr and dancer appear in vase-painting at about the same time, in one of the earliest periods; she argues that the proto-satyr is found in art in c.650 BC and that Dionysos and those from his circle were therefore not absent in the seventh century.

¹⁴⁸ In the black-figure tradition, vase-painters tended to keep gods and mortals quite separate. This is to be distinguished from so-called 'heroic' scenes where the participants are anonymous but elevated to a divine or heroic status; when the vase-painter wished to show a mortal (such as those competing at the Panathenaia, for more information, see chapter two, section 2.4, p.100) extremely seldomly are they represented alongside a deity. The Amasis Painter and the Antimenes Painter are perhaps exceptions to this.

¹⁴⁹ See Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 9).

¹⁵⁰ On satyrs and komasts in the same scenes, see Isler-Kerényi (2007a: ch.2). See for instance the satyr dancing on the far left of a line of komasts on a Boiotian kantharos perhaps by the Painter of Berlin 1727, c.560-500 BC: Munich 6010 (419); *ABV* 29, 30.6, 680 (incorrectly stated as 1680 in the BAPD); *Para.* 15; *Add.*² 8; there are two references in the BAPD for Munich 419: 300338, 1004759*; on the attribution of this vessel see Kilinski (1978: 176-180). Hedreen (1992: 127) suggests that this is a representation of a 'real dance in which a silen mummer appeared.' Another example is found on a spouted lekane from c.570-560 BC in imitation of the KX Painter which shows a mortal piper and some komasts among satyrs (differentiated by their snub noses and tails): Berlin 3366; *ABV* 680; *Add.*² 8; there are also two references for this vase in the BAPD: 306501, 1005032*; Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.26); see **fig.104**; see Hedreen (1992: 127) for this vase; he sees this vase as indicative of real ritual and dance. A neck-amphora attributed to the N Painter and signed by Nikosthenes the potter shows satyrs and maenads on the body of the vase and komos scenes on the neck, c.540-530 BC: Cleveland 1974.10; *ABV* 219.24; *ARV*² 122.4; *Para.* 104; *Add.*² 58; BAPD 201945*; see **fig.105**; Neils and Walberg (2000: 27) describe this vase as the only example within the extant Nikosthenic corpus which shows the mortal komos and the mythical thiasos on the same vessel; Smith (2010: 114 [fig.21c]) also mentions the similarity between the mortal and mythological dancers emphasised through their juxtaposition on the vessel. For a discussion on the shape and construction of Nikosthenic vases, see Tosto and van der Woude (1984).

Both satyrs and komasts are characterised on the vases as comic, vigorous and lustful and this likeness may have encouraged a comparison between the two. McNally discusses the satyr and what he might mean to the Greek viewer. She observes that the satyr begins as ‘rough, aggressive, lustful and music-loving’ and when Kleitias on the François Vase adds the wineskin to the mix, the Bacchic thiasos is born.¹⁵¹ The actions of the satyrs and komasts are quite similar: they are both shown as dancing, drinking and often licentious.¹⁵² The early depictions of satyrs focus on lewdness and drunkenness, presumably for comic effect, at least in part.¹⁵³

A further piece of evidence which contributes to the association between komasts and satyrs is the depiction of the kantharos and the oinochoe in scenes of Dionysian revelry and komoi. One of the iconographic attributes of Dionysos is the kantharos, although it is found in his hands only after about the middle of the sixth century in the BAPD.¹⁵⁴ Before this time the kantharos is found in ten black-figure examples in the BAPD: seven show a komos or symposion scene, two show the kantharos in the hands of Peleus or on his altar as the gods approach for his wedding to Thetis, while the final instance is fragmentary and simply shows a figure with a kantharos.¹⁵⁵ After about 550-540 BC, the kantharos is in Dionysos’ hands in 86.9% of all instances in the BAPD from c.575 BC onwards.¹⁵⁶ The same can be said for the oinochoe. The oinochoe is used in rituals conducted by mortals in

¹⁵¹ McNally (1984: 113-114).

¹⁵² Smith (2010: 62) comments on the komasts’ dancing and observes that when the komasts are shown interacting it is often sexual.

¹⁵³ Hedreen (1992: 159) notes that ‘the early sixth-century representations of silens in obscene performances suggest that, in this period, satyric performances may have been more comparable to Old Comedy: they may have been lewder and more graphic in the presentation of sexuality than classical satyr-plays.’ One of the more obvious examples of this is the very hairy and lusty satyr reaching for the arm of a nymph as she appears to try to escape on the dinos connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis: Athens, Agora P334; *ABV* 23; *Add.*² 7; BAPD 300278*; see **fig.106**. Elsewhere on the vase is a representation of komasts drinking and dancing; see Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 65-67) on this scene. That the komos has been seen as the starting point for comedy is indicative of the humour implicit in scenes of komasts, whether or not the komast vases can be used as evidence for early comedy; see Bieber (1961: 39). Aristotle (*Poetics* 1449a33-37) describes comedy as inferior because of the grotesque and ugly masks used; such a sentiment equates the absurd and inversion of the ideal with the comical.

¹⁵⁴ Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 15-16) argues that Dionysos appears with his kantharos in his canonical form before the end of the seventh century on a Cycladic krater: Melos; Isler-Kerényi (2007a: figs.1-2). On this vase and the Melian amphorae, see Hopkinson and Baker-Penoyre (1902).

¹⁵⁵ Smith (2010: 244) observes that the kantharos is less common in Athenian scenes than in Boiotian, but the drinking horn is more frequent. In this case, as with the kantharos, that the drinking horn is associated both with the komasts and with Dionysos is significant in drawing a connection between the two.

¹⁵⁶ There are 719 instances of ‘kanthar*’ in the BAPD from the 575-525 period to the 500-450 period in black-figure. Of these 625 show Dionysos holding the kantharos.

the first half of the sixth century¹⁵⁷ and continues to be used mostly by humans in situations without the wine god present until after the middle of the sixth century (65% of instances).¹⁵⁸ This is reversed after about c.530 BC: scenes of Dionysos' followers holding an oinochoe increase to 68.1%.¹⁵⁹ In the final phase of black-figure at the beginning of the fifth century, Herakles and other deities holding the oinochoe become more common. The fact that the Dionysian attributes cross the boundaries of mortal and immortal quite readily does suggest a similarity between the human worshippers of the god and the satyrs and maenads. In addition, that the kantharos and oinochoe, so frequent in Dionysian scenes after the middle of the sixth century, are first depicted in the hands of komasts implies that there is a connection between the two. This association is reinforced through the continuing representation of the vessels in the hands of both komasts and Dionysian characters (even if one is more common than the other) and suggests scenes of Dionysos and satyrs run in parallel to the komast scenes, not necessarily replacing them, but rather, it might be argued, giving another means through which to depict worship of the god. Satyrs and the komasts, in their similarities, are two sides of the same coin.

One problem that arises in this process of connecting of satyrs and komasts is the presence of maenads alongside the former. Is it possible to relate the komos, which is a male stronghold in vase-painting, to the scenes of satyrs and maenads dancing, where the maenads are definitely a significant presence, albeit a later one? In response to such a question, one must bear in mind that not all komos scenes are strictly male, although Smith points out that females are uncommon.¹⁶⁰ Women are painted dancing alongside men on vases attributed to the Komast Group, such as on a cup attributed to the Palazzolo Painter in Göttingen.¹⁶¹ On each side, three men and two women dance vigorously. The

¹⁵⁷ There are two examples of the oinochoe in the BAPD from the period 600-550; one is held by a komast, the other is shown on some krater fragments in the Athens National Museum which possibly represent a sacrifice, maybe at the Artkteia since all participants are women. Some of the women play the pipes and one holds an oinochoe at an altar: Athens, NM Ak. Coll. 1.621; BAPD 16762; Graef and Langlotz (1925: no.621, pl.37), see below, p.208n456.

¹⁵⁸ There are nineteen references to the oinochoe in the 575-525 time bracket, although one vase has an oinochoe depicted on both the obverse and the reverse and is therefore counted twice in the statistics. Of the twenty examples, thirteen are in the hands of mortals, five are in the hands of companions of Dionysos, one is held by one of Odysseus' companions in a scene with Polyphemos, while the final example is in the hands of Athena as she aids Herakles against the Hydra.

¹⁵⁹ Of a total of 91, 62 examples show Dionysian followers holding the oinochoe, 26 show the oinochoe in a mortal scene and three show it in the hands of other deities without Dionysos present.

¹⁶⁰ Smith (2010: 65).

¹⁶¹ Göttingen 549A (previously J11); *ABV* 35.4; BAPD 305023*; see **fig.107**. Isler-Kerényi (1999: 560-561, fig.6-7) comments on the depiction of women dancing alongside men rather than satyrs on this cup and Brijder (1988: 64, fig.5) sees the frontal faces of the dancers near the handles as representations of satyr

women wear chitoniskoi while the men are naked except for red pectorals. On the obverse the two males at the edge of the picture field are shown with frontal faces, perhaps suggestive of mask-wearing. A neck-amphora attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group shows ithyphallic men dancing with women;¹⁶² another neck-amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter shows a similar scene although the men, while naked, are not markedly ithyphallic.¹⁶³ There are several other examples, including instances from the later periods as well, as the illustrations on the shoulder of a stamnos attributed to the Michigan Painter show.¹⁶⁴ Men with musical instruments and drinking vessels dance along with women holding krotala.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, while maenads are much more commonly depicted alongside satyrs than women are alongside komasts, there are some examples to show that there is a correlation in this area as well.

To provide further support for this connection between komasts and satyrs, the former's association with Dionysos must be addressed. Several views have been advanced on the issue of how komasts, particularly the padded dancers, are associated with drama, ritual, and Dionysos. The first of these, that the komasts are early and *direct* ancestors of the choruses of comedy, tragedy, or satyr-play, has for the most part been negated on the basis of lack of evidence. Nevertheless, this view is carefully qualified to separate the komasts as performers from komasts as the precursors to dramatic characters; that the padded dancers are performers is, on the whole, accepted.¹⁶⁶

masks; see also Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 34, fig.19-20). It must be pointed out, however, that the Palazzolo Painter is innovative and often paints different scenes from his contemporaries in the Komast Group: Smith (2010: 56, fig.10a and cover).

¹⁶² Munich 1431; *ABV* 102.99; *Add.*² 27; BAPD 310098*; **see fig.108**. Kunze-Götte (1970: 16-17) calls the male dancers satyrs and the females nymphs even though the men do not have tails or equine ears, although some are ithyphallic, and as Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 150, fig.86-87) points out, they behave as satyrs would; *contra* Hoesch (1990: 229, fig.37.2) who calls the women hetairai with men. Frontisi-Ducroux (1995: 111, pl.72) and Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 150, fig.86-87) compare the frontal-faced komast here with the satyrs facing the viewer, another piece of verification for aligning the satyrs and komasts. Gossel-Raack (1990: 290-291, fig.47.5a-b) observes that even though the komos is the most popular scene on Tyrrhenian amphorae, the explicit sex scenes are not solely driven by the Etruscan market since there are other similar examples on other vessel types; *contra* Lynch (2009) who discusses the differences between the erotic scenes found in Athens and those found in Etruscan graves, noting that explicit scenes are almost all from Italy.

¹⁶³ Louvre E865; *ABV* 100.66; *Para.* 35, 38; BAPD 310065*; **see fig.109**.

¹⁶⁴ Los Angeles A5933.50.8; *ABV* 343.1; *Para.* 156; *Add.*² 93; BAPD 301903*.

¹⁶⁵ Women become more and more frequent in scenes that show a symposion or komos as time progresses; perhaps this reflects the growing role of the maenad in art, or the historical popularity of the so-called 'flute-girl'.

¹⁶⁶ Smith's recent book on komasts, *Komast Dancers in Archaic Greek Art*, analyses an impressive number of komast scenes, providing a sound base for her conclusions; here she argues against a connection between the komasts and satyr-plays (and tragedy and comedy), pointing out that although the komasts do perform (particularly those who are represented as lame dancers) it does not follow that they should be seen as a

The komasts' connection to Dionysos, and in particular rituals or festivals held in his honour, has not been universally accepted. Smith argues that there is not enough evidence to link the 'komast dancers exclusively or directly with the cult of Dionysos',¹⁶⁷ although she sees the frontal-faced komasts as potentially participating in a Dionysian ritual and komasts in general as associated with the symposion.¹⁶⁸ Isler-Kerényi and Green, by contrast, see the komasts as participating in Dionysian ritual.¹⁶⁹ One significant indicator of a Dionysian connection is the red chests, bellies, or faces of some of the komasts.¹⁷⁰ The suggestions for the explanation behind such a phenomenon include sunburn, costume, and wine-lees.¹⁷¹ The latter two theories are more acceptable¹⁷² and the application of wine-lees would intimate that the situation evoked in the scene was the making and drinking of wine, something closely associated with Dionysos and his festivals. Thus the similarities between the komasts and satyrs, and the indications of the komasts' connection with Dionysos or Dionysian activities, point to a similarity between the mortal drinkers and the immortal companions of Dionysos; just how far such a connection can be taken and how we may interpret it are discussed below.

satyr chorus which may have led to the later satyr-play (2010: 29, 72), see also Smith (2007: 62, 66-72). Hughes (2012: 85-86) discusses the connection of 'fat men' with comedy, concluding that the only true similarity between the fat man and the comic actor is their inversion of the Greek ideal. Csapo and Slater (1995: 89-101) provide a summary of the viewpoints regarding komasts, satyrs, and drama; they maintain that as the komasts are sometimes in costume there is a possibility they are connected to drama, see Csapo and Slater (1995: 91). See also Csapo and Miller (2007), who edited a volume focused on the question of the origin of drama. See Seeberg (1971: 79-80) on the connection of komasts with drama. On the performance aspect of komasts, see Green (2007: 105).

¹⁶⁷ Smith (2010: 72).

¹⁶⁸ Smith (2010: 66, 71-73); her research suggests that the symposion may be the basis for at least some of the komos scenes, a conclusion that would imply a relatively close relationship between komasts and Dionysos. However, Smith (2010: 46-62) does point out that komasts are not often painted with the attributes of drink and song; when they are it can be related to the preferences of workshop or painter rather than content.

¹⁶⁹ Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 14); Green (2007: 102). Hedreen (2007: 153, 187n12) agrees that strong regimented movements are choral and probably reflect actual choral dance moves.

¹⁷⁰ See the red-chested komasts on the cup in Göttingen attributed to the Palazzolo Painter: Göttingen J11; *ABV* 35.4; BAPD 305023*; see **fig.107**; for more information see above, p.151n161. Komasts, some with red bellies, some with red chests and some with both are depicted often on Tyrrhenian amphorae, see for example an ovoid neck-amphora attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group, c.560-550 BC: Munich 1431; *ABV* 102.99; *Add.*² 27; BAPD 310098*; see **fig.108** and above, p.152n162.

¹⁷¹ For sunburn, see Boardman (1974: 18). For wine-lees see Smith (2010: 38-39); Kerényi (1976: 336). Smith mentions Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 499-500 and *Wasps* 1537 as examples here. These two passages mention the τρυφῶδία, the term for comedy that is closely modelled on the word for tragedy, but refers to the wine-lees.

¹⁷² The painting of specific areas of the body red (chest only, for example), often differing from one dancer to the next, argues against sunburn.

3.2.1.1 A further connection: humour

In the brief discussion of Dionysian festivals at the beginning of this chapter, humour emerges as a prominent part of the celebrations in honour of the god (especially at the Rural Dionysia, Lenaia, and Anthesteria).¹⁷³ Burkert mentions that at the Anthesteria, masked mummers accosted passersby with lewd jokes¹⁷⁴ and presumably, therefore, outrageous behaviour. Hamilton argues against the idea that those mocking were masked, but the evidence for jests and jokes is quite strong.¹⁷⁵ Bieber notes that revellers were known for mocking the townspeople and wearing masks while doing so to avoid identification.¹⁷⁶ The performance aspect and the dance are inextricably connected with the humour, and the mask was an enabler for the human wearing it. Through putting on the persona of a drunk and disorderly satyr, but one whose nature was obviously pleasing to the god, the mortal reveller could indulge as the satyr did.¹⁷⁷

Satyrs and komasts are often depicted as engaged in activities which are taken to the extreme, but usually portrayed in such a way as to emphasise the humour; they are also lewd and irreverent, inverting social norms.¹⁷⁸ Satyrs are often represented in humorous and bawdy situations;¹⁷⁹ when shown in a more 'serious' scene, therefore, their very presence may be intended to add humour.¹⁸⁰ That the vase-painters did create scenes

¹⁷³ See above, section 3.1, p.132. On the humour and fun found in the dancing at ancient Greek festivals in general, see Lawler (1963).

¹⁷⁴ Burkert (1983: 229).

¹⁷⁵ Hamilton (1992: 38-39, 61).

¹⁷⁶ Bieber (1961: 36).

¹⁷⁷ Burkert (1985: 162) points out that the mask is one of the ways that Dionysos' role as the god of change is visualised and the mask reflects his ability to bring about change.

¹⁷⁸ This type of humour is found in satyr-plays, as Hedreen (2007: 153) comments: 'The plots of satyrplays were drawn from divine and heroic mythology, but the silens played no traditional role in most of the myths, so their presence in the narratives as members of the chorus made fun of the original tales, undermining their seriousness.' This ability to turn the concepts of a civilised society upside down for a short time comes from the god himself through wine, thereby encouraging the outlandish and extreme, animalistic behaviour of the satyr, and the humour that ensues from it. Lissarrague (1990a: 235) argues that the satyrs parody the way that society functions to encourage proper order by a kind of reverse psychology or release for a short period of time. His focus is definitely on humour, and he discusses, as Hedreen does, the excessive actions of the satyrs: 'Satyrs' behavior is almost always an excess or a transgression, not only with regard to wine but in other areas as well.' He calls the depictions of satyrs and their actions on the stage 'an anthropology of laughter' used to turn the society of the Greeks on its head for a short while (1990a: 236).

¹⁷⁹ Hedreen (2006) analyses scenes of satyrs in vase-painting with the intention of discovering what kind of humour is evoked by the excessive sexuality of these creatures. He concludes that the vase-paintings frequently draw the symposiast into the world of Dionysos, aligning them with the satyrs, eliciting a form of (slightly unsettled) laughter based on the drinker's realisation that there is some similarity between himself and the hybrid satyr.

¹⁸⁰ Mitchell (2009: 4-5) writes, 'The centrality of satyrs in visual humour is dealt with at different stages of this book. They were used by painters to parody mythological *topoi* in vase-painting, but, in the realm of the Polis, they also mocked 'religion', politics, and ethical conduct.' Mitchell (2009: 150-234) goes on to

specifically for humour can be exemplified by an olpe attributed to the Painter of the Jena Kaineus on which the painter has drawn two satyrs clasping the tear-ducts of the large eyes which frame Dionysos, straining under the decorative motifs as if they were bulging wine-skins.¹⁸¹ This interaction with and twisting of the decorative elements of the black-figure tradition for humorous reasons indicates that both the painters and patrons of the vases enjoyed a joke. Satyrs and komasts then may provide more humour than previously observed.

3.2.1.2 Costume and masks used for humour

The satyrs are well known for their rather ugly, but nevertheless humorous, appearance with their equine ears, large, wild beards, snub noses, and often large, erect phalloi. Komasts are depicted with large bottoms and bellies, sometimes indicated as a part of a costume through the inclusion of incision which may denote rolls of padding around the bottom and stomach.¹⁸² These komast costumes are possibly related to ritual, but the humour is also evident in the grotesque appearance of these figures.¹⁸³ The revellers' obvious enjoyment of the dance as expressed through their vigorous movements and their bottom-slapping draws attention to these exaggerated parts of their anatomy and suggests that they are celebrating them.¹⁸⁴ This insertion of grotesque humour into ritual fits particularly well with the Dionysian cult, drawing the komasts into the same sphere as the satyrs and alongside what we know of some aspects of the festivals of the god.¹⁸⁵

Another piece of costuming relevant to Dionysos is the mask. Masks are associated with Dionysos and there are vases that depict masks of the god or of satyrs as their primary

discuss and catalogue the instances in which the vase-painters, both black-figure and red-figure, use satyrs to create funny visual puns and to parody citizens, heroes, and gods. See also Mitchell's earlier article on the same topic (2004).

¹⁸¹ Berkeley 8.3379; *ABV* 436.2, 445.11; *Para.* 188; *Add.*² 112; BAPD 320471*; see **fig.110**; see Mertens (2010: 92, fig.35) for a colour photo. This trick with the eyes representing askoi is unique to this vase, although the interaction of figures within the scene with the decorative motifs is not: Smith (1936: 33).

¹⁸² See for example a cup attributed to the KY Painter: Louvre E742; *ABV* 32.9, 680; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300356*; see **fig.111**. Smith (2010: 243) describes this kind of costume as 'a short chiton that *appears to be* stuffed or augmented in some manner'; she is cautious with the term 'padded dancer' as it suggests a particular type of costume that is represented in only a few examples.

¹⁸³ See Walsh (2009: 11) who describes the dancers' 'grotesque air'.

¹⁸⁴ On the diverse range of gestures and poses illustrated on vases in scenes of komoi, see Smith (2010: 100-108).

¹⁸⁵ See above, section 3.1, esp. subsection 3.1.4, p.138.

decoration.¹⁸⁶ In the theatre, masks were used to distinguish one character from another, but they also had specific features that were stereotypical and enabled the audience to figure out certain things about the character.¹⁸⁷ The satyr's mask encouraged the viewer to see the masked figure as fond of wine, revelling, and sex, and also as often in the company of Dionysos.¹⁸⁸ Images of masks of the god of wine and of satyrs found in black-figure may reveal a little more about festival practice and the importance of humour.

There is a sudden increase in scenes which show a mask, usually of Dionysos, about 540 BC, which suggests that the way Dionysos was regarded and worshipped had altered slightly.¹⁸⁹ A black-figure search in the BAPD produced 73 instances of masks, excluding masks used as shield devices. Dionysos was worshipped in the form of a mask at the Lenaia, and there are some vase-paintings depicting activities that can probably be related to the Lenaia. Nevertheless, these are almost all late, a favourite theme of the Haimon Painter and his Group.¹⁹⁰ It is the Krokotos Group that produces a large number of vases with the mask of Dionysos as the primary decoration, and in their depictions there is nothing to indicate that the Lenaia is being represented. For instance they do not show any form of column or stick with the mask and they are represented on cups, a vessel associated with the symposium, while the black-figure Lenaia scenes are often painted on *lekkythoi*,¹⁹¹ except for one example on a *skyphos*.¹⁹² The cups show a large bearded face

¹⁸⁶ In this section, Gorgoneia are not included in the survey as the Gorgon's face is traditionally depicted frontally and is not quite in the same category as masks of Dionysos or satyrs. For examples of these scenes of vases with Dionysos masks as decoration see *ABV* 275; Bell (1977).

¹⁸⁷ Sommerstein (2002: 13-14).

¹⁸⁸ Bothmer (1985: 113) discusses the humour produced by the frontal faced satyr, particularly on the Amasis Painter's Type A amphora in Würzburg; a close-up illustration of the face makes his point clear: Würzburg L265; *ABV* 151.22; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310451*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 38*; see **fig.101** and above, p.133n22.

¹⁸⁹ On Dionysos as the mask-god see Frontisi-Ducroux (1991); Wrede (1928).

¹⁹⁰ Of the 23 instances that show maenads or satyrs around a mask of Dionysos (not a satyr mask), thirteen are attributed to the Haimon Painter, close to him or his group. Hamilton discusses this in depth (1992: 138). Hatzivassiliou (2010: 13) is doubtful that these kinds of scenes can be associated with a particular festival, although she admits it is possible that they are representative of Dionysian rituals. Hatzivassiliou's hesitation here is unwarranted: that the scenes are of Dionysian festival is probable, but associating them conclusively with the Lenaia is problematic.

¹⁹¹ A vessel associated not with drinking, but with perfumes, cooking oil, and graves: Clark, Elston, and Hart (2002: 112). The Lenaia, with its link to women and maenads, fits this type of vessel well. Slightly later the vessel most favoured for the depiction of Dionysos' mask is the neck-amphora, particularly in the workshop of the Antimenes Painter.

¹⁹² Attributed to the Theseus Painter: Athens 498 (CC1001); *ABL* 251.44, 142; BAPD 4318*; see **fig.112**; Kerényi (1976: 281-282 [fig.76a-c]) discusses this scene, although his comments about the emasculated Dionysos and the marking of a grave of Dionysos here are a little far-fetched. Hatzivassiliou (2010: 46 [pl.19.4-5]) suggests that the figure to the left of Dionysos' mask, dressed in 'an animal skin, boots, a tail

of Dionysos between eyes, usually with grapevines under the handle and a gorgoneion in the interior.¹⁹³ When there is another mask or person represented on the vase, it is not a maenad as one might expect for the Lenaia, but a satyr, as on a neck-amphora in the British Museum, dated to c.520-510 BC, where a satyr is painted squatting under the handle of each side holding ivy.¹⁹⁴ The reverse of a neck-amphora also attributed to the Antimenes Painter shows a satyr mask rather than the Dionysos mask it displays on the obverse.¹⁹⁵

Bell puts forward three reasons for the depiction of masks on vases: firstly that they may be a reasonable development from the nose between eyes found on earlier vases, secondly they may be a reflection of the origin of tragedy at this time, and thirdly that they are the precursors to the Lenaia masks shown on later vases.¹⁹⁶ Bell finds the final suggestion the most persuasive in her article, but while festival practice seems like the best option for the reason behind these masks,¹⁹⁷ the Lenaia is not strictly acceptable either.¹⁹⁸ The satyr masks, for instance, argue against that interpretation. The satyr masks themselves are humorous, as Carpenter says,¹⁹⁹ and reflect the ability to gain the license to go to excess behind anonymity or at the will of the god.

and a phallus' may in fact be an actor in a satyr costume. This may be the case, although it is perhaps more likely that the vase-painter has taken a mortal situation and elevated it to an immortal one by combining mortal men with satyrs; the figure in boots is therefore both the actor and the satyr at the same time: on this point of mortal becoming satyr see especially Bérard and Bron (1989: *passim* [fig.190]). Vivliodetis (2008: 278 [cat.126]) provides a clear description, colour photographs, and a select bibliography on this skyphos.

¹⁹³ A good example is on a Cup A in the Louvre attributed to the group of Walters 48.42 and the Krokotos group (for this attribution see Bell [1977: 4]), c.530-510 BC: Louvre F131; *ABV* 206.3; *Para.* 94; *Add.*² 55; BAPD 302636*; **see fig.113**. There are several more that are almost identical: see Bell (1977).

¹⁹⁴ London B266; *ABV* 273.118, 275.1; BAPD 320129*; **see fig.114**.

¹⁹⁵ Berlin F3997; *ABV* 275.8; *Para.* 121; *Add.*² 72; BAPD 320154*; **see fig.115**. For another example of a satyr mask on the reverse of a vessel depicting a Dionysos mask, see an unattributed column krater which depicts a mask of Dionysos on the obverse and the mask of a satyr on the reverse, c.515-510 BC: New York 06.1021.101; BAPD 9587; Bell (1977: pl.12.1-2).

¹⁹⁶ Bell (1977: 9-11). On the interpretation of the eyes found on eye-cups see Ferrari (1986) who argues that the eyes are representative of different masks and can be linked to the advent of dramatic masks.

¹⁹⁷ Burkert (1985: 166) suggests that the satyrs on vases are evoking the men dressed up as satyrs in masks at festivals. Mertens (2010: 92) points to the increase in activity around the cults of Dionysos encouraged by Peisistratos as one reason why Dionysian scenes may be more common during the second half of the sixth century. In particular, Peisistratos' inclusion of drama in the City Dionysia (see above, subsection 3.1.5, p.143) may provide a reason to view these scenes of masks as relating to ritual activity.

¹⁹⁸ The appearance of the mask of Dionysos on a column or stick is later and it is difficult to argue convincingly backwards to these earlier renditions of masks as showing the Lenaia.

¹⁹⁹ Carpenter (1986: 97) suggests that not just satyrs, but Dionysos himself when placed in unidentifiably mythological scenes was intended simply as a figure of humour, and he views the masks of Dionysos as presented on cups as a clear example of this. He claims that 'the masks, together with the frontal-faced, and often ithyphallic, satyrs, were probably intended to provoke a smile, and it is worth repeating here the observation made above that in sixth- and fifth-century literature, satyrs are only associated with the god in a humorous context.' Carpenter uses a cup in Oxford with two satyr masks and a phallic base in support of his views: Type A cup in the manner of the Lysippides Painter: Oxford 1974.344; BAPD 396*; **see fig.103**.

Apart from the satyr masks, the majority of frontal wide-eyed faces show Dionysos rather than satyrs. During ritual, if one were to impersonate the deity in the same way, could one copy the behaviour of the satyrs? If the vases depicting the masks of the god are likened to those depicting two large eyes, there is a strong link to the ‘drinking’ of the god and to the changed state that follows.²⁰⁰ As Burkert writes, the mask is the symbol of change or transformation that the god brings about.²⁰¹ It seems one was to take in the deity as wine and allow the drink and ecstatic atmosphere to lead to revelry, even to excess. The satyr has imbibed to such a degree he is a human-animal hybrid, indulging all his desires. His excessive behaviour can be represented by the vase-painters in a humorous light which reinforces the association of satyrs and Dionysian ritual which as mentioned above often includes bawdy jokes and mockery.

3.2.1.3 Satyrs and altars

One further piece of evidence may help to justify seeing satyrs as figures of humour is their rarity in scenes with altars. In almost all cases, an altar in a scene is a very strong indicator of ritual activity and sacred space. The deity to whom the sacrifice is being offered is not always depicted, although it is often Athena (mostly because of the Athenian fabric of the vases that are available to us). Dionysos is shown rarely with an altar,²⁰² although some of the other deities are more commonly represented in the same scene as an altar: Apollo, for instance, is depicted with an altar in fifteen instances in the BAPD, while Athena is shown in 34. The worship of deities in general is shown with pomp and seriousness, as can be seen on many of the vases that depict a sacrificial procession. This type of procession is shown on a hydria now in the Louvre dated to

On the association of this cup with the City Dionysia, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2002: 84). The interior of this cup shows a symposium set outside under a grape vine: for this scene and others similar see Yatromanolakis (2009).

²⁰⁰ The vases which show eyes can also be linked to drama with the introduction of masks although it is quite probable masks were used before this in informal dances or performances. On the connection between drama, masks and eye-cups, see Ferrari (1986); Mackay (2010: 225) with bibliography.

²⁰¹ Burkert (1985: 162).

²⁰² In the BAPD there are only two examples of Dionysos in the same scene as an altar (searching for ‘black-figure’ and ‘Dionysos and altar’): one is the François Vase and the other is a vintage scene which also includes a satyr holding grapes, a female figure playing the lyre and figures treading grapes: Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.1290; *ABL* 253.13; BAPD 32107; Graef and Langlotz (1925: pl.72.1290a-d).

c.560-550 BC which depicts a priest (possibly) playing the pipes behind the altar with men approaching; one leads a bull, many hold wreaths and a small boy carries a sprig.²⁰³

The ritual nature of these scenes cannot be overlooked, and so it seems that while the satyrs are often depicted as irreverently parodying what mortals do, in the black-figure period they only go so far as to make fun of the areas over which Dionysos has control: komoi, wine, some processions, and performance. This changes, of course, around the end of the sixth century, where satyrs and maenads become more popular without the presence of their god, and they tend to indulge in many pursuits that do not seem to be a part of their usual repertoire of drinking, dancing and sex; the pyrrhic is an example of such an activity.²⁰⁴ In this late period there are nine black-figure examples in the BAPD of satyrs in the same scene as an altar, none of which include Dionysos.²⁰⁵ Perhaps this omission of satyrs in ‘serious’ ritual scenes which include altars will help to provide more support for seeing the satyrs as figures of humour and irreverence; because they are followers of Dionysos, this humour and inversion of normal practice is tolerated, even encouraged in scenes of Dionysian rituals, but separated from other scenes of cult.²⁰⁶

3.2.2 Performance

Another similarity between satyrs and komasts is their basis in performance. This section will endeavour to interpret some scene-types bearing in mind that the satyrs and komasts

²⁰³ Louvre S1257; BAPD 11294*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 119*; see **fig.116**. The position of the piper to the right of the altar is discussed by Gebauer (2002: 28), who comments that this composition, with the musician on the other side of the altar is unique within this category of animal sacrifice processions. On the curious altar, see Aktseli (1996: 18 [cat.Ra2]).

²⁰⁴ On the pyrrhic, see Athenaeus 14.630d-631d, and for the dance and examples of satyrs engaged in this armed dance, see Poursat (1968: esp. 583-586); for a discussion of the festival occasions at which the pyrrhic may have been danced, see Ceccarelli (2004). Ceccarelli (2004: 108-111) establishes a link between Dionysos and the pyrrhic, suggesting satyrs dancing the pyrrhic may be related to the Gigantomachy or even that scenes of maenads dancing the pyrrhic may be ‘indistinguishable from the dances of maenads brandishing thyrsos which are so frequent on Attic vases – nor is there any reason to attempt such a distinction’ (111).

²⁰⁵ In the BAPD there are 12 examples that are brought up when searching for ‘black-figure’ and ‘satyr and altar’. One of these is a satyr mask on a shield, one is from an earlier period, mentioned above, and the example from Wellington is entered twice in the database. Of the remaining nine examples the satyrs are mostly dancing or playing the pipes around the altar. One scene does show a satyr roasting spits of meat over an altar and one depicts a satyr chorus approaching an altar. The former is on an unattributed oinochoe: Delphi; BAPD 21207; Gebauer (2002: 760, fig.241); the latter on skyphos fragments attributed to the Theseus Painter: Budapest 54.230; BAPD 14998.

²⁰⁶ Satyrs are often more closely associated with the animal world than the civilised Athenian polis because they are often depicted engaged in behaviour that is the opposite of what a citizen would do. On satyrs as ‘other’ and connected with animals (especially mules and donkeys) see Padgett (2000) and (2003); Lissarrague (1988) and (1993).

seem to be derived from some kind of performance, probably enacted during a festival or ritual.²⁰⁷ The Athenians, in their worship of the god Dionysos, may well have engaged in some of the activities the satyrs are portrayed as indulging in on the vases: drinking, dancing, and performing. If this is indeed the case, then it seems likely that what is depicted on vases in the middle black-figure period are ritual celebrations of the god Dionysos on that blurred level between ‘reality’ and ‘myth’.²⁰⁸ Most scholars now believe that the vase-painters frequently depicted human activity, but through the actions of deities or mythical characters.²⁰⁹ The satyrs may have originated from men dressed up as satyrs, and so when the vase-painters paint satyrs they may be recalling the masked men, even though they are depicting the figure the mask represents.²¹⁰

That the satyrs and komasts are based in performance can be seen most clearly in the depictions of dances which are related to choral performances or festivals. To establish the vase-painting signifier for dance, one must turn to a dance that is clearly represented on vases; the pyrrhic is one such performance.²¹¹ Ferrari Pinney describes the steps associated with the pyrrhic dance as shown by Athena on Panathenaic prize amphorae, one of which shows Athena on her toes. The pyrrhic itself seemed to consist of leaps, side-steps and crouching, as well as mimicking battle positions.²¹² That the satyrs in the scenes discussed below are shown frequently crouching, on their toes, or with one leg high in the air (this step relates particularly to the satyr dance, the *sikinnis*), suggests that their actions can be taken as dancing. Dance is integral to festivals and ritual for the ancient Greeks, as has been well established.²¹³

²⁰⁷ Hedreen (1992: 155, 159-160) argues convincingly that satyrs must be seen in a context of performance, although it does not necessarily follow that they must therefore always be seen as representing a specific choral event or performance from the painter’s own experience.

²⁰⁸ These terms are extremely problematic, hence the cautious use of them; see chapter one, p.13 and n.22.

²⁰⁹ See Mackay (2010: 232-234).

²¹⁰ Csapo (2010: 6) discusses this issue as he analyses the depiction of theatre on vases. He writes that ‘at best we can insist that, if these are in some sense mythical satyrs, they are satyrs drawn after the manner and appearance of men who perform as satyrs’. In discussing a representation of a piper playing for a maenad he states that ‘the painter bypasses the performer and refers us directly to the mythic maenad he represents’. He finishes with the comment, ‘we are betwixt and between’. Green and Handley (1995: 26) write that tragedy is hard to ‘see’ on vases because it is serious and so never breaks the dramatic illusion created and so ‘when an artist represented such a performance he did so in terms of the further reality that the performers were persuading him to see; he portrayed the myth itself rather than the immediate actuality of actors on stage. Comedy, by contrast, consisted of men dressed up being funny’. See also Green (2007: 100-101), Beazley (1955: 311), and Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 179) who terms this blurring ‘melting’ (see, for instance, 182), a choice of word which leads the reader to smile when reading the discussion of the satyr’s tights, as he does on page 185.

²¹¹ On the pyrrhic see above, p.159n204.

²¹² Ferrari Pinney (1988: 468-469).

²¹³ On dance in the Greek world, see chapter two, p.75.

From a comparison between various scene-types that occur in Dionysian scenes and in komos scenes the performance aspect is apparent.²¹⁴ Smith argues that the komast dancers, particularly the bottom-slapping characters, were a representation of what she calls ‘live human behaviour and not simply artistic convention’. She sees them as reflections of actual people (a type rather than an individual) that were familiar to the viewers of the vases; these viewers were immersed in a culture which celebrated the symposium and performances held during festivals and it is this context that supports the understanding of these scenes as performance based.²¹⁵ The images show the komasts wholly focused on the dance, an idea that McNally links also to the satyrs.²¹⁶ Despite the infrequency of attributes of drink found in the early komast scenes,²¹⁷ the krater, kantharos, drinking horn, and oinochoe are still depicted as a part of the accoutrements in some scenes of these dancers.²¹⁸ Therefore, in at least a few cases (although probably in many more) the komasts indulge in wine, listen to music and dance. Dionysos *is* wine, and therefore when one drinks one is taking in the god himself and being affected by him.²¹⁹ The expression of this state after partaking of the god is therefore a part of the celebration and honouring of the deity. These mortal revellers, then, may provide a more transparent view of ritual practice.

What we know of the festivals of Dionysos correlates at least in part with what is represented by the vase-painters. Rowdy processions are familiar from descriptions of the City Dionysia,²²⁰ and drinking, dancing, and playing music are practised in all Dionysian

²¹⁴ Smith (2007: 62, 66-72; 2010: 8) argues that komasts have a strong performance aspect. Hedreen (2007: 181) in his chapter on silens and ritual writes that the archaic vase-paintings ‘suggest that choral song and dance were practiced by the mythical followers of Dionysus as well as by men and women and that these mythical performances in some cases represented the mythical exemplars of real choral performance.’ See also (2007: 185). Green and Handley (1995: 17) state, ‘The padded dancers thus represent one kind of choral performance with germs of drama in it.’ The link to drama is more difficult to gauge, but the base of performance is clear.

²¹⁵ Smith (2010: 12-13).

²¹⁶ McNally (1984: 124) writes, ‘There is no before or after: the moment [of dance] is complete in itself.’

²¹⁷ See Smith (2010: 96) who argues that there is not a particularly strong connection between the komos and drinking and singing, and see below, p.192n370.

²¹⁸ See for example a kantharos attributed to the Komast Group which shows several komasts, one holding a kantharos: Thebes R50.265; *ABV* 30.8; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300340; Kilinski (1978: figs.16-17); **see fig.117**. On a dinos connected with the Group of the Dresden Lekanis the revellers are gathered around an amphora that sits on the ground and some of them hold drinking horns and one a kantharos: Athens, Agora P334; *ABV* 23; *Add.*² 7; BAPD 300278*; **see fig.106** and above, p.150n153. On a column krater attributed to the KY Painter, a dinos stands at the centre of the komos and one of the komasts holds an oinochoe and a drinking horn: Berlin 1966.17; BAPD 4637*; **see fig.118**.

²¹⁹ Obbink (1993: 79).

²²⁰ A komos was held during the City Dionysia, see above, p.143n102, p.145nn118-119.

festivals. But the forerunners to drama, whatever form they took, were explicitly connected with dance, song, and performance,²²¹ thus what an ancient Athenian may have seen in the street at a festival of Dionysos may well have been intentionally evoked by the vase-paintings of satyrs, maenads, and komasts. Furthermore, it seems quite plausible that men who were either dressed as satyrs with masks, or who acted like satyrs or komasts, were a part of processions in honour of the god, since satyrs are illustrated in the ship-cart with Dionysos in the scenes by the Theseus Painter,²²² and there are processions of komasts, sometimes with drinking vessels.²²³ Thus from the placement of satyrs in 'human' and festival situations, it is evident that satyrs on vases frequently take the place

²²¹ The performances were a part of the festivities in honour of Dionysos and so the dancing steps of the satyrs and komasts on the vases, the instruments, the drinking and the chasing of women would be based in cult practice, even though it appears to be all for fun. Lucian, *The Dance (de Saltatio)* 22 tells us that the steps in the Dionysiac rites came from the satyrs. Hedreen (2007: 160) argues that the images on sixth century vases show what happened during ritual, and how these came out of the 'play' of the satyrs (2007: 182-183).

²²² See for instance a skyphos in the manner of the Theseus Painter in Bologna: Bologna 16516 (130); *ABL* 253.15; BAPD 4321*; see **fig.53** and above, p.142n98. The depiction of satyrs in a situation that is likely mortal intimates that men may be wearing satyr masks, which in turn supports the idea that the cult practice of the god led to or inspired drama. Nevertheless, this theory that rituals in honour of the god Dionysos were the precursors to the tragedies, comedies and satyr-plays of the fifth century is debated. Wise (1998) argues that drama came about because of the advent of writing rather than from orgiastic rites. She writes that 'efforts to unearth similarly ritualistic roots for theatrical practice came up empty-handed, however,' (1998: 2) and 'the immediate progenitors of Aeschylus were therefore not the orgiastic congregations of goat sacrificers so dear to ritualists, but individual readers of Homer.' (1998: 13). *Contra* this argument is Nagy (2007: 124) who says, 'From what we have seen so far, it appears that the four genres of drama as performed at the City Dionysia of Athens in the Classical period – tragedy, comedy, dithyramb, and satyrplay – have a common prehistory of ritual behavior in the form of choral singing and dancing on festive occasions. The vase-paintings of the Archaic and Classical periods confirm at least some aspects of this ritual behavior, illustrating the performance of drama in its undifferentiated as well as differentiated forms.' Henrichs (1993: 14) labels Dionysos 'the god of the mask, who presided over dramatic performances in Athens and Attica and whose name and rituals were closely associated with the origins of tragedy and comedy'. From the evidence on the vases, it seems likely that drama was stimulated from the choruses held in honour of Dionysos, but perhaps Wise's argument should be taken into account to explain the step from the early choruses to the powerful drama of the likes of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

²²³ The Rural Dionysia included at least one amphora in its procession according to Plutarch, *de cupiditate divitiarum* 527d. An unattributed Type B amphora in Rome shows on the obverse a mule with either Dionysos or Hephaistos with satyrs and maenads (Giglioli [1925: 4] states that the rider is Dionysos), and on the reverse a procession of youths and men, one holding a drinking horn and another a cup, being led by a piper: Villa Giulia 772; BAPD 13019*. A procession of youths and men carrying drinking horns, skyphoi, and kantharoi can be found on a skyphos attributed to the KX Painter in the Athens National Museum, c.585-580 BC: Athens 640 (CC631); *ABV* 26.21; *Add.*² 7; BAPD 300299*; see **fig.119**; Kaltsas (2006: 112 [no.36]) provides a colour photo and detailed description of the vase. Smith (2010: 35-36) remarks on their nudity and lack of dance, but maintains their hairstyles and other attributes argue strongly for komasts. She also notes that some of the nude males have lines incised at their necks which are usually indicative of a costume; Pipili (1993: 15) notes that these lines can represent the top edge of a tunic, although some komasts with incised lines on their necks do still appear to be naked and on this skyphos the collar bones are incised. Hedreen (2009b: 127 [fig.3]) compares the solemn procession of komasts with the satyrs carrying vessels, drawing a relationship between the two; he concludes that the men are more capable of self-control than the raucous satyrs. Carpenter (1986: 121) argues against an interpretation of this scene as Dionysian; the drinking vessels alone are significant but not enough to associate the procession to the god. Nevertheless, Smith's assertion that these are komasts, and the similarity with satyr processions rather work in favour of a reading of the scene as Dionysian in some form.

of (or possibly represent or evoke) mortal worshippers of the god. The presence of satyrs therefore makes two suggestions that are useful for this section: a) they are worshippers of Dionysos, in place of the mortal drinkers; and b) they are performers. Both of these aspects can be placed firmly in a festival context. With this in mind, the following subsections will discuss the appearance of satyrs in choruses in more detail with the aim of identifying more examples of festival practice represented through the mythological filter of the satyr.

3.2.2.1 Satyr choruses and komast performers²²⁴

One of the similarities between satyrs and komasts is their choral activity. While there is evidence in the satyr plays for choruses of men dressed as satyrs as a part of festivals in honour of Dionysos in the classical period, it is possible that such activity is indicated as early as the Heidelberg Painter. The men dancing on a Siana Cup in Amsterdam have upright objects inserted into their headbands that are intended as horse ears, prompting a comparison with satyrs, as Brijder convincingly argues.²²⁵ A similar chorus line is represented on the shoulder of a hydria in the manner of Lydos, c.560 BC, where four men dance to left in unison towards a piper,²²⁶ and on a skyphos in Rhodes men dressed in satyr costumes stand in the company of Dionysos.²²⁷ Komasts were probably also part of a chorus; Green asserts that the padded dancers were likely part of a chorus, even though the choruses we have (animal-riders, for instance) do not have padded costumes.²²⁸ The extensive nature of choral activity is highlighted by Bieber, who writes, ‘The choral dance was a widespread phenomenon of Greek culture, and a much earlier one than the drama’.²²⁹

²²⁴ For a discussion of choruses as represented on vases, see chapter two, subsection 2.2.5, p.80.

²²⁵ Amsterdam 3356; *ABV* 66.57; *Para.* 27; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300600*; see **fig.48**; Brijder (1986: 75) discusses the vertical objects in the headbands of the men and goes on to discuss their similarity to the ears on other satyrs and more particularly to men obviously dressed as satyrs dancing around Dionysos and Ariadne on a slightly later skyphos: Rhodes; *ABV* 90.1; *Add.*² 54; BAPD 350968; Brijder (1986: 76-78; fig.8a-d), (1988: 64, fig.6); see **fig.120**.

²²⁶ New York 1988.11.3; BAPD 12278; see **fig.49**; on this vase see Moore and Schwartz (2006: *passim* [fig.2]). Green (1985: 100 [cat.2, fig.5]) comments that apart from the ‘ears’ (which also adorn the headband of the piper) there are no other signals that these men are intended as satyrs, although he draws a connection between this and the Siana Cup in Amsterdam; see also Brijder (1986: 72) who compares the two vases. Green (1995: 29 [fig.2.8]) explains that the slight variation in the colour and patterning of the costumes of the participants does not challenge the interpretation of this scene as a chorus, rather he suggests that the chorus members may have had varying clothing to avoid too much repetition for the audience who would be watching the chorus for a period of time.

²²⁷ Rhodes; *ABV* 90.1; *Add.*² 54; BAPD 350968; Brijder (1986: 76-78; fig.8a-d); see **fig.120** and above, p.163n225.

²²⁸ Green (2007: 102-103), see also Smith (2010: 30).

²²⁹ Bieber (1961: 6).

There are twenty or so examples of costumed choruses extant from the sixth century. Sometimes the choruses are presented as men dressed up, with methods of attachment for their costumes shown, a kind of ‘real’ scene.²³⁰ On the other hand, there are some choral scenes that present not the singers in costume (as in the ‘real’ scenes), but the entities that the costumes represent. The most obvious of these is when an animal is depicted rather than a chorus member dressed up as an animal.²³¹ However, there is one example, on a Type B amphora, of satyrs and maenads standing at the ready for their piper to begin the tune for the song, a strong example of the blurring between satyrs performing the chorus and their costumed mortal counterparts. On this amphora, attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686, three ithyphallic satyrs stand facing the hoofed piper who is placed on the right of the scene.²³² He readies his aulos. In between the three satyrs, two maenads in chitoniskoi mimic the stance of the satyrs. All five are poised, ready and waiting for the piping to begin. On the obverse of this amphora a theatrical scene is depicted – three men in short body suits with tail and horse mask attached are bent over while three youths sit on their shoulders in warrior garb and helmets; a piper plays on the left. This juxtaposition on the one vase perhaps shows the likelihood of this blurring element: vase-painters often chose to show their choruses in the costume of the theatre, but sometimes they opted to

²³⁰ There are several examples of men obviously dressed as animals; one of the most memorable is on a Type B amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686. This vase shows three men dressed as horses with youthful warriors perched on their shoulders: Berlin F1697; *ABV* 297.17; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 78; BAPD 320396*; see **fig.47** and see chapter two, p.82 and n.174. Another example attributed to the Gela Painter shows two men dressed in fantastic bird costumes complete with wings dancing to right as a piper plays on the left: London 1842.7-28.787 (B509); *ABL* 214.187; *ABV* 473; *Para.* 214; BAPD 330555; Green (1985: 104 [cat.8, fig.11a-c]); see **fig.121**. Birds are popular chorus members; an unattributed Type B amphora in Berlin shows two men wearing cock combs on their heads following a piper to right: Berlin F1830; BAPD 2698*; Green (1985: 105 [cat.11, fig.14]); see **fig.122**. Green (1985: 102) sees this scene as the entry of a chorus, on this point and the importance of the magnificence of the costumes, see Sifakis (1971: 86 [pl.vi]). On animal choruses see Steinhart (2004: 22-26).

²³¹ A skyphos in Boston attributed to the Heron Group shows warriors riding on ‘real’ dolphins on the obverse and youths with spears riding on ostriches on the reverse: Boston 20.18; BAPD 4090; Green (1985: cat.17, fig. 20a-b); see **fig.123**. Hughes (2012: 109 [124, fig.24]) notes the presence of the dwarf, suggesting that this figure may be interpreted as an actor. If this is the case then he claims that ‘perhaps it is not coincidental that the earliest picture which may, conceivably, show a comic actor, was probably painted to commemorate that first comic *agon* in 486’. Trendall and Webster (1971: 22 [fig.I.11]) suggest the dwarf is Pan or possibly the earliest picture of a comic actor. One can also make a claim for the blurring between reality and myth on an early Siana Cup from c.570-560 BC, which shows three dolphins leaping to left in the interior of the cup, but one has human arms and is playing the aulos: Villa Giulia 64608; BAPD 505; *LIMC* Supplementum Monstra 89*; see **fig.124**. Lissarrague (2000: 138 [fig.5.3]) sees this illustration of a dolphin with arms playing the aulos as a result of the inclusion of the instrument; nevertheless the depiction of the pipes, chest, and possibly the *phorbeia* (see below, subsection 3.3.1.2, p.186) as well point to a performance of some kind, and a chorus is certainly a plausible explanation; for further interpretations, see Simon (1976: 78-79) and Icard-Gianolio and Szabades in *LIMC* Supplementum, p.352 [Monstra 89*]. On the association of dolphins with the poet Arion and this vase, see Siedentopf (1990: 322 [fig.55.3]).

²³² Berlin F1697; *ABV* 297.17; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 78; BAPD 320396*; see **fig.47** and above, p.164n230.

depict the chorus as what it was intended to be.²³³ With this in mind it becomes a little easier to see the satyrs with Dionysos as based on performers worshipping the god, just as the choruses are men dressed as animals.²³⁴

In black-figure scenes designated as theatrical,²³⁵ or even possibly theatrical, in the BAPD, there is only one scene that includes Dionysos, and this classification is dubious.²³⁶ Beyond this one example, none of the other 31 examples in the BAPD²³⁷ shows the god in the scene or even in another picture field on the vessel.²³⁸ Two examples do show satyrs and/or maenads elsewhere on the vase; one of those is on the Type B amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686 mentioned above, and the other, much later, is a cup attributed to the Theseus Painter, which shows a satyr with a kantharos in the interior.²³⁹ It is surprising that an activity that is engaged in to honour Dionysos should be so lacking in references to him; even the goat as a possible symbol of the god of drama is usually missing:²⁴⁰ there is only one example that represents a goat anywhere in the picture field on the vase, and this scene can be interpreted as a pyrrhic rather than a

²³³ Hedreen (2007: 162-163) discusses this vase.

²³⁴ Hedreen (2007: 185) is in agreement, 'The visual representations examined in this chapter suggest that, among vase-painters, silens were conceived of as choral performers by 540 at the latest (**FIGURE 52**), and perhaps as early as 580 (**FIGURES 66 and 67**), virtually the point of inception of the silen as a visual motif in art.'

²³⁵ As Csapo (2010: 11) points out, however, the twenty or so examples that seem to show choruses from the black-figure period 'cannot be directly related to drama and certainly not comedy "as we know it," since they come to an end at about the time of the first productions of comedy in Athens.' *Contra* Hughes (2012: 85) who believes 'it would be strange if scholars failed to regard them as crucial evidence of comic origins.' Regardless of the strength of the connection between later comedy and these choruses, for the purposes of this thesis, it is accepted that they are choruses probably linked to performance in some form.

²³⁶ Oinochoe attributed to the Guide-Line Class: London, Hamilton-Smith; *Para.* 185.23⁵; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 351345*; **see fig.125**. The basis for the theatrical element is that one of the two satyrs is draped and the dance steps are relatively similar. There is no piper, however, and the fact that only one satyr is draped means that the costume is therefore not the same between all members of the 'chorus'. The lack of a piper does not immediately discount the image as a chorus. As Green states (1985: 101 [cat.4, fig.7]) when discussing the amphora attributed to the Swing Painter in Christchurch, the five men on stilts shown on that vase are unaccompanied by a piper but 'the identification as a comic chorus seems certain': Christchurch Univ. 41/57; *Para.* 134.31*bis*; BAPD 340567*; **see fig.126**; Green (2009: 58-62, cat.19) provides colour photographs of both sides of the vase and an extensive description and bibliography; Hughes (2012: 86 [54, fig.15]) points out that this chorus, as well as others, are identified not just through their strange and repeated actions but by their foreign costumes. Steinhart (2004: 11 [pl.1.3]) suggests that this scene (among others) may show the influence in choral dances from the Peloponnese, albeit with some changes.

²³⁷ There are more scenes designated as 'theatrical' in the BAPD than the twenty confirmed choral scenes, since some vases, while labelled as theatrical in the database, are dubiously identified as such.

²³⁸ On vases that do have another picture field decorated with a figured scene, seven show another theatrical scene, or a continuation of the first, two show Herakles, two show sphinxes, one shows youths with spears, one a horseman and warrior, one a naked woman and ithyphallic man, and two satyrs and/or maenads.

²³⁹ The exterior shows warriors riding on dolphins with a man playing the aulos: Louvre CA1924; *Para.* 259; *Add.*² 130; BAPD 351585*; **see fig.51**.

²⁴⁰ See below, subsection 3.3.2, p.191.

chorus.²⁴¹ This suggests that there was a contrast between the chorus that appears to be dramatic in nature as represented by vase-painters and the chorus of satyrs and maenads that follow the god singing and dancing. In addition, the costumes of choral performers are often deliberately elaborate and/or outlandish, while the satyrs and maenads remain within a fairly limited range of representation. Perhaps this distinction between the depictions of choruses in the dramatic sense and choruses in the broader meaning is a reflection of the different ritual situations in which these two choral acts were performed.

One of the performances that may well be an inspiration for the satyr and maenad scenes is the dithyramb. This type of chorus was associated with Dionysos and satyrs,²⁴² and entailed lively dancing and music. Hedreen draws a comparison between the scenes of satyrs in archaic art and the dithyramb,²⁴³ describing the renditions of satyrs performing as ‘characterized, above all, by organized choral dancing’.²⁴⁴ The dithyramb was accompanied by the kithara, an instrument that in vase-painting is usually played by the god Apollo. However, the scenes of the worshippers of Dionysos playing the kithara, both satyrs and komasts, are quite the opposite of those which show Apollo playing. This striking difference is a clear indication of the performance and possibly dithyrambic association of the satyrs and komasts. The overall trend of those listening to the god Apollo playing his kithara is that they stand quietly to either side of him. The most obvious examples of these are the scenes of the Delian Triad, a good example of which is found on a neck-amphora attributed to the Pasikles Painter.²⁴⁵ Apollo stands to right, kithara tilted forward slightly with his right hand held in front of the sound box as if just completing a sweep of the strings. The two goddesses Artemis and Leto stand, feet close together, each gesturing with one hand. The composition of the scene emphasises the

²⁴¹ On a skyphos attributed to the Athena Painter the main picture fields show warriors in himatia and holding krotala dancing accompanied by a piper; under the handle a goat is depicted, a reference to the City Dionysia and the god himself: Pulsano, Dr. Guarini; BAPD 15467; see **fig.127**. Castaldo (2009: 294) labels this scene a pyrrhic dance.

²⁴² On the beginnings of the dithyramb see Herodotus (1.23 and 5.67.5) who mentions Arion and his inauguration of the dithyramb in Corinth, and how Kleisthenes transferred choruses in honour of Adrastus to Dionysos. Arion is said to have lived at the end of the seventh century, according to the *Souda*, s.v. Arion; see also Bieber (1961: 6). Bieber (1961: 22-23) writes that dancers wore satyr masks for Arion’s dithyramb performances. See also Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 97).

²⁴³ Hedreen (2007: 185). ‘Of course, some of the truisms about dithyramb – its close associations with Dionysus and intoxication; its exuberant, emotional music; its lively, riotous dance steps – characterize Archaic visual imagery of silens as well.’

²⁴⁴ Hedreen (1992: 160) and (2007: 159-160).

²⁴⁵ Syracuse 50820; *ABV* 328.3; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301760*.

symmetry and motionlessness of the figures; the focus here is on the god playing for his mother and sister in a peaceful, ritual setting.²⁴⁶

In contrast, the followers of Dionysos, even when accompanied by the same stringed instrument, are almost always dancing. For example, on a Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Leagros Group in the British Museum, Ariadne and Dionysos are seated side by side on a stool with a grapevine growing beside them.²⁴⁷ Two satyrs play kitharai and both are represented as singing with open mouths. The others in the scene, two maenads and another satyr, are vigorously dancing to the music, the maenads with krotala. On a neck-amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, dated to c.525 BC, a satyr plays the kithara in the centre of the picture field, just as Apollo does in scenes of the Delian Triad. But unlike Artemis and Leto, the two female figures who flank the satyr have their back heels off the ground showing a moment of dance.²⁴⁸ On a Type B amphora perhaps by the Phanyllis Painter, Dionysos reclines as a symposiast while a satyr plays the kithara and two maenads with krotala kick their back heels in the air.²⁴⁹

Furthermore, the distinction between the kitharists, Apollo on the one hand and the satyrs on the other, is emphasised by their stance. Apollo remains still and is hardly ever moving, whereas the satyrs are seldom motionless (represented in vase-painting by showing the two feet spaced apart, particularly with the back heel off the ground). Apollo stands serenely on the reverse of a Type A amphora attributed to the Dikaios Painter, playing his kithara while the two goddesses flanking him, though gesturing with their

²⁴⁶ Even scenes that include more than just the two goddesses show the female figures in the same very calm stance, as on an unattributed neck-amphora in Los Angeles, c.510 BC: Los Angeles A5933.50.10; BAPD 4644*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 32*; see **fig.128**. Here Apollo resumes a very similar position while the four female figures, two on each side, hold leafless branches and flowers. Packard and Clement (1977: 11) suggest that the scene may be of Apollo and the Muses. On one hydria attributed to the Theseus Painter, the women or Muses are holding krotala and yet still remain calm: Madrid 10930; *ABL* 252.73; BAPD 7832*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 700*; see **fig.33**. Krotala are associated with the worship of Cybele and Dionysos, ecstatic gods, rather than the more peaceful Delian Apollo: see Castaldo (2009: 287-288). In the *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (3-5), the poet describes the goddess as delighting in the cymbals and krotala; in Euripides' *Cyclops* (203-205) krotala are explicitly connected with Bacchic celebrations. On krotala more generally see Castaldo (2009); Landels (1999: 82-83); Michaelides (1978: 179-180). There are some examples which do show Apollo at the head of a dancing troupe of women, but on the whole the listeners are passive. The most obvious is on a skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter in St. Petersburg, c.490 BC, which shows Apollo at the right of the scene, but facing left with his lyre, while five women or Muses with krotala approach from the left, one playing the pipes. They wear ivy crowns and ivy branches decorate the background. The obverse shows Hermes playing the pipes surrounded by nymphs and a satyr: St. Petersburg 4498; *Para.* 257; BAPD 351547; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 702*; see **fig.31**. See also pp.71-72 above.

²⁴⁷ London B206; *ABV* 369.120; *Para.* 162; BAPD 302115*; see **fig.129**.

²⁴⁸ Oxford 1965.116; *ABV* 273.111; *Para.* 119; *Add.*² 71; BAPD 320122*; see **fig.130**.

²⁴⁹ Geneva MF236; *ABL* 201; BAPD 5694*; see **fig.131**.

arms, stand quite still, demonstrated by the placement of their feet side by side.²⁵⁰ Three figures are also painted on an unattributed neck-amphora in the Louvre, but the atmosphere of this scene is vastly different.²⁵¹ Dionysos stands calmly in the centre (as is almost always the case),²⁵² but the satyr kitharist on the left is shown with his feet spaced widely apart and his back heel clearly lifted off the ground. The third figure, a maenad, dances and plays the krotala. Another example, a lekythos attributed to the Class of Athens 581, c.500 BC, depicts satyrs, one playing the kithara, with their front legs raised to a right angle, interspersed with running or dancing maenads.²⁵³

Komasts are also shown playing the kithara for their dancing companions. A kantharos attributed to the Boeotian Dancers Group in the Thebes Museum shows several dancers, one with a large kantharos, all dancing to the music provided by a kitharist.²⁵⁴ This response to an instrument that in the hands of its deity and other mortals does not inspire dancing,²⁵⁵ suggests that both the komasts and the satyrs can be linked through a love of dance.²⁵⁶ The type of dance is more difficult to prove, but it seems likely that it is some form of choral activity, perhaps even dithyramb. Smith convincingly argues that there is a clear indication that the komasts are part of a performance tradition,²⁵⁷ so in this way they are indeed similar to the satyrs. It is also clear that music was a crucial element of most religious occasions in ancient Greek culture, especially of course performance rituals. That many of the scenes that show satyrs or komasts do not include instruments does not necessarily mean that they were dancing without accompaniment, but rather that the very action of dancing called to mind the musical accompaniment required, even if it was just the voice.

²⁵⁰ Bologna 288; *ABV* 400.1; *ARV*² 1056.86, 1680; *Add.*² 104; BAPD 303016*; **see fig.132.**

²⁵¹ Louvre F220; BAPD 10773*; **see fig.133.**

²⁵² For a scene of Dionysos dancing among satyrs see a Type A amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter in Würzburg from c.530 BC: Würzburg L265; *ABV* 151.22; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310451*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 38*; **see fig.101** and above, p.133n22.

²⁵³ Edinburgh 1956.435; BAPD 31446*.

²⁵⁴ Thebes R50.265; *ABV* 30.8; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300340; Kilinski (1978: figs.16-17); **see fig.117.**

²⁵⁵ For the scenes of Apollo with the kithara, see chapter two, section 2.2, p.59; for mortals with the kithara, see chapter two, section 2.4, p.100.

²⁵⁶ Kilinski (1978: 173) in discussing the Boeotian Dancers Group highlights the prevalence of movement and activity on all of the komast scenes.

²⁵⁷ Smith (2007: 62; 66-72); (2010: 8). Here she points out that the evidence for seeing komasts as precursors for satyr-plays is slim. Green argues that the padded dancers were associated with Dionysos and performance that probably led to the development of drama (2007: 105).

3.2.2.2 Depictions of a choral performance: satyrs carrying maenads

In the last third of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth century between c.530 and c.480 BC, both komasts and satyrs²⁵⁸ are sometimes shown performing a particular dance move:²⁵⁹ carrying a female on their shoulders.²⁶⁰ In the earlier period (before c.530 BC) this action of carrying a companion, male or female on their shoulders, as far as I am aware, is not seen in any scenes.²⁶¹ Such a specific time frame suggests that an event or change in perception resulted in a new scene-type. Repetitive actions can be suggestive of a certain cult practice or performance, particularly if these same actions are replicated on several vases.

Green and Hedreen have focused on the suggestion that the very identity of a satyr in vase-painting is based in performance.²⁶² This concept does seem to be borne out by the evidence on the vases, as there are some depictions of men dressing up in situations usually associated with satyrs, as can be seen on a Corinthian amphoriskos.²⁶³ In a scene of the representation of the Return of Hephaistos, the figure in front of the mule wears a padded costume with a large phallos.²⁶⁴ Satyrs were the usual companions of this procession escorting Hephaistos back to Olympos and frequently they are depicted with erect phalloi.²⁶⁵ Significantly, there is also an important amphora in Berlin that presents a clear comparison between a chorus, possibly from some form of comedy, and a satyr

²⁵⁸ This is much more apparent in Dionysian scenes; there are at least 31 illustrated examples of satyrs lifting and carrying maenads in the BAPD; and another twenty further examples that are not illustrated. A good example can be seen on a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group, c.510-500 BC: Malibu 86.AE.84; *Para.* 166.189*bis*; BAPD 351229*; see **fig.134**.

²⁵⁹ On dance steps, see above p.160.

²⁶⁰ Scheffer (1996: 177) outlines the four ways a figure can be shown carried in Greek art: grabbed from behind in a violent manner, usually with a sexual intent; held in front in the arms or on the shoulders with the one being carried a willing partner; carried on another's back, again usually a willing participant; or as a dead warrior draped over the back and shoulders of another. This section focuses on some of those from the second group (namely those carried on the shoulders). Scheffer's article is concerned with those from the third group.

²⁶¹ The François Vase does show a satyr carrying a nymph in the Return scene, but again he is carrying her in his arms rather than on his shoulders: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 567*. Scheffer (1996: esp. 172-177) discusses the motif of the *ephedrismos*, a game that involves the carrying of a person on one's back with the aim of throwing a ball at a target, and is particularly found in the Dionysian and erotic spheres. This type of carrying of a companion is different from the ones discussed here; however, the carrying of another person can therefore have a playful meaning and is a part of the celebration of Dionysos.

²⁶² Green (2007: 102); Hedreen (2007: 153). *Contra* Padgett (2003: 34).

²⁶³ Corinthian amphoriskos: Athens 664; Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.13); see **fig.135**.

²⁶⁴ For a discussion of komasts in early scenes of the Return of Hephaistos, see Smith (2010: 28-9).

²⁶⁵ For instance on the François Vase signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 567*.

chorus.²⁶⁶ A draped youthful piper is playing for ‘knights’ on the obverse, while satyrs and maenads are lined up facing their satyr piper on the reverse. The two scenes on this amphora are in all probability reflecting choral practice, albeit through two different perspectives, one mortal and the other mythological.

The focus thus far has been on satyrs because of the larger number of renditions which include them. This may seem a little one-sided, but within the black-figure tradition it was common to represent some aspects of life, especially some kinds of ritual, through the use of heroic or immortal figures rather than mortals. During festivals the separation between mortal and immortal is reduced as the deity is represented in the procession by a statue or image; the vase-painters tend to depict these occasions within the realm of the divine, but occasionally the human aspect is also revealed.²⁶⁷ The most well-known example of this is in depictions of the ship-cart procession where the wheels of the cart disguised as a ship are painted in, but the characters riding in the ship-cart are all mythological (satyrs and the god).²⁶⁸ Presumably the ship-cart was accompanied by ‘satyrs’ (men dressed up as the creatures) and the god (perhaps a statue or a priest of Dionysos). Another example of this substitution of satyrs for mortal worshippers can be seen on a skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter, which shows a satyr and a maenad dancing around the mask of the wine-god as mortals did at the Lenaia.²⁶⁹ There are examples of men dressed as satyrs in the presence of the god in other situations, as on a skyphos in Rhodes.²⁷⁰ Thus the satyrs on the vases can be interpreted as either men dressed as satyrs, or as men who act like satyrs, worshipping Dionysos, drinking, and dancing. If, as has been argued, komasts are associated with Dionysian cult, then a comparison between the mythological satyrs and the mortal komasts is almost inevitable.

²⁶⁶ Type B amphora attributed to the Painter of Berlin 1686: Berlin 1697; *ABV* 297.17; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 78; BAPD 320396*; **see fig.47**; for this vase, see above, p.164n230, and chapter two, p.82 and n.174. On the issue of the chorus as relating to comedy, see Hughes (2012: 85).

²⁶⁷ On this aspect, see chapter one, section 1.3, p.39.

²⁶⁸ See for instance a fragmentary skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter: Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.1281; *ABL* 250.29; BAPD 465*; **see fig.6**. Exekias’ magnificent cup in Munich has also been connected with the Anthesteria: Munich 8729; *ABV* 146.21; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAPD 310403*; **see fig.7**. For a discussion of Exekias’ cup and the ship-cart procession see Mackay (2010: 232-234).

²⁶⁹ Athens 498 (CC1001); *ABL* 251.44, 142; BAPD 4318*; **see fig.112** and above, p.156n192.

²⁷⁰ The men on the skyphos are obviously dressed as satyrs (their beards and ears seem to be attached to a headband and they wear tight body-suits) and they dance around Dionysos and Ariadne: Rhodes; *ABV* 90.1; *Add.*² 54; BAPD 350968; Brijder (1986: 76-78; fig.8a-d); **see fig.120** and above, p.163n225.

In the scenes of satyrs lifting maenads, then, is there some kind of performance evoked? Satyrs are frequently represented chasing maenads in early art, so perhaps these scenes are not ritual but mythological? This proposal can be discounted by comparing these scenes where satyrs lift maenads to other abduction scenes and highlighting the differences. Firstly they are not negative like Ajax the Lesser approaching to carry Cassandra off, where she is clearly distressed by the process.²⁷¹ Neither are they quite the same as the more playful abduction scenes that become popular in archaic red-figure, such as on a Type A amphora attributed to Euthymides,²⁷² where a named Theseus carries off a woman identified as Korone who appears to be unperturbed and plays with his hair.²⁷³ Theseus holds her firmly around the waist rather than placing her on his shoulders, Perithoos holds a spear and his sword in its sheath, and Helen strides towards Theseus, grabbing Korone's arm. In black-figure, two of the most famous abductions – the capturing of Thetis and the abduction of Helen²⁷⁴ – are not represented in the same schema as the satyrs and maenads. Peleus is shown reaching forward to grab Thetis around the waist as she struggles, trying to avoid his clutches, on an oinochoe attributed to the Keyside Class, c.520-510 BC.²⁷⁵ Helen is carried off in Theseus' arms on a hydria attributed to the S Painter, from around the same date.²⁷⁶ She reaches back to the other women in the scene while Perithoos waits in the chariot; forcible abduction is evident. There are some depictions of satyrs who do appear to be abducting maenads, but the way the satyrs carry the maenads is closer to the schema of the abductions and the sexual

²⁷¹ A Type B amphora attributed to Lydos exemplifies her helpless desperation. Cassandra runs to the statue of Athena, but turns back to look at Ajax who approaches with drawn sword brandished above his head. She reaches one hand up towards him in appeal: Louvre F29; *ABV* 109.21, 685; *Para.* 44; *Add.*² 30; BAPD 310167*; **see fig.136.**

²⁷² Munich 2309; *ARV*² 27.4, 1620; *Para.* 323; *Add.*² 156; BAPD 200157*; **see fig.137.**

²⁷³ The other woman in the scene is labelled Helen; either this is a deliberate joke of the story of the abduction of Helen, or Euthymides inadvertently switched the names of the two women.

²⁷⁴ In addition to Peleus' fight with Thetis and the kidnapping of Helen, the attempted rape of Deianeira by Nessos the centaur was also popular, especially in the early black-figure period and with the Tyrrhenian Group. When Nessos is holding Deianeira, he usually holds her across his chest with one arm rather than on his shoulders. See for instance a neck-amphora attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group: Leipzig T3324; *ABV* 98.36; *Para.* 37; *Add.*² 26; BAPD 310035*; **see fig.138.** She is also sometimes held on his back, but that does not concern us for this particular scene-type.

²⁷⁵ Malibu 86.AE.122; BAPD 16778*; *LIMC* 7 Peleus 80*; **see fig.139.** A further example from the same date can be found on an unattributed hydria in Leiden. Chiron stands by and watches from the left while a Nereid flees to the right: Leiden PC48 (XVE29); BAPD 627*; *LIMC* 7 Peleus 162*. See also a Type A amphora in the manner of the Leagros Group among many more that are similar: Munich 1415; BAPD 4652*; *LIMC* 7 Peleus 163*.

²⁷⁶ London B310; *ABV* 361.12, 355, 695; *Add.*² 95; BAPD 302007*; *LIMC* 4 Helene 30*; **see fig.140.**

intention is clear.²⁷⁷ On a neck-amphora attributed to the Dayton Painter, c.520 BC, a satyr carries a naked maenad or hetaira to a couch.²⁷⁸ He carries her in his arms and she puts her arms around his head.

Quite apart from the difference between a woman held in the arms and one placed on the shoulders, the composition of these scenes of satyrs lifting maenads undermines an interpretation based on abduction and emphasises the performance aspect. The most convincing argument for seeing this action as part of a performance is the repetition in the same scene of several satyrs carrying maenads, many of whom frequently play musical instruments. It seems unlikely that a synchronised abduction is being attempted on a Type B amphora near the Priam Painter, for example.²⁷⁹ Four satyrs are carrying maenads; three have their maenads held up on their shoulders while the satyr at the right edge of the scene seems to be lifting his up. The maenads are of interest however, since they are calmly playing their instruments despite being carried along by the lusty satyrs.²⁸⁰ Even when no musical instruments are depicted, as on a neck-amphora near the Acheloos

²⁷⁷ Scheffer (1996: 177) does not see sexual intent in the images which fall into her group B, and the scene-type under discussion here fits within that group; for a summary of Scheffer's groups, see above, p.169n260.

²⁷⁸ Boston 76.40; *Para.* 144.1; *Add.*² 88; BAPD 351068*; see **fig.141**. Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 116) sees the women here as hetairai with the kline an indicator of a symposium setting. Neils (2000) discusses the similarity between hetairai and maenads, focusing particularly on early red-figure scenes. She notes (2000: 219) that it is unusual to see a satyr in the same scene as a courtesan; more often a satyr pursues a maenad and a naked prostitute is seen in another picture field on the vase, emphasising the resemblance between the mythological and mortal women. It seems unlikely, then, that a hetaira is depicted on this vase in Boston, but if so, the presence of the satyrs and the deities encourages the elevation of the women to some mythological status; Hoffmann (1973: 29) calls the women maenads. Hedreen (2009b: 127) adopts a different approach, exploring the juxtaposition of the public displays of affection on the part of the satyrs with the reserved nature of Dionysos and Ariadne in this scene.

²⁷⁹ Philadelphia 2462; *Para.* 147; BAPD 351086*; see **fig.142**. For another example of more than one satyr carrying a maenad in a scene see a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group, on which Dionysos stands between the two satyrs, each carrying a maenad on their shoulders: Villa Giulia 760; *ABV* 372.156; BAPD 302151*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 28a* (obverse); see **fig.55**. In addition, on the obverse of this amphora a type of chorus is represented with Apollo playing his kithara for two pairs of female figures. This may be construed as a connection between the two sides of the vase encouraging a reading related to choral activity. The shapes on which these scenes occur include amphorae (most common), oinochoai, olpai, and cups. In a study such as this, when dealing with Dionysian subjects, it is of course relevant that these vessels were probably intended to be used in the symposium (whether or not they were discovered in graves, it is clear from Lynch's work [2011] that these types of vases were in use during drinking parties by Athenians and so not necessarily decorated specifically for funerary use). A detailed discussion of the significance of the shape beyond the observation that the subject matter is Dionysian and they are on sympotic vessels, however, is outside the parameters of this thesis. Similar studies, such as Scheibler's discussion of belly-amphorae (1987), and Shapiro's work on the pelike (1997), tend to gather their evidence based on a common shape rather than a common scene-type and rely on larger numbers of vases.

²⁸⁰ Three maenads play their instruments; two play pipes and one the kithara.

Painter,²⁸¹ the repetition of the same movement suggests dance and performance. The idea of carrying the maenad off may indeed be there, as McNally suggests,²⁸² but the maenads, once they have been taken, are not at all perturbed.²⁸³ This indicates that the satyrs are performing, and while an abduction may be a part of the presentation, the dance is the crucial element of the scene.²⁸⁴

Directionality and repetition of position and stance all contribute to the suggestion of a chorus line as Hedreen points out.²⁸⁵ On a hydria attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter in the Athens National Museum, Dionysos is framed by two satyrs lifting maenads onto their shoulders.²⁸⁶ Both satyrs are dancing to left in a low position, legs widely spaced with their back heels off the ground. Rather than have the dancers (maenads included) on the right looking towards the god in the centre, as is usually the case in the symmetrical layout of many black-figure scenes,²⁸⁷ they all look back the way they have come – to the right of the scene. The maenad on the left holds one hand with *krotala* high, encroaching on the border of the scene; the maenad on the right makes a similar gesture (although without *krotala*). This similarity in movement and directionality from right to left is an indication that these satyrs are moving in tandem, very suggestive of a performance rather

²⁸¹ Malibu 86.AE.84; *Para.* 166.189*bis*; BAPD 351229*; **see fig.134**; Clark in Clark, Jentoft-Nilsen, and Trendall (1988: 34) provides detailed information about the Acheloos Painter on this subject.

²⁸² McNally (1984: 118-19).

²⁸³ The focus on the dance rather than abduction can be clearly seen on a neck-amphora in Basel attributed to the Rycroft Painter: Basel BS409; *Para.* 149.16*bis*; *Add.*² 92; BAPD 351098*; **see fig.143**. In this rendition the ithyphallic satyrs are in the act of seizing the maenads. The satyr on the right has a firm grip about the maenad's waist, and she raises both her arms perhaps in surprise or terror. The maenad on the left, in contrast, has been lifted to shoulder height by her satyr and seems relatively untroubled by her new situation; she holds her *krotala* out in front of her in a calm manner. Therefore, if an abduction is intended, the maenads seem to be quite unfazed by it, and frequently seem to be continuing with the dance as can be seen on an oinochoe attributed to the Altenburg Class, c.510 BC: Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Mus. 31; *ABV* 422.4; BAPD 303214*; **see fig.144**. Two ithyphallic satyrs run or dance to right; the maenads are perched quite happily on the shoulders of their captors if that is what they are. Grape vines spring from behind the maenads (or are somehow held by them) while they continue to play their *krotala*. There may be a sense of urgency portrayed in the way the satyrs move quickly across the vase, but the maenads seem to be quite willing to go along for the ride. This is further strengthened by a scene on a neck-amphora, the name vase of the Group of London B265: *Para.* 142.1; BAPD 351052*; **see fig.145**.

²⁸⁴ The satyrs are not at all struggling under the weight of their maenads; compare the satyrs' light step with the bowed stance of Ajax carrying Achilles from the battlefield (or any warrior with his dead comrade). Exekias, on a neck-amphora in Munich, paints a warrior trudging forward under the weight of his dead companion. The hoplite has his front foot planted firmly on the ground, his head bent forward and his back hunched: Munich 1470; *ABV* 144.6; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310388*.

²⁸⁵ Hedreen (2007: 171-72).

²⁸⁶ Athens 1037; *ABL* 92, 106, 145, 163; *ABV* 393.18; *ARV*² 1598.5; *Para.* 507; *Add.*² 390; BAPD 302934*; **see fig.146**.

²⁸⁷ In the vast majority of scenes, the central figure will be the focus of gaze of the framing figures, particularly if there are only three characters or character-groups in the scene. Symmetry was favoured by black-figure artists as can be seen by the examples of heroic action enclosed by inward-facing bystanders. On symmetry see Scheibler (1960).

than an abduction, which by its very nature suggests disarray and extreme emotions.²⁸⁸ In addition, in this scene, there is a goat standing behind Dionysos. The goat's association with the festivals of Dionysos²⁸⁹ adds an extra element to the evidence for seeing this depiction and others like it as performances, perhaps even choruses.

One vase worthy of note shows the dance in progress, with the satyrs picking the maenads up on one side and dancing with them on their shoulders on the other.²⁹⁰ This neck-amphora is attributed to the Dot-Band Class, and while the quality is dubious the intention is quite clear.²⁹¹ On the obverse two satyrs are crouching having hoisted the maenads onto their shoulders. Their identical movement suggests they are moving together in a dance. On the reverse the satyrs are standing and have a firm grip on the maenads, who are gesturing to each other. The satyr in front looks back at the following satyr, as if to check on the latter's readiness; the satyr on the left seems to be more obviously bowed under the weight of the maenad. The leading satyr is already beginning his dance step as his front foot has left the ground. This kind of high-stepping can be associated with both the *sikinnis*, the typical dance of satyrs,²⁹² and of leading the dance, as Apollo is described as high-stepping as he leads the Cretans up to Delphi in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.²⁹³

One other recommendation for seeing these scenes as musical performances is the use of *krotala*. Despite the relative rarity of other musical instruments in these scenes, the *krotala*

²⁸⁸ The scenes of Peleus grabbing Thetis provide good examples of the distress exhibited by others in the scene. For instance, on a neck-amphora attributed to the Group of Würzburg 199, two Nereids run from the central fight with their hands in the air in dismay: Baltimore 48.18; *ABV* 288.13; *Add.*² 75; BAPD 320316*.

²⁸⁹ At the Rural Dionysia there was a procession which according to Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (241-279) included at the very least a basket-bearer or *kanephoros*, a large wooden phallos, and revellers who sang songs to the god and Phales. Plutarch in *de cupiditate divitiarum* (527d) claims that it also included a wine-jar, a branch of vine, a goat, and a basket of dried figs. Simon (1983: 100, 102) sees the goat as the sacred animal at the Lenaia and at the Rural Dionysia; Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 77, 123) places the goat in the procession (or as prize) for the City Dionysia and in the *pompe* at the Rural Dionysia, although this may be a Boiotian rather than Attic custom: Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 43-44). Deubner (1966: 136) sees the phallos and the figs as the older aspects of the procession and the wine-jar, grape branch, and goat as later Dionysian additions. For the City Dionysia, see above.

²⁹⁰ This kind of 'narrative progression' is discussed by Steiner (1993: 200-204) in relation to the birth of Athena; she suggests that this kind of redundancy should be treated as if it were written in two different tenses.

²⁹¹ Wellington 1957.1; *Para.* 221; *Add.*² 122; BAPD 360902*; see **fig.147**.

²⁹² Castaldo (2009: 289); see Athenaeus 14.630b-d.

²⁹³ This is reflected in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* when the god leads the Cretans up to Delphi: 'And when they had satisfied their appetite for food and drink, they set off, and Zeus' son, lord Apollo, led the way with his lyre in his hands, playing delightfully, stepping fine and high, while the Cretans followed to Pytho, dancing in time, and singing *Ie Paieon*' 513-18; West (2003: 110-111).

are depicted frequently. The krotala are associated with dancing,²⁹⁴ and so when they are used there is an emphasis on rhythm and movement. For instance, krotala are held by a maenad on the shoulders of a satyr on an unattributed neck-amphora in Tarquinia.²⁹⁵ The satyr is depicted in the centre of the scene flanked by two other krotala-playing maenads providing the accompaniment for the dance.

Komasts are sometimes shown carrying a woman on their shoulders, indicating that this kind of dance or performance was a part of mortal worship of the god. On a neck-amphora near the Acheloos Painter in Munich are depicted four men, the central one carrying a woman on his left shoulder.²⁹⁶ All the other three men are wreathed, while the woman being carried and the man carrying her are wearing fillets. He holds ivy branches in his right hand while she plays the krotala, as many maenads do. Two of the men are partially clothed, although one of these has an extremely hairy belly²⁹⁷ while the other two including the one in the centre holding the clothed woman are naked. All are dancing vigorously, including the man carrying the woman: he raises his front foot off the ground and his back heel is also lifted from the floor.²⁹⁸

A neck-amphora in the Villa Giulia attributed to the Leagros Group creates a convincing connection between komasts and satyrs.²⁹⁹ On the obverse Dionysos (kantharos, ivy wreath, and grapevine) is framed by two satyrs who lunge forward to grab two maenads. While the maenads are not yet seated on the shoulders of the satyrs, the satyrs are not ithyphallic, and the maenads are holding krotala. On the reverse of this neck-amphora is a

²⁹⁴ Michaelides (1978: 179); Wegner (1949: 62). One of the many examples which show maenads dancing with krotala can be found on a skyphos, from c.510-500 BC, in the manner of the Krokotos Group (see Ure [1955: 92-93, cat.16] for attribution). On this skyphos, a satyr plays the pipes and maenads with krotala dance vigorously: Athens 15372; BAPD 15285*; **see fig.148**. Recently Castaldo (2009) has completed research focused on the iconography and use of krotala in vase-painting. In black-figure, Castaldo (2009: 287) concludes, krotala were associated with women (especially hetairai) and with the komos or the Dionysian sphere, used in the images to stress rhythm and dance, and perhaps to evoke or encourage the ecstasy inspired by Dionysos and Cybele.

²⁹⁵ Tarquinia 670; BAPD 13825*; **see fig.149**.

²⁹⁶ Munich 1547; *ABV* 385.3; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 302880*; **see fig.150**.

²⁹⁷ There is the possibility that this may be an indication of this particular reveller's state as approaching that of the satyr. Isler-Kerényi's suggestion (2007a: ch.2, esp. 62) that drinkers may turn into satyrs is based on a handful of vases that include satyrs and komasts in the same scene, an idea that is rejected by Smith (2010) after her exhaustive analysis of the scenes of komasts. However, in this instance the Acheloos Painter may be suggesting that wine encourages less 'civilised' behaviour and this drinker is well on the way to showing his more 'animalistic' side.

²⁹⁸ Another neck-amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter shows a very similar scene: New York, Royal Athena 1997, 21 no.91; *ABV* 383.10; *Para.* 168; *Add.*² 101; BAPD 302403*; **see fig.151**.

²⁹⁹ The painting of this vase recalls the Group of Würzburg 210 and can be compared to the Acheloos Painter: Villa Giulia 50619; *ABV* 374.193; BAPD 302188* (obverse only); **see fig.152**.

komos, with one of the men carrying a woman on his shoulder. This juxtaposition of the two scenes which illustrate this movement in a similar context, but performed by satyrs on one side and komasts on the other, shows that at least in the mind of this painter the two were closely connected.

Hedreen notes that ‘the vase-paintings of silens lifting nymphs suggest that competence in the civilized art of choral performance and animal desire for copulation are indissolubly fused together in the persona of the silens’.³⁰⁰ These disparate views of ‘civilised’ and ‘animal’ behaviour brought together in these representations of the satyr create a figure of contrasts, and a humorous one at that. Using just the images related to the scene-type discussed in this section, the humorous characteristic of satyrs is evident, and it ties in well with the comic aspect of Dionysian festivals. On a type B amphora once on the New York market, Dionysos is flanked by two *maenads* who carry *satyrs* on their shoulders.³⁰¹ As with the other scenes discussed above, there does not seem to be any sort of sexual aspect to this scene so the reversal of the maenads carrying the satyrs creates humour based on inversion. That the maenads are dancing is indicated through the depiction of their feet, and this highlights another contrast in the scene: that of the disparity between the god and his followers. The god usually appears in a role similar to the apparently sober parent overseeing the mischievous children, though as the god of wine he is of course encouraging the antics. He himself is a god of contrasts and inversion; his calm exterior depicted on vases in contrast to the excessive behaviour he engenders in the satyrs and komasts is a source of humour itself.

The satyrs also take over and make fun of heroic and mythological scenes. Herakles, the great hero, sometimes cavorts with satyrs and maenads in ways that might poke fun at some of his labours. There is one example on a Type A cup near the Krokotos Painter which shows (between eyes) Herakles bowed under the weight of a white-haired, lyre-playing, bellowing satyr (his mouth is depicted open wide).³⁰² The satyr has perhaps become another labour of Herakles; a singing, probably drunken weight on our hero’s back. That the satyr has taken this position creates a parody which encourages laughter when one looks at the scene. This does not necessarily mean that satyr-play is depicted,

³⁰⁰ Hedreen (2007: 173).

³⁰¹ Type B amphora (cf. the Antimenes Painter): New York, Market; BAPD 24084*; see fig.153.

³⁰² Attributed to the Group of Walters 48.42, c.530-520 BC: Malibu 85.AE.462; BAPD 41328*; see fig.154.

but rather that this behaviour, the making fun of others, especially those that have value in the everyday life of the Athenians, is in the nature of a satyr.³⁰³

From this particular type of action, the carrying of a maenad on the shoulders, one can infer several things; firstly that the satyrs and maenads are engaged in some kind of performance, possibly a choral one. Secondly that the maenads are not perturbed by their 'abduction' if that is what is evoked; rather they continue with the dance or music. Thirdly, there is a link between satyrs who carry maenads and komasts who carry women, although the satyrs are much more popular.³⁰⁴ The humour is also clear through the inversion in some scenes, and the ithyphallic satyrs in some depictions bring their own humour to the scene. Finally the scene-type is found between c.530 and c.480, perhaps a reflection of Peisistratos' embellishment of some of the festivals in honour of Dionysos, such as the City Dionysia, or indeed an expression of the beginnings of some form of early choral drama which then gives way, in the medium of red-figure, to other methods of representing satyr performance.³⁰⁵ All of these observations point towards the conclusion that the satyrs and komasts in this scene-type were performing a kind of dance associated with the worship of Dionysos at his festivals at this time. While the specific festival or celebration is unclear, that these scenes evoke a festival is evident.

3.2.2.3 The high-stepping satyr

³⁰³ See Lissarrague (1990a: esp. 232-233).

³⁰⁴ This may mean that the vase-painters saw the satyrs as uninhibited by morals and therefore more appropriate for the role of dancing with maenads and 'carrying them off' if that is what is implied, even in fun. On this view see Mitchell (2009: 4-5). There are instances of komasts who are dressed in costumes which are clearly ithyphallic, but these are rare as are depictions of ithyphallic men. See for instance a neck-amphora attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group: Munich 1431; *ABV* 102.99; *Add.*² 27; BAPD 310098*, see **fig. 108** and above, p.152n162.

³⁰⁵ There does appear to be a shift in the repertoire of the vase-painters around the 520-510 period from depicting Dionysos with satyrs, to just showing satyrs, often engaged in strange activities, see Hedreen (2007: 154). The dancing satyrs of the sixth century have been described as different from the satyr-plays of the fifth century (see Hedreen [2007: 153]), so an alteration in representation may signify that the satyr-play became a more common decoration on vases around 510 BC. This change is evident in the scenes of satyrs dancing while carrying maenads; Dionysos is slowly removed from the tradition. In the earlier time period as specified in the BAPD, 52.8% of scenes of satyrs lifting or carrying maenads include Dionysos. In the later period, however, only 25% show Dionysos. This may be a reflection of the growing popularity of satyrs and maenads and their interactions without the physical presence of the god because of the rise of the satyr-play at the end of the sixth century. These figures were obtained from searching the BAPD for 'black-figure' and 'lifting' or 'carrying'. The ones not pertaining to the lifting of maenads by satyrs were removed; 51 remained in total. There are 36 lifting/carrying scenes in the 550-500 period. Nineteen show Dionysos with the satyrs and maenads, whereas 16 depict just satyrs and maenads; there is also one example of a Return of Hephaistos (52.8%, 44.4%, 2.7% respectively). In the 525-475 period, there are 28 scenes. Seven show Dionysos with satyrs and maenads, twenty depict just satyrs and maenads and there is one Return scene (25%, 71.4%, 3.6% respectively).

Satyrs are occasionally shown performing one particular dance step that further establishes their association with performance and humour. When playing the kithara, satyrs are sometimes depicted high-stepping (or ‘goose-stepping’ in Beazley’s words),³⁰⁶ but when mortals or gods play the same instrument, they tend to be fairly restrained in their movement, even when it appears they are participating in a procession. On the name vase of the Painter of Berlin 1686, the obverse shows a sacrificial procession to Athena while the reverse depicts two kitharists and two pipers walking sedately to right playing their instruments.³⁰⁷ The musicians’ feet are depicted fairly close together with their heels only just off the ground, if at all. In most mortal kithara scenes, the player is presented in a solemn occasion, such as at the Panathenaia.³⁰⁸ Scenes without all the Panathenaic paraphernalia also follow this pattern of showing the kitharist in a calm demeanour without moving his feet.³⁰⁹ Certainly it is true that Apollo is represented in black-figure as standing, with feet close together, while playing the kithara. Apollo’s stationary stance

³⁰⁶ Beazley (1955: 315) notes that ‘Cithara-players do not dance, but a form of goose-step was admitted’, but almost exclusively for satyrs, as will be shown. The examples of high-stepping players who are not satyrs are few, but Maas and Snyder (1989) illustrate some. On a neck-amphora attributed to the Omaha Painter, four men are playing the lyre. The first and third are shown high-stepping: Louvre E861; *Para.* 33.1; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 350214*; Maas and Snyder (1989: 51, fig.15c); see **fig.155**. Note that the players in this scene play the chelys-lyra rather than the kithara. On a funeral chest from Capua the kithara players are high-stepping: whereabouts unknown; Maas and Snyder (1989: 44, fig.5a).

³⁰⁷ Type B amphora: Berlin F1686; *ABV* 296.4; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 77; BAPD 320383*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 106*; see **fig.156**. The obverse has drawn much comment, particularly with regard to the connections this scene may have with the Panathenaia: Shapiro (1992a: 54-55 [fig.34]) notes that there is an even number of pipers and kitharists, just as on the Parthenon frieze, and draws attention to the beautiful costumes worn by the musicians; see also West (1992: 20) who draws a connection between the Panathenaia and this image. Gebauer (2002: 41 [cat.P8, fig.8]) contrasts the elaborate costumes with the rather short garments worn by the men approaching the altar on the obverse noting the practicality of the costumes worn by those leading the bovine sacrifice. On the altar with its curious wind-break at the back, see Aktsele (1996: 14-15 [85, cat.Rc3]); Moore (2007: 30 [fig.17-18]). On the priestess of Athena as represented on this vase and others similar see Connelly (2007: 187-190 [fig.6.14, colour plate 12]).

³⁰⁸ A good example can be found on a Panathenaic amphora near Group E in the British Museum: London 1849.11-22.2 (B139); *ABV* 139.12; *Para.* 57; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310344*; see **fig.71**. Athena is in her usual promachos stance on the obverse, framed by two columns topped by cocks; on the reverse a very solemn, draped youth plays his instrument between columns also surmounted by cocks. For more examples of mortal kithara players at the Panathenaia, see Shapiro (1992a), and chapter two, section 2.4, p.100.

³⁰⁹ On the name vase of the Group of London B460 is painted a kithara player flanked by two men wearing chlamydes: London B460; *ABV* 212.1; *Add.*² 57; BAPD 302683*; see **fig.86**. As with the representations of the competitor in the Panathenaia, the musician stands with his feet side by side. Even scenes that seem to lack a competitive context (to our eyes) show mortal kitharists playing the instrument calmly, as on an unattributed neck-amphora in Tarquinia which depicts a bearded, draped male with feet close together playing the kithara between eyes: Tarquinia RC2800; BAPD 14106*. While it is possible that the male figure playing the kithara may be intended to be Apollo, his maturity argues against such an interpretation, despite the god Dionysos depicted on the reverse.

can be seen on a hydria attributed to the Priam Painter in the British Museum, where the god plays his instrument for two pairs of female figures, Dionysos, and Hermes.³¹⁰

Even in scenes of a komos where the other figures are dancing vigorously, as on a kantharos of the Komast Group, the musician playing the kithara (or lyre) is much less energetic.³¹¹ On the kantharos, a kitharist leads the way to right across the top band of decoration, followed by a troupe of spirited dancers, some of whom lift their legs high in the typical dance step associated with komasts. The kitharist, in contrast, has both feet on the ground and so is much less obviously active than the others in the scene. The same phenomenon can be seen on a much later Type A amphora attributed to the Leagros Group in Munich, c.510-500 BC: the players of the instruments are relatively serene, even though they are clearly shown singing.³¹² On this vase, there is one man who is dancing vigorously with *krotala*, and he is represented performing the high-step,³¹³ but the kitharist and the lyre player are not shown attempting any sort of energetic movement.

The satyrs, on the other hand, are much more vigorous while playing the kithara, and they are shown sometimes performing the distinctive high-step. There are 47 examples of satyrs playing the kithara illustrated in the BAPD, and of those, only two show the satyr standing still. Seven depict the satyr kitharist high-stepping, while the remaining vases show him dancing (with his back heel off the ground) or striding.³¹⁴ There is also one that shows the satyr kneeling alongside the seated wine god opposite a kneeling piper.³¹⁵ This high-stepping movement is illustrated on a stamnos attributed to the Group of Louvre F314.³¹⁶ Two dancing maenads frame the scene while Dionysos, holding grapevines and his kantharos, watches the ithyphallic satyr kitharist who steps high with his left leg.

³¹⁰ London B347; *ABV* 334.3; BAPD 301813*; see **fig.157**. See also a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group in the Louvre where the god is playing the kithara for two pairs of female figures who hold branches of ivy: Louvre F256; *ABV* 371.152; BAPD 302147*; see **fig.57**.

³¹¹ Thebes R50.265; *ABV* 30.8; *Add.*² 2; BAPD 300340; see **fig.117**. That mortal kitharists hardly ever are shown high-stepping is one of the few differences between the satyrs and the komasts in the way that they worship the god.

³¹² Munich 1416; *ABV* 367.90, 391; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302085*; see **fig.158**.

³¹³ Castaldo (2009: 286-287, fig.2) describes this movement as the *sikinnis* or satyr dance suggesting that the komasts here are becoming satyr-like.

³¹⁴ Therefore 93.6% of the renditions of satyr kitharists illustrated in the BAPD show a strong sense of movement while playing: 74.5% show energetic movement, such as dancing, while 14.9% show the satyr high-stepping as he plays.

³¹⁵ A neck-amphora attributed to the Euphiletos Painter, c.520-510 BC: Copenhagen H572; *ABV* 322.14; *Para.* 143; *Add.*² 87; BAPD 301700*.

³¹⁶ New York 96.18.51; *ABV* 388.5; *Para.* 170; BAPD 302904*; see **fig.159**.

The kithara may have been the accompaniment for the dithyramb, and so the satyrs playing the instrument may well be a marker for performance of what Hedreen labels ‘an especially venerable form of choral song and dance.’³¹⁷ If this is the case, then the scenes which include satyrs playing the kithara are indeed showing a festival or ritual occurrence. Furthermore, the difference between scenes of Apollo or the mortal kithara player and the Dionysian kitharist may be another indicator that the satyrs were intended as a kind of humorous parody of what occurred in the ‘real’ celebrations or festivals in Athens. The satyrs, frequently balancing precariously on one leg as they play a large and unwieldy instrument, do rather add to the humour in the scene. The members of the Dionysian world have a tendency to take what is cultic or serious in mortal experience, and situate it in a raucous celebration.

Surprisingly, the same energetic movements are not found in representations of satyr or maenad pipers. While there are indeed some scenes of piping satyrs stepping vigorously, there are very few, if any, that show the satyrs performing the high-step while playing the aulos. Komasts do, though very rarely, perform the high-step while playing the pipes, as can be seen on a neck-amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter.³¹⁸ A large dinos stands in the centre of the scene with komasts placed around it holding wreaths and a piper performs the high-step to the right of dinos.³¹⁹ Nevertheless, these examples are extremely uncommon and it seems that the most a piper usually achieves while playing is to keep up with the procession, like the one represented on a neck-amphora attributed to the Affecter in Munich.³²⁰ Slightly more energetic is the wide stride occasionally seen in a *pompe* as on a hydria, the name vase of the group of Vatican 424.³²¹ This is about the limit of movement most mortal pipers show, and satyrs playing the aulos seem to follow this pattern as well. On the whole, then, even though many of the other figures in the scene may be dancing, the piper remains relatively still (in contrast to satyr kitharists), and this

³¹⁷ Hedreen (2007: 169, see also 168).

³¹⁸ Louvre CP10513; *Para.* 42; BAPD 350332*; see **fig.160**.

³¹⁹ A similar position is held by a piper on a Boiotian skyphos: Thebes, Rhitsona 31.187; Boardman (1998: fig. 444). He is shown amongst his fellow revellers, one of whom has a twisted foot, and all of whom have large phalloi. His step is even more exaggerated than the previous example.

³²⁰ Munich 1441; *ABV* 243.44, 238, 242; *Add.*² 62; BAPD 301332*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 452*; see **fig.4**.

³²¹ Vatican 424; *ABV* 359, 363.43; BAPD 302038*; see **fig.161**. A more energetic piper can be seen in a procession on a black-figure, white ground lekythos near the Athena Painter, where he almost seems to skip along: Paris, Musée Rodin 232.247; *ABL* 260.138; *ABV* 530.85; *Add.*² 132; BAPD 330874*. A satyr piping on a hydria signed by Pamphaios as potter and attributed to the Euphiletos Painter is depicted with his back heel off the ground: London 1849.6-20.11 (B300); *ABV* 324.39, 694; *Add.*² 88; BAPD 301725*; Maas and Snyder (1989: 75, fig.12).

is especially the case in scenes recognisable as choruses from drama. The professional piper required his breath to play the aulos and so could not exert himself overly much. A distinction is observed: while satyr kitharists are usually dancing, satyr pipers are not. In addition, other kithara players (Apollo, mortals at the Panathenaia) are not active while they play, and neither are mortal pipers. Perhaps this differentiation can be interpreted as a signal that the kithara played a slightly different role in the hands of satyrs than the pipes. The raucous dithyramb, sung to the sound of the kithara, once more presents itself as a possible candidate, although such a theory must, at this stage, remain unproved.

3.2.3 Komasts and satyrs as worshippers of Dionysos

The overall similarity between satyrs and komasts allows for an interpretation of these two types of figures to be regarded as worshippers of Dionysos,³²² albeit seen from two different perspectives: one mortal and one mythological. Since satyrs are found alongside the god in vase-painting, their identity as worshippers of the god can be established, and so the connection of the komasts to satyrs and Dionysos can be explored in order to test the hypothesis that the komasts are also worshippers.

The worship of Dionysos, beyond the usual sacrifice and procession, takes the form of drinking, dancing, singing, performing, and provoking laughter. Men drink at the contest of the Anthesteria, they dance, sing, and perform at the Rural and City Dionysia and the Lenaia,³²³ and joke and insult others during processions at the Anthesteria and Lenaia.³²⁴ Not only are satyrs close companions of the god, but they hold drinking vessels and wineskins, dance, sing, play instruments, perform and provide humour in vase-painting.

³²² Their rowdy character is central to the idea of wine as bringing out the character within as Teiresias points out in Euripides' *Bacchae* (314-318).

³²³ Lucian in *The Dance (de saltatio)* 22 has Lycinus say to Crato, 'As to the Dionysiac and Bacchic rites, I expect you are not waiting for me to tell you that every bit of them was dancing.' Dionysos was supposed to have overcome the Tyrrhenians, the Indians, and the Lydians through dance; Harmon (1936: 234-235). The Lenaia, one of the few festivals of Dionysos that is possibly identifiable in late black-figure (*contra* Nilsson who interprets these vases as relating to the Anthesteria; see above, subsection 3.1.3, p.136), is represented by the mask of the god hung on a stick or, more commonly, a column. The women or maenads (and occasionally satyrs) shown participating in this worship of the god are definitely dancing. On a black-figure skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter a mask of the god is seen in profile half way up a column. Under the mask hang robes, ivy branches spring from the top of the column, and a satyr on the left and a maenad on the right dance: Athens 498 (CC1001); *ABL* 251.44, 142; BAPD 4318*; see **fig.112**; on this vase see above, p.156n192.

³²⁴ See the summary of activities under each festival in section 3.1 above.

The satyrs honour Dionysos since they love and respond to the god's gift of wine,³²⁵ and through their imbibing of the god they engage in the activities that honour him. The satyrs can therefore be interpreted as ideal worshippers of the god.

The komasts, like the satyrs, drink, dance, sing, and are humorous and sexual or vulgar, which strongly encourages the view that they, too, are worshipping the god. Komasts are focused on their dancing, sometimes facilitated by their partaking in the wine, indicated by the vessel held by one of the participants or by a large dinos or krater placed centrally in the scene. McNally sees the thiasos as worshipping Dionysos through dance, noting the satyrs and maenads show 'the unfettered use of energy in the varying rhythms of worship and dance'.³²⁶ Whether mortal or divine, male or female, the followers and worshippers of Dionysos drink and dance. It is movement that seems most to please and honour the god.³²⁷ Dancing in the ancient Greek world was much more of a cultic activity than it is today,³²⁸ and both satyrs and komasts are well-known for their dancing on vases. One difference between satyrs and komasts is the presence of Dionysos in the same scene; the god is hardly ever shown alongside the komasts,³²⁹ but rather than undermining a connection between komasts and the god, it reinforces the black-figure separation of mortals and immortals in some types of scenes.³³⁰

These two kinds of worshippers come together in celebration of the god in scenes which show satyrs 'performing' in honour of the god: dancing, singing, playing instruments. Hedreen argues that satyrs began as 'masquerades' by men in honour of the god so all satyrs have in their very existence an element of dance and performance.³³¹ Therefore, the

³²⁵ In the *Iliad* (13.325) Dionysos is referred to as the joy of mortals and in the *Bacchae* (284-285) Teiresias describes him as 'a god himself, [he] is poured out in honour of the gods, so that he is the cause of man's blessings.' Trans. Davies (2005: 134).

³²⁶ McNally (1984: 123).

³²⁷ Teiresias says as much in Euripides' *Bacchae* (323-324) when he claims that he and Kadmos must dance for the god.

³²⁸ Oesterley discusses the dance in great detail, describing it as of 'extreme importance in the eyes of early man, who regarded it as indispensable at all the crises of life...who used it as one of the essentials of worship, who saw in it a means of propitiating whatever supernatural powers he believed in, a means of communion with the deity, a means of obtaining good crops, fruitful marriages, and of communicating with the departed...' (2002: 1). Homer places the dance with the most pleasurable things in life, and the ones in which men strive to be excellent: 'Since there is satiety in all things, in sleep, and love-making, in the loveliness of singing and the innocent dance. In all these things a man will strive sooner to win satisfaction than in war...' *Iliad* 13.635-639; Lattimore (1951: 288).

³²⁹ The Amasis Painter may be an exception to this, see below, p.207.

³³⁰ For a brief discussion of this, see chapter two, p.127.

³³¹ Hedreen (1992: 155) begins his chapter on satyrs in performance with, 'the view that silens in Athenian vase-painting predating ca. 520 B.C. are purely mythical beings, who have nothing to do with masquerades,

very presence of a satyr on a vase may have reminded an ancient viewer of the men who re-enacted the antics of these hybrid creatures. That the satyr is shown rather than the human impersonating the satyr is part of the vase-painting tradition: black-figure vase-painters like to show what the mask or costume is presenting, rather than the actor wearing the mask. In black-figure Dionysian scenes, therefore, the satyrs may well represent both the mythological characters and the human worshippers dressed up as the followers of the god. In the same way, the komasts on vases might have evoked the drinking, dancing and performing that was a part of Dionysian festivals, encouraging an association between the satyrs, the komasts, the god of wine, and festivals. In this case, a large number of vases are evocations of the festival events and celebratory atmosphere of the rituals of Dionysos.

must be abandoned'. The remainder of the chapter (155-170) is dedicated to expounding and proving this view. On pages 159-160 Hedreen makes it clear that once the satyrs had their own part in the tradition of vase-painting the idea of the image showing a particular performance becomes more unlikely. See also Hedreen (2007: 159-160).

3.3 Dionysian Elements

This section will be focused on some of the elements found in Dionysian scenes with the aim of supporting the theory that more festivals are evoked in black-figure than previously observed. In addition the relationship between satyrs and komasts as worshippers of the god of wine will be further explored. The vast number of scenes which include the god Dionysos necessitated this division into smaller, more manageable sections. Each of these subsections will be focused on one sign found in scenes of the thiasos or komast revel: the aulos (3.3.1), the goat (3.3.2), ivy and vine (3.3.3), and vessels associated with wine and viticulture (3.3.4), particularly the kantharos and oinochoe. Obviously, there are numerous other elements within Dionysian scenes, but the parameters of this thesis, focused as it is on comparing representations of different gods in Athens, did not allow for such a large study. Future work on these other aspects of Dionysian scenes will no doubt prove fruitful.

3.3.1 Aulos

The aulos, or pipes, can be found in many different types of scenes, including those showing athletes, choruses, and ritual.³³² This section endeavours to uncover further nuances and extra meanings supplied to Dionysian scenes through the inclusion of the pipes when these other scenes are taken into account. What such an exploration reveals is the association of the aulos with performance and ritual which in turn supports the hypothesis that the scenes of satyrs and maenads with pipes can be connected with festivals.

3.3.1.1 The occurrences of the aulos in vase-painting

Overall, the pipes are depicted in scenes that do not include Dionysos more often than in scenes that do. As an overall average, the pipes are in scenes with mortals in 68.1% of all instances in black-figure in the BAPD. Even in the period when Dionysos is the most frequently chosen subject in vase-painting, the middle period of black-figure, the pipes are

³³² Michaelides (1978: 42) notes that the aulos 'was used in many ceremonies, especially those in honour of Dionysus, in processions, in the drama, at the National Games, at the banquets; it accompanied most of the dances (sacred, social or folk), it regulated the movements of rowers...and the marching of soldiers.'

still mainly shown in mortal scenes (62.9%).³³³ What this indicates is that the aulos was associated more with mortal activities than with the Dionysian sphere even while other markers such as the kantharos and oinochoe were embraced and taken over by Dionysos and his followers.³³⁴ By far the most popular use for the pipes in black-figure is at a komos or symposion which accounts for 28.8% of all scenes that include pipes in the BAPD; the next largest group shows Dionysos with satyrs and/or maenads (13.1%).³³⁵ The fact that these two categories are the largest when it comes to scenes that include the aulos further emphasises the similarity between these two groups. The same items are found in the scenes, the same musical instruments are played, and the same dance movements are performed. Yet they remain quite separate. This does imply that these two scene-types should be interpreted in relation to one another, rather than viewed as the same: they are reflections one of the other, one a mortal context, the other mythological.

Apart from during symposia, the pipes were also played alongside athletes practising or competing. These scenes of pipers with athletes provides a little more support for the theory that decisions made for the wider city did in fact lead to some changes in representation or choice of subject matter. To demonstrate this, a comparison can be made between the percentage of pipers in symposion scenes and those in athletic examples. During the sixth century, the number of vases on which komasts or symposiasts are accompanied by a piper remain around the 10-12% mark of all scenes of komoi or symposia.³³⁶ In contrast, the athletic scenes increase dramatically in both the total number of instances and the percentage of piper to non-piper examples. Compared with only one example in the BAPD from each of the periods 600-550 and 575-525 of a piper in the athletic scenes, there are 24 from the middle period and 30 from the late period. Perhaps more importantly, the *percentage* of pipers in athletic scenes increases five-fold from the early to the middle period and nearly doubles from there into the late period.³³⁷ This

³³³ 643 instances were collected from the BAPD for 'pipe*' and black-figure. Pipes are depicted in 438 mortal scenes (68.1%), 184 Dionysian scenes (28.6%), and 21 other scenes (3.3%).

³³⁴ See below, subsection 3.3.4, p.205.

³³⁵ 185 scenes show the pipes being used at a komos or symposion in the BAPD (28.8%). The next largest group is Dionysos with satyrs and maenads which has 84 instances (13.1%).

³³⁶ In the four periods specified in the BAPD (600-550, 575-525, 550-500, 525-475) the data for the komos scenes which include pipers are as follows: 14 out of 180 (7.8%), 22 out of 160 (13.75%), 24 out of 271 (8.9%) and 41 out of 242 (16.9%). The data for symposion scenes are: 4 out of 18 (22.2%), 8 out of 88 (9%), 30 out of 251 (12%) and 52 out of 600 (8.7%).

³³⁷ The percentage of vases which show a piper among the athletes in the 575-525 period is only 0.7% (1 out of 145 examples), from the 550-500 period is 9.9% (24 out of 243), and from the late period is 10.1% (30 out of 297). Although these numbers may be small, there is still a significant increase demonstrated here.

surprising increase might be explained when the reorganisation of the Panathenaia is taken into account and the festival and contests therefore become far more visible and celebrated.³³⁸ On the other hand, the komos and symposion scenes were already established, so unlike the areas that underwent a dramatic change, such as the Panathenaia, there is no general rising trend in the statistics for the pipers in these scenes.

3.3.1.2 *Phorbeia*

The aulos was also used in musical contests, festival processions, and performances. One of the signifiers for these situations is the *phorbeia* or strap that wraps around the head of the piper from the mouthpiece of the aulos.³³⁹ Landels discusses the purpose of the strap, explaining that it was used to help purse the lips in order to squeeze the reed over a long period of time and therefore was used in competitions or performances. When it is represented, he suggests, it is indicative of higher skill, probably, therefore, a professional player.³⁴⁰ This conclusion is supported by the vase-paintings, as is shown on a Type B amphora from approximately 550 BC.³⁴¹ The obverse shows a central piper, the *phorbeia* clearly incised, after whom follow three draped youths. The piper and his troupe seem to be approaching a large tripod. To the right of the tripod stand a draped man and youth. The tripod is usually indicative of a prize and therefore the competitive context for this scene is emphasised.³⁴² On a neck-amphora from a little earlier, c.560 BC, is a youth who plays the aulos (again the *phorbeia* is carefully indicated) for two draped men and an enthralled goose.³⁴³ Although the youth does not stand on a platform this does appear to be some form of performance, and the *phorbeia* adds support to that.

³³⁸ Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the presence of a piper in athletic scenes is not as common as might be expected if the gymnasts and competitors trained and competed to music. As Shapiro points out, we have only two Panathenaic amphorae which include a piper alongside competitors, Shapiro (1992a: 56, 200n24); one of these examples is attributed to the Kleophrades Painter: Taranto 18.12.1959 (115474); BAPD 8795; Bentz (1998: pl.53).

³³⁹ I believe the earliest depiction of a *phorbeia* is on the Chigi Jug, c.650-640; the young piper between the ranks of armed men is shown with a dark line across his cheeks and hair: Villa Giulia 22679; BAPD 9004217*.

³⁴⁰ Landels (1999: 31-32); see also West (1992: 89).

³⁴¹ Lucerne, Market; BAPD 24051*; see **fig.67**.

³⁴² Suhr (1971: 217) gives three uses of the tripod: mantic or prophetic, votive offering, and prizes. See also chapter two, p.96.

³⁴³ Kleimachos Potter: Athens 559; *ABV* 85.1; *Add.*² 23; BAPD 300788*; see **fig. 162**; Shapiro (1992a: 64 [fig.41]) argues against the interpretation of this example as a very early 'proto-Panathenaic' vase and evidence for the flute contests before the 566 BC Panathenaic Games. Nevertheless, he does agree that it can be possibly counted among the earliest representations commemorating the festival after the reorganisation, since the two sides can be associated with Panathenaic activities: piper on the obverse and a horse-rider and trainer on the reverse (1989a: 42 [pl.20a]).

Even for competitive athletic events rather than musical contests the piper may wear a *phorbeia* as is shown on the Panathenaic amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles. An athlete with two striking whirligig shields appears to be leaping onto the rump of a pair of horses as a youth plays the pipes (*phorbeia* incised) and the seated audience gesticulates and an inscription praises the gymnast.³⁴⁴ The *phorbeia* is certainly used for some theatrical or choral performances. A lekythos in the Kerameikos attributed to the Theseus Painter depicts a piper dressed in white playing for two helmeted warriors riding on leaping dolphins³⁴⁵ while a bearded aulos player leads two draped men wearing cock masks on a Type B amphora in Berlin.³⁴⁶ In choral scenes that are not seemingly associated with drama, the piper may wear the *phorbeia*. A pyxis fragment attributed to the Burgon Group in the first half of the sixth century shows two pipers (each with an incised *phorbeia*) back to back, playing for dancing women who are holding hands.³⁴⁷ This fragment was found at Brauron and so may well relate to cultic activity in honour of Artemis there. On an unattributed Type B amphora in Berlin from the middle of the sixth century, a piper, wearing a white torso suit with added erect phallus, plays for a vigorously dancing man and, rather incongruously, a large bee.³⁴⁸ The costume of the piper (the dancer is naked) does rather suggest a ritual or cultic event, possibly related to the komos.³⁴⁹

Very occasionally satyrs are also shown with the *phorbeia* and this may be an indication of the performance that lies behind the satyr dance. That the situation is probably cultic can be argued from the other instances of the *phorbeia* used by mortals as specified above. The satyrs then are placed, even if only rarely, in the sphere of cult or festival. The François Vase depicts the Return of Hephaistos with satyrs (labelled silens) and nymphs

³⁴⁴ Paris, Cab. Méd. 243; BAPD 1047*; see **fig.163**. Shapiro (1989a: 33 [pl.12c-d]) labels this vase a special commission presumably in honour of the figure with two shields; Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006: 18 [fig.7]) notes the gesture that accompanies the inscription praising the tumbler (the figure with two shields) must be one of appreciation and admiration, which supports Shapiro's suggestion. See also Lissarrague (2001: 76-77 [figs.62-63]) on this vase.

³⁴⁵ Athens, Kerameikos 5671; ABV 518.2; *Add.*² 129; BAPD 330667; see **fig.164**.

³⁴⁶ Berlin F1830; BAPD 2698*; see **fig.122**; for more information see above, p.164n230. On choral scenes more generally, see above, p.164 and chapter two, subsection 2.2.5, p.80.

³⁴⁷ Brauron 526; *Para.* 33.5bis; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 350213*.

³⁴⁸ Berlin 1684; BAPD 16901*.

³⁴⁹ There are very few komast scenes which show pipes being played with the aid of a *phorbeia*. For one example of the *phorbeia* in use during what appears to be a komos, see a neck-amphora attributed to the Tyrrhenian Group, Castellani Painter, on which a piper dances to the right of a large column krater while a youth probably in costume (his belly is distended and reddened) raises both hands over the central krater: Louvre CP10513; *Para.* 42; BAPD 350332*; see **fig.160**. This may suggest that the komos scenes were more informal or spontaneous than the satyr performances and scenes.

forming the god's retinue. One of the satyrs plays the aulos and a *phorbeia* is clearly visible.³⁵⁰ Beyond this example on the François Vase, there are only a few cases of satyrs playing the pipes with the *phorbeia*. For instance on a fragment from a Type A Cup signed by Timenor as potter, c.520 BC, an ithyphallic satyr under the handle raises his pipes to play, although the rest of the subject matter is not known.³⁵¹ And on a later pelike attributed to the Theseus Painter, two satyrs play the pipes with the aid of the *phorbeia* as they walk to right; two goats walk in the background.³⁵² The Theseus Painter may also have depicted aulos-playing satyrs using the *phorbeia* in scenes that are cultic beyond doubt. The scenes of the ship-cart procession show Dionysos in a wheeled boat accompanied by satyrs, at least one of whom plays the aulos with the *phorbeia* indicated.³⁵³ This insertion of mythological characters onto a mortal situation, particularly for cultic activities, may suggest that there was at times a blurring between the 'reality' of performance of men dressed as satyrs for a chorus or religious event and the 'myth' of the vase-painting. It seems, therefore, that those satyrs and maenads that play the pipes on vases may have had their basis in the re-enactment of cult or choral performances but the vase-painters have chosen to portray them playing the instrument without the *phorbeia* to emphasise the mythological level represented on the vase.

3.3.1.3 Dance and music

Satyrs and komasts are accompanied at times by kithara players and pipers, and in response to the music the followers of the god dance. The significance of dance as a form of honouring the god must be borne in mind when looking at Dionysian and komast scenes with a view to discovering further instances of the evocation of festival practice. Even the gods themselves took pleasure in the dance as can be seen in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*.³⁵⁴ The importance of the dance to the ancient Greeks can be seen in the large number of late geometric vases that show dances, consisting of male or female

³⁵⁰ Volute-krater signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 567*.

³⁵¹ Louvre CA1778; *ABV* 201, 689; *Add.*² 54; BAPD 302599*; **see fig.165**; the interior displays a large gorgoneion: *LIMC* 4 Gorgo, Gorgones 42*.

³⁵² London, Market, Sotheby's 12.6.1967, p.60; *Para.* 257; BAPD 351534*; **see fig.166**.

³⁵³ Two skyphoi, one attributed to the Theseus Painter, c.500 BC, the other in his manner, depict the satyrs using the *phorbeia*: London 1836.2-24.62 (B79); *ABL* 250.30; BAPD 4319*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 828*; *TheoCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 149a*; **see fig.167**; for this vase see Gebauer (2002: 87-90, cat. P43, fig.42); and Bologna 16516; *ABL* 253.15; BAPD 4321*; **see fig.53** and above, p.142n98. The reverse of London 1836.2-24.62 shows a procession to sacrifice, and although the vase is damaged and the aulos is missing, there does seem to be a *phorbeia* depicted incised across the piper's beard.

³⁵⁴ *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 186-206.

participants, or sometimes both. Many of these are very controlled with men or women holding hands and all moving in one direction together.³⁵⁵ There are some, though, that do show more vigorous dancers. For instance an Attic LGIB kantharos in Copenhagen shows dancers moving more emphatically to the sound of the kithara.³⁵⁶ On one side at the right women carrying vases on their heads and holding branches walk towards a kithara player, while on the other side on the right three men dance towards another kitharist. The front man leaps high in the air and the other two men appear to be clapping their hands and both have their back heels off the ground. The penchant for geometric artists to depict scenes of important transitions, particularly those that relate to the use of the vase, such as funerary commemoration, suggests that the dances too can be viewed as reflections of an important moment, probably of cultic significance. The placement of dancers on vessels that are used in a sympotic situation is also relevant, linking the Dionysian sphere to cultic dancing. Both satyrs and komasts are dancers; perhaps this may provide a connection between them and situate them in cult and performance.

One of the remarkable things about the geometric dance scenes is the prevalence of the kithara or lyre as well as the pipes. Of the ten dance scenes from before the arrival of black-figure proper illustrated in Boardman's *Early Greek Vase Painting*, only two show pipe players providing the music. Two do not depict a musician (although in some cases the scenes are fragmentary) while the remaining six all show a lyre or kithara.³⁵⁷ From these early scenes more can be learnt about ritual dances that can be applied to the later scenes of komasts or satyrs and maenads. Of obvious importance to the early painters was the use of branches or twigs in the dance. Some of the most famous early examples of dancers show twigs or wreaths being held in their joined hands. For instance the dancers on a Protoattic hydria attributed to the Analatos Painter hold hands with large branches protruding from each clasped pair of hands.³⁵⁸ Both men and women are depicted, although the men are shown on one side of the kitharist and the women on the other.

³⁵⁵ When the dancing goddesses are described in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, they too hold hands: 'The lovely-haired Graces and the cheerful Horai, and Harmonia, Hebe, and Zeus' daughter Aphrodite, dance, holding each other's wrists.' 194-196; West (2003: 86-87).

³⁵⁶ Copenhagen 727; BAPD 1013070*; Boardman (1998: fig.65.1-2). Boardman (1998: 27) calls the activities represented on this kantharos 'games or cult'.

³⁵⁷ Boardman (1998: figs.51, 65, 84, 99, 105, 126, 131, 188, 189, 226).

³⁵⁸ Athens 313; Boardman (1998: fig.188). See also the women (indicated as such by the depiction of vases on their heads) on the LGIB kantharos in Copenhagen mentioned in p.189n356 above: Copenhagen 727; BAPD 1013070*. Men are depicted holding hands with branches on an amphora in Tübingen: Tübingen 2657; Maas and Snyder (1989: 20, fig.7a). On branches see chapter two, p.74.

Their dance movements are hard to gauge since it appears from the image that they are simply progressing in a line rather than dancing energetically. Wreaths are also shown in this same manner, as on an Euboean LGII neck-amphora from Eretria.³⁵⁹ The women depicted in this scene dance to right to the sound of the lyre and the singing it accompanies (the player is shown with his mouth open). The women on the ends of the dance line hold branches while those in the middle hold wreaths in their joined hands. Branches are related quite clearly to ritual, and particularly to the demonstration of the power of the god or the worshipper.³⁶⁰

The geometric dances tend to be presented in a similar way to the choruses as shown in black-figure. A chorus can be identified in a scene which shows the participants in a similar pose and costume in the presence of a piper.³⁶¹ A clear example of this is shown on the Siana Cup in Amsterdam attributed to the Heidelberg Painter.³⁶² The piper stands centrally on both sides of the vase, flanked by two groups of three dancers, all wearing the same costume and performing the same dance step. By contrast, the dancers in komos scenes and the satyrs and maenads in Dionysian scenes tend to be depicted in many varied poses.³⁶³ For instance, the komasts on a little master band cup in Copenhagen show a variety of poses;³⁶⁴ so too do the satyrs and maenads on the neck of an amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter.³⁶⁵ McNally describes the dances of the satyrs and maenads: ‘each dancer improvises vigorously...in response to the steps and gestures of the dancer next in line. The action is therefore extreme but controlled’.³⁶⁶ Dionysos as the god of wine loves spontaneity and movement, so the satyrs and maenads, as well as the komasts are shown dancing to please him. This difference between a chorus of identical participants and the

³⁵⁹ Eretria 3275; Boardman (1998: fig.84).

³⁶⁰ See Burkert (1979b: 43) who claims that the Bacchic dancers use the branches to exaggerate their dance movements and therefore show their energy in honour of the god.

³⁶¹ See, for example, Hedreen (2007: 162): a chorus ‘is characterized by uniformity of body movement, uniformity of costume, and the presence of an aulos player, the three recurrent features of Archaic representations of *choroi*.’

³⁶² Amsterdam 3356; *ABV* 66.57; *Para.* 27; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300600*; see **fig.48** and above, p.163n225.

³⁶³ See Smith (2010: 10-108) and McNally (1984: 117) for the different gestures and poses found in komos and Dionysian scenes.

³⁶⁴ Dated to c.550-540 BC: Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Mus. 76; BAPD 9933*; see **fig.168**. Smith (2010: 98 [fig.19b]) points out that while there is a piper shown in this scene, ‘Little Master cup painters have little concern for music’.

³⁶⁵ Berlin (lost) 3210; *ABV* 151.21, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310449*; see **fig.169**. Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 134 [fig.69]) discusses the nudity of the women alongside the satyrs calling them *hetairai* while the clothed female figures also present in similar scene she labels nymphs. Nevertheless, they are female companions of the god and they are dancing; this would suggest a reference to maenads at the very least; see Neils (2000) on *hetairai* and maenads.

³⁶⁶ McNally (1984: 117).

spontaneous satyrs and komasts can be explained if performance is separated from choral activity. The singing and dancing of a chorus is a performance, but not all performances are choruses. The satyrs and komasts dance (and presumably sing) in a manner that pleases the god of chaotic revelry; if the komos procession is taken as one inspiration for these joyous celebrations as shown on vases, then the variation in the dance positions of the komasts and satyrs does not undermine the theory that these worshippers of the god have their basis in performance.

3.3.2 Goat

This section will analyse the vase-painting examples which depict a goat to ascertain to what extent the goat can be seen as a signifier for the god himself or for festival practice in his honour, as well as comparing scenes of satyrs with goats and komasts with goats to find further connections between these two Dionysian worshippers.

3.3.2.1 Dionysos and the goat

Dionysos is occasionally accompanied by a goat in black-figure scenes,³⁶⁷ but before the association with the god becomes obvious to our eyes, the goat was used simply as a decorative motif. It was Lydos and his circle that really seem to have taken the goat out of the frieze and into the picture field. The earliest renditions of goats alongside humans, gods, or satyrs are from the 560s BC, as for example on the dinos in the Louvre, the name vase of the Painter of Louvre E876.³⁶⁸ This dinos depicts satyrs, one playing pipes alongside a goat, Hephaistos riding a mule, and further around the shoulder, a scene of komasts around a large krater and symposiasts reclining.³⁶⁹ The god of wine is not actually present, but many other elements are, such as the vessels used for drinking in the

³⁶⁷ The goat is present in 103 scenes of the 4071 which include Dionysos in black-figure, only 2.53%. This number does not include scenes without the god.

³⁶⁸ Louvre E876; *ABV* 90.1, 683; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300837*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 44*; see **fig.170**. Korshak (1987: 11 [cat.107, ill.17]) observes that this dinos illustrates the only frontal faced reclining symposiast in black-figure as far as can be ascertained.

³⁶⁹ On the scene of the Return of Hephaistos depicted on the shoulder, see Peirce (1993: 241 [fig.10a-d]). Hedreen (2004: 42 [pl.4c]) points out that on this dinos the satyrs in the Return scene are leading a goat and a bull as mortals would in a sacrifice; his premise is that the representations of the Return are evocative of the processions that would occur in Athens in honour of Dionysos. Bérard and Bron (1989: 137) comment on the closeness established between the satyrs and komasts on this dinos. Schöne (1987: 26) discusses the juxtaposition of the thiasos, komos, and Return of Hephaistos, noting the similarity in dance moves between those in the thiasos and the komos. These views all connect the satyrs to mortal worshippers of the god, a proposal that does seem to be supported by this particular dinos, and by other scenes which show the komasts and satyrs acting in similar ways.

komast and symposion scenes. On this particular early vase, Dionysos is associated with the goat as is demonstrated by the addition of the goat to a depiction of Dionysos' most famous mythological exploit, the Return of Hephaistos. The juxtaposition of the scenes, the symposion, komos, and Return places the goat very much in the world of Dionysos and his worship.³⁷⁰

On the whole, vase-painters appear to associate the goat closely with Dionysos:³⁷¹ when the scenes which include a goat in a major picture field alongside humans, satyrs or gods are analysed, 77.9% show Dionysos, satyrs, maenads or a combination of these.³⁷² Of the scenes remaining, many can still be connected to the god.³⁷³ Two scenes which include seemingly mortal activities show a goat in a scene with a background of grapevines,³⁷⁴ for instance, and of the eight komos or symposion scenes which include goats, two show a

³⁷⁰ Smith (2010: 96) argues that there is not a particularly strong connection between the komos and drinking and singing as 'attributes of drink and song are not commonly included in komast scenes from the third quarter of the century,' and that on this vase (Louvre E876) in particular the scenes may be juxtaposed but they are kept quite separate (2010: 112-113); *contra* Steinhart (2004: 26) who suggests the composition of the scene suggests it should be read as one entity. Certainly the komasts do not mingle with the satyrs, but this can be just as easily explained by pointing out the desire of vase-painters to keep mythological figures separate from mortal figures in scenes that are unambiguous.

³⁷¹ Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 118) goes so far as to suggest that the young god shown with goats in Minoan-Mycenaean art is Dionysos. Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 33-34) speculates that the drinking horn, Dionysos' favoured drinking vessel until the middle of the sixth century, may conceivably be a goat's horn, which would connect Dionysos to the animal, even if the goat itself were not present. It seems unlikely, though, that a goat's horn would be used over the more practical and common bovine horn. In images, the god's drinking horn, when it is depicted with care, is often too large and too wide to be a goat's horn. Take, for instance, the drinking horn Dionysos holds in the interior of Exekias' Munich eye-cup. In this scene, the drinking horn is quite clearly smooth and thick at the top: Munich 8729; *ABV* 146.21; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAPD 310403*; **see fig.7**. Compare this drinking horn with the horns of the goats as shown in the predella on another of Exekias' vases, a neck-amphora in Berlin (although the predella is attributed to another hand, see *ABV* 144.5; Mackay [2010: 60]). These goats have carefully crenulated horns which are long and narrow, quite unsuitable for drinking out of: Berlin (lost) F1718; *ABV* 144.5; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310387*.

³⁷² There are 213 examples of the goat with humans, satyrs or gods. For the purposes of this analysis I have excluded the depiction of goats in a frieze, or presented alone in a major picture field (there are 51 examples from the BAPD of the latter). 166 of the examples of scenes which include goats in the picture field have Dionysos or satyrs and maenads in them (77.9%).

³⁷³ Some are not associated with the god as far as can be ascertained; these scenes are often late. Several show the goat alongside Hermes as for example, on one Panathenaic amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter which depicts Herakles mounting a platform while playing the kithara flanked by Athena and Hermes; behind the latter stands the goat: Munich SL459; *ABV* 369.121; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302116*; **see fig.100**.

³⁷⁴ A Type A Cup attributed to the Painter of Munich 2100, from c.510 BC, shows snake-women in a vineyard on the obverse and a goat in a vineyard on the reverse: Munich 2100 (J468); *ABV* 208.1, 206.15, 689; *Para.* 95; *Add.*² 56; BAPD 302659* (interior only); *LIMC* Supplementum Monstra 19*; see Kaeser (1990: 328-329, fig.56.6); and a skyphos attributed to the Pistias Class shows a youth leading a goat to right with a grapevine covering the entire background of the scene: Brussels R283; *ABV* 627.2; BAPD 306384*. This depiction is much more than simply a placement of the animals in amongst the grapevines, since the vine was closely connected with the goat. Later literature describes the goat which was under the care of Staphylos; the animal kept leaving the herd and returning in very good spirits. This led Staphylos to discover the vine. See Otto's discussion of the association of the goat with the grapevine (1965: 167-168).

Dionysian scene on the other side.³⁷⁵ This is a further piece of evidence that may help to establish a relationship between komasts and the god.

The goat also accompanies the god when he is in the company of other deities, as on a stamnos in Oxford that is akin to the Antimenes Painter, c.520-510 BC.³⁷⁶ In this scene Apollo plays his kithara for four female figures, one of whom holds torches aloft, while Dionysos (grapevine) and Hephaistos (double-axe) look on. A goat stands behind Dionysos and a deer is positioned behind the female figures to the right of Apollo. On a later neck-amphora in Los Angeles, c.510 BC, Dionysos (ivy), with a goat behind him, is joined by Athena (shield, spear) and Hermes (winged boots, petasos).³⁷⁷

The association of the goat with the festivals of the god, particularly the City Dionysia, is attested to in literature, but there is some debate about the dating. Pickard-Cambridge collates the literary evidence for a goat as the prize and/or a part of the procession at the City Dionysia, and the earliest examples are all from the third century.³⁷⁸ He writes that there does not seem any particular reason to doubt the presence of the goat at the City Dionysia, although he is careful to include the view that the goat-prize as propounded in literature was a Hellenistic invention.³⁷⁹ What he does state, however, is that there is justification for assuming that the goat sacrifice was a part of the Rural Dionysia, the festivities held in the Attic villages.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁵ A neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group shows a woman holding krotala and riding a large goat, flanked by two dancing men. Ivy branches spread out across the background. On the obverse Dionysos sits between two satyrs playing kitharai: Paris, Market; *ABV* 374.199; BAPD 302194*; **see fig.171**. The other example is on a cup also attributed to the Leagros Group and shows in the interior a draped male figure, which Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 186 [fig.114-115]) suggests may be the god himself, reclining on a kline playing a lyre, while a goat crouches beneath the table. The exterior of the cup is decorated with grape vines and scenes on both obverse and reverse that show Dionysos seated between dancing maenads: Villa Giulia 773; *ABV* 381.298, 381, 696; *Para.* 164; *Add.*² 101; BAPD 302379*; **see fig.172**.

³⁷⁶ Oxford 511 (G271); *ABV* 282.20; *Para.* 123; *Add.*² 73; BAPD 320240*; *LIMC* 4 Hephaistos 174*; **see fig.173**. On a neck-amphora in the manner of the Antimenes Painter, c.520 BC, Dionysos (kantharos, ivy) is shown with Athena, who plays the kithara, and a goat is depicted behind him in a similar manner to the stamnos: Berlin F1846; BAPD 6096*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 500*. Schauenburg (1979: 73) cites this vase as one example of Athena playing a musical instrument; goddesses playing the kithara are quite rare in black-figure, although Artemis occasionally will take up the lyre or kithara. This scene of Athena and Dionysos is therefore a deliberate pairing; Apollo is the usual candidate for musical accompaniment but he is passed over in favour of Athena. On this scene, see Mommsen (1980: 41-42).

³⁷⁷ Los Angeles A5933.50.26; BAPD 4643*; **see fig.174**.

³⁷⁸ Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 69). The sources he cites are *Marmor Parium* (*FGrH* 2B, 239); Dioscorides *Anthologia Palatina* vii 410; Plutarch, *de cupiditate divitiarum* viii 527d. See also Smith (2010: 115).

³⁷⁹ Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 77, 123).

³⁸⁰ Pickard-Cambridge (1962: 123).

It is apparent, therefore, that the goat is connected to Dionysos, and probably also to the City and Rural Dionysia. Beyond a mere companion of the god, in black-figure the goat may have encoded the rituals in honour of the god. Smith maintains that ‘the goat has established connections with Dionysian cult, and was used both as a sacrificial animal, and as a prize for victors in the Dionysia.’³⁸¹ While it is certain that the goat was sacrificed on some occasions, it also seems to represent more than simply a sacrificial animal. Many deities are depicted with an animal almost exclusively associated with them. Athena with her owl is one example, or Apollo and Artemis and the deer.³⁸² Neither the deer nor the owl is sacrificed in honour of the god (as far as we are aware), and so must serve another function in the scene. Mention of the goat in literature is relatively rare,³⁸³ but when it is referred to it serves either as a sacrificial victim,³⁸⁴ or as a symbol of licentiousness and filth, particularly in comedy,³⁸⁵ and these attributes would seem quite apt when combined with the god Dionysos, his effect on his followers and the ritual associated with him.

There is reason to see the animals associated with a god as reflecting an aspect (or several) of their ‘personality’ or sphere of influence. The owl reflects Athena’s wisdom and her Athenian loyalties, while the deer evokes Apollo’s peaceful, aristocratic, ephebe status.³⁸⁶ It seems that the goat plays a dual role in the scenes with Dionysos: he (for it is almost always a billy goat)³⁸⁷ is a marker for a ritual celebration in honour of Dionysos as the god’s favoured sacrificial victim, and he is a representation of the effect of Dionysos on his followers. The goat is considered lascivious, and therefore is not out of place in depictions of komoi or dances with the satyrs as can be seen on the vases. Equally, the goat could be interpreted as a reflection of the animalistic qualities of those who drink to excess, be they mythological satyrs or human komasts. As the embodiment of those

³⁸¹ Smith (2010: 115).

³⁸² Hamdorf (1990: 401) describes Dionysos’ relationship with the goat as the same as Athena’s with her owl and Artemis’ with her deer.

³⁸³ Using the *TLG* online, a search of τράγο- produced fewer than 100 results from the periods up until the fourth century. The goat was most commonly mentioned in comedy, Aesop’s fables, and Aristotle’s *Historia Animalium*.

³⁸⁴ As is shown in Aristophanes’ *Birds* 959 and 971 and in *Wealth* 820. Herodotus (2.46.1-15) notes that the Egyptians do not sacrifice goats, either male or female, because they place Pan among the Twelve Olympians. His mentioning of this fact suggests that this lack of sacrificing goats is surprising, and different from the Greeks.

³⁸⁵ See for instance Kario in Aristophanes’ *Wealth* 295 who asks the chorus to imitate the bleating and actions of the stinking and lascivious goat, and later in 313 when the chorus leader threatens Kirke with a dung-covered nose like a goat.

³⁸⁶ On the connection between Apollo and the deer, see chapter two, p.57.

³⁸⁷ As Otto (1965: 167) points out ‘the he-goat is one of the most loyal associates of the god.’

characteristics, it also makes an appropriate sacrificial victim which is clearly linked to the god. Isler-Kerényi discusses several scenes that include Dionysos and a goat, and her view is that the animal provides a clear indication that a ritual is being depicted.³⁸⁸ Smith also comments on the goat's connection with the cult of Dionysos, and the animal's part in processions in honour of the god.³⁸⁹ The goat would therefore be a visual component of some of the *pompai* held in honour of the god in the streets of Athens, so its appearance on vases may have led the viewer to be reminded of the festivals during which a goat was led in a procession for the god.

It is quite conceivable that the goat to some extent stands in for the god, although during the sixth century the sacrificing of the animal is unlikely to have encouraged the Athenians to envisage Dionysos as being sacrificed. According to Apollodorus, Zeus turned Dionysos into a goat to hide him from Hera's anger after Ino failed to keep the god a secret,³⁹⁰ and the young wine god travels in this form to the nymphs and satyrs who care for him. In some scenes, Dionysos is absent, but a goat is present and in these instances the animal may be understood as a marker for the god. On the reverse of a neck-amphora, the name vase of the group of London B265, dated to the end of the sixth century BC, Hephaistos (axe) is shown on a mule accompanied by a satyr and a goat.³⁹¹ Dionysos is not present in this scene, although he is depicted on the obverse of the vase. While it is possible that the goat may be intended as a sacrificial victim in this scene if a re-

³⁸⁸ Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 116) sees scenes which depict Dionysos and Ariadne side by side as ritual, with the presence of the goat in three of the four an indication of a specific festival. She also claims the act of riding on a goat can be seen as a ritual action (2007a: 121, 121n84), and when discussing the neck-amphora attributed to the Affecter in Munich the goat and ram as sacrificial victims create 'a clearly ritual picture' (Isler-Kerényi's italics; 2007a: 147-148); Munich 1441; *ABV* 243.44, 238, 242; *Add.*² 62; BAPD 301332*; see **fig.4**. Shapiro (1989a: 96) points out that although it is tempting to read the two sides of the vase together as some ritual of Dionysos, the sacrificial procession contains nothing to support such an interpretation; his suggestion is to see the sacrifice as in honour of Demeter if the twigs the men carry can be understood as ears of corn. However, Gebauer (2002: 43 [cat.P9, fig.9]) notes that the twigs can be carried for other deities: Athena is one example, while Connelly (2008: 187 [189, fig.2 colour]) labels the woman behind the altar as 'a priestess of Dionysos'. The Affecter has left us with some enigmatic scenes; here I believe Shapiro is warranted in his caution, although his identification of the priestess with the cult of Demeter is not entirely convincing either. On the altar in this scene see Aktseli (1996: 14-15 [85, cat.Rc7, pl.3.1]). Connelly (2007: 189-190 [fig.6.16, colour plate 11]) describes the small size of the priestess behind the altar as the Affecter's clever use of the space, but this relegation of the altar and priestess to the area under the handles somewhat undermines the importance of the priestess. The men bringing sacrifice are the focus here, rather than the priestess; perhaps, therefore, for the Affecter on this vase, the completion of the sacrifice with all the correct paraphernalia is the key to a favourable outcome, thus the focus must be on the mortal procession not the waiting deity.

³⁸⁹ Smith (2010: 115, 115n260).

³⁹⁰ The god was turned into a baby goat and taken to Nysa in Asia, where he was raised by the nymphs: [Apollodorus], *Bibliotheca* 3.4.3; Gantz (1993: 112).

³⁹¹ London B265; *Para.* 142.1; BAPD 351052*; *LIMC* 4 Hephaistos 157g*; see **fig.145**.

enactment of the Return is a part of some festival or ritual,³⁹² it seems more likely that the goat is there as a marker for Dionysos, or at the very least, the Dionysian sphere of activity. Dionysos may also be suggested through the depiction of a goat in a later scene attributed to the Athena Painter.³⁹³ Warriors, dressed in helmets and himatia, are shown dancing with krotala to the accompaniment of a piper on both sides of the skyphos, while a goat is depicted under one handle. The case for seeing the goat as a sacrifice is clearer in this case because of the similarity here to drama and the chorus, but even so the god is still being evoked through his signature animal. Certainly the owl can occasionally stand in for the goddess, as is shown on a hydria attributed to the Theseus Painter in Uppsala, c.500-490 BC.³⁹⁴ In this image an owl stands on an altar as a draped youth leads a sheep up for sacrifice; the owl is not to be sacrificed and therefore must be taken as encoding this sacred space as belong to the goddess.³⁹⁵

3.3.2.2 Riding on the goat

One rather curious circumstance found on vases, usually taken as ritual, is the riding of the goat by komasts, satyrs or maenads, or even by the god himself. While mules and bulls are also shown with riders, the goat seems a little unusual as a choice of mount. This riding on a goat is also a phenomenon that seems to cross the mortal/immortal boundary as it is found in Dionysian scenes and komos scenes. The earliest examples in the BAPD can be dated to around the middle of the sixth century.³⁹⁶ Isler-Kerényi sees the examples of satyrs riding on goats (or mules) as ritual occasions, and Smith likewise argues similarly for cult.³⁹⁷ However, the very first scenes of goat-riding are definitely set in the mythological world of Dionysos. In fact, Dionysos is depicted riding the goat between eyes on a cup from the middle of the sixth century,³⁹⁸ while the other early depiction is

³⁹² On this idea of processions of the Return reflecting festival practice, see Hedreen (2004). Komasts sometimes show up in early scenes of the Return, and oddly can be shown reflecting Hephaistos' deformity: Smith (2010: 28-29). On the padded dancers with a twisted foot, see Walsh (2009: 108) and Seeberg (1971: 74-75) who argue that the deformity is a part of the costume or dance; *contra* Garland (1995: 113-114) who suggests that cripples were a part of the entertainment at symposia.

³⁹³ Skyphos: Pulsano, Dr. Guarini 48; BAPD 15467; Castaldo (2009: fig.9); see **fig.127** and above, p.166n241.

³⁹⁴ Uppsala 352; *ABV* 519.15; *Add.*² 129; BAPD 330696*; *LIMC* 2 Athena 581*; see **fig.175**.

³⁹⁵ Gebauer (2002: 82), for example, sees the owl as a representation of the goddess Athena and her power. See also Neils (2001: 154) who identifies the altar as Athena's because of the owl.

³⁹⁶ This does not include the instance of the pygmies riding goats on the foot of the François Vase, since it is likely that goats were chosen for their smaller size rather than for any 'symbolic' reason: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*.

³⁹⁷ Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 121; 121n84); Smith (2010: 100) writes, 'Nevertheless, a simple symbolic association (in this case cultic rather than mythic) may well be intended.'

³⁹⁸ Unattributed cup: Unknown, once Canino Coll.; *ABV* 716; BAPD 307016.

attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter and shows satyrs, one riding on the goat on the reverse, with Dionysos standing facing a kourotrophos on the obverse.³⁹⁹ The vase-paintings that are dated to later than these first two examples show komasts riding on a goat, as well as maenads, satyrs, and a little later, Hermes. After the representation of Dionysos riding on the goat in the early unattributed cup, the god is absent from scenes of goat-riding until he is once again depicted on another late unattributed cup.⁴⁰⁰ The goat-rider, found in both mythological scenes with satyrs and ritual scenes with komasts, is another piece of evidence in the argument for interpreting these mythological and mortal beings as followers of the god and as participants in his festivals.

Despite the absence of the god in the later scenes of figures riding goats, the earliest scenes in the BAPD (dated to around the middle of the sixth century) which include goats are all associated with Dionysos.⁴⁰¹ There are three examples of a riderless goat and two that show the goat being ridden (discussed above), and all five are linked closely with the wine god. Of the three that show just a goat that is not being ridden, one shows the goat as a part of the procession of the Return of Hephaistos,⁴⁰² one depicts the goats in a vineyard on the reverse of a Type A cup with the Return on the obverse,⁴⁰³ and the final example shows the goats again in a vineyard with a grape harvest on the other side.⁴⁰⁴ This evidence emphasises the association of the god with the goat and the possible symbolic nature of the goat as a marker for the Dionysian sphere, whether it be cultic or mythological.

³⁹⁹ Type B amphora: London 1836.2-24.42 (B168); *ABV* 142.3; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 310371*; **see fig.176**. On the obverse see Shapiro (1989a: 94-95) who gives some possible interpretations for the kourotrophos figure and the babies and youth represented in the scene; Scheibler (1987: 107 [fig.31]) proposes that the female figure is likely to be Aphrodite and the youth possibly an initiate. These different suggestions are plausible, but difficult to prove as with so many readings of scenes on vases; if the scene is intended as some kind of family group, then Ariadne would be more appropriate than Aphrodite. Carpenter (1986: 20-29) asserts that Ariadne is hardly ever shown with Dionysos in black-figure, rather the female figure in scenes with the god should be identified as Aphrodite, but Hedreen (1992: 34-35) convincingly refutes Carpenter's position with reference to the kourotrophos figure.

⁴⁰⁰ Basel, Cahn HC986; BAPD 22969; Kreuzer (1992: 97-98); **see fig.177**; see also Sutton (2009: 82-84, fig.9a-b) who illustrates the cup in the Louvre which adjoins these fragments: Louvre F130*bis* (CP9681); BAPD 12213*. The reverse of this cup in the BAPD is restored, see Villard (1951: 97).

⁴⁰¹ These do not include goats represented in animal friezes or added simply as decoration on the vase.

⁴⁰² The early dinos, the name vase of the Painter of Louvre E876; *ABV* 90.1, 683; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300837*; **see fig.170** and above, p.191n368.

⁴⁰³ Attributed to the Krokotos Group in Copenhagen: Copenhagen VIII457 (106); *ABL* 252.77; *ABV* 207; *Para.* 98; *Add.*² 56; BAPD 302650*; **see fig.178**.

⁴⁰⁴ Type A cup, the name vase of the Painter of Munch 2100: *ABV* 208.1, 206.15, 689; *Para.* 95; *Add.*² 56; BAPD 302659* (although only the interior of the cup is illustrated); *LIMC* Supplementum Monstra 19*; and see Kaeser (1990: 328-329, fig.56.6).

The goat-riding scenes can be compared and contrasted with the images of figures riding the bull and the mule. These other two animals are also shown carrying riders in Dionysian settings. The bull, with a maenad riding on his back, is represented in the BAPD in black-figure in 51 examples.⁴⁰⁵ There are some striking differences though between the riders of goats and the riders of bulls. Firstly there is only one instance of a male riding a bull and that is the god himself; he reaches back with his kantharos while holding several grape-laden branches.⁴⁰⁶ Of the figures riding on goats approximately half of the instances include male riders, both in Dionysian scenes and in komos scenes. There are also no bull-riding scenes in the early period of black-figure, earlier than about 535, unlike the two goat-riding scenes.

There are even more instances of characters riding on mules, and, of course, there are some very early depictions. However, of those riding on mules, the opposite is true to those shown riding on bulls. While bull-riders in vase-painting are almost all female, mule-riders are mostly male. Of the 144 examples in the BAPD, 114 (79.2%) are male.⁴⁰⁷ The preference for male riders is much stronger in the early period of black-figure while female riders become more common later. In the period specified as 600-550 in the BAPD, there are three instances of mule riders, all of whom are male; two are depictions of Hephaistos⁴⁰⁸ and one shows a satyr chasing a maenad.⁴⁰⁹ In the period 575-525 nine represent male figures (including Dionysos and/or Hephaistos) and only one shows a maenad on the mule.⁴¹⁰ There are 52 scenes that show male riders in the middle period, and one that shows a male and a female rider, while nine show female riders; in the latest period 50 show male riders and twenty female.⁴¹¹ There is a rising trend therefore, that

⁴⁰⁵ This number was generated by searching for 'riding and bull' and 'black-figure' in the BAPD, and then the irrelevant ones discounted.

⁴⁰⁶ This is depicted on an unattributed neck-amphora from the middle archaic period: Würzburg L194; BAPD 41014; Cremer (1988: pl.19.2); see **fig.179**.

⁴⁰⁷ The search terms 'black-figure' and 'riding and mule' were used.

⁴⁰⁸ The first of these is from the Return scene on the François Vase: Florence 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *Para.* 29; *Add.*² 21; BAPD 300000*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 567*; the second is on Sophilos' dinos in the British Museum. Hephaistos is represented riding on a mule in the line up of deities attending the wedding of Peleus and Thetis: London 1971.11-1.1; *Para.* 19.16bis; *Add.*² 10; BAPD 350099*; *LIMC* 4 Hephaistos 185*.

⁴⁰⁹ The mule in this depiction seems to be biting the maenad or nymph: lekythos in the manner of the Gorgon Painter, c.580 BC: Princeton 2007.39 (once Buffalo G600); *ABL* 1 note 4; *ABV* 12.22; *Para.* 8; *Add.*² 3; BAPD 300105*; see **fig.180**. As Moraw (1998: 31 [fig.1.1]) notes, this is the earliest Attic representation of a satyr and female figure on a vase. Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 67 [fig.35-36]) compares this scene of a satyr as a pursuer of females to a fragment attributed to Sophilos: Istanbul 4514; *ABV* 42.37; *Add.*² 42.37; Moraw (1998: pl.1.2); *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Nymphai 42*.

⁴¹⁰ This Type A cup attributed to the Painter of Munich 2100 shows two maenads on mules framing eyes and vines: Villa Giulia M616; *ABV* 208; *Para.* 96.2; BAPD 302661.

⁴¹¹ In red-figure, of the twenty instances of mule-riders, nineteen show male riders and only one a maenad.

shows the change from male riders of mules to female. In mythology there is an explanation for the genders of the riders of the mule and bull. Hephaistos rides the mule back to Olympos and Zeus abducts Europa in the form of a bull.⁴¹² The mule is explicitly linked with Dionysos in mythology, while the bull, although also associated with Europa, is a part of Dionysos' cultic identity as the bull-horned god and the bull-roarer, Bromios.⁴¹³

The riders of goats are the least popular of these three options, with only 29 examples in total in the BAPD (including the pygmy riders on the François Vase, the only non-Dionysian example). Yet it is these scenes which show the most variety. There is an almost even mix of female and male riders; mortals, satyrs, maenads and gods all make an appearance and the goat is shown ridden from the middle of the sixth century onwards in black-figure. In red-figure, however, the number depicted drops significantly. There are only four examples of goats being ridden in red-figure of any date in the BAPD,⁴¹⁴ the earliest of which is on a stamnos attributed to the Berlin Painter, c.480 BC, and shows the god reclining on the back of the animal.⁴¹⁵

In terms of festival practice, the fact that they are found in the 'mortal' sphere in the midst of a komos⁴¹⁶ is a strong indicator of a connection between the play of satyrs and maenads and the celebration and dance of a komos; this similarity is likely to be related to cult. The surprising absence of the god may give a clue in this instance. The goat was indeed linked to Dionysos, and at one time the god *was* in fact a goat.⁴¹⁷ It was also especially linked with the Rural and City Dionysia, possibly the former more than the latter. While the mule-rider was Hephaistos in myth and the bull rider can be linked with Dionysos' cult titles, no comparable indication is apparent about a goat-rider. The ritual associated with the goat-rider is extremely difficult to identify, although it is clearly to do with celebration and the consumption of wine as the contexts of the scenes make evident. The goat is a

⁴¹² In the BAPD there are two examples of Europa from the 575-525 period: 41580, 45453; and four, including one which identifies Europa through inscription, from the 550-500 period: 44251 (Europa is named), 302365*, 303205*, 303399*. The other fifteen examples are from the late period.

⁴¹³ See, for example, Euripides, *Bacchae* 66, 100.

⁴¹⁴ Using the search terms 'red-figure' and 'riding and goat'.

⁴¹⁵ Louvre CA944; ARV² 207.142, 1633; *Add.*² 194; BAPD 201961*; LIMC 3 Dionysos 438*.

⁴¹⁶ The bull is never ridden by komasts or symposiasts in the instances from the BAPD, and while there are three examples of the mule showing up and being ridden by mortals in komos style scenes, these examples are less than clear or are fragmentary: 306626*, 331126, 331894.

⁴¹⁷ When Dionysos was turned into a goat by Zeus: [Apollodorus], *Bibliotheca* 3.4.3.

sacrificial animal, although other creatures that carry riders in similar Dionysian situations are probably not for sacrifice.⁴¹⁸ Of more relevance is the humour of the scene: the mounting of a figure on an animal that is known for its lust was no doubt not lost on an ancient audience. Similarly, the mule is depicted in many scenes as ithyphallic, and the satyrs sometimes take advantage of the animal.⁴¹⁹

In summary, the goat is the animal associated with Dionysos, which is known for its lascivious nature, for being well-endowed and dirty in literature, as well as a prize and possibly a sacrifice at the Rural and City Dionysia. It was most likely a part of the procession in honour of the god at these festivals, and perhaps others as well. Thus, when a goat is depicted in a scene, it can be extrapolated that there is a sense of performance, or at least a festival procession, evoked, a humorous intent and a convincing connection to the god himself, to the vineyard and therefore to wine. The presence of a goat in komast scenes, therefore, is one small bit of evidence that may point to the komasts being mortal worshippers of the god, just as the satyrs are the mythological equivalents. The goat can stand as one of the many markers which point toward an evocation of festival or ritual in these Dionysian scenes, reinforcing the conclusion that the vase-painters were more influenced by their experiences of festivals than has been realised.

3.3.3 Ivy and vine⁴²⁰

While branches or twigs are used in all manner of scenes in later black-figure, they do seem to increase the ritual atmosphere of the scene, particularly in the early and middle black-figure periods. As far back as geometric art, the depiction of branches seems to have been an indicator of a ritual or festival occasion.⁴²¹ The Amasis Painter paints one of

⁴¹⁸ On the mule, see Durand (1989b: 123-124), who explains that when a maenad is represented riding on the bull, 'The image is no longer of the ritual [of sacrifice], and the mounted bovine is related to that realm apart where the gods can miraculously join the human presence'.

⁴¹⁹ Otto (1965: 110-111, 167, 170) discusses the lusty nature of the goat and mule.

⁴²⁰ For this section, the identification of branches has been attempted as far as is possible. A plant is labelled as vine if there are grapes depicted or if the leaves are shown in a tri-partite shape (or both). In contrast, ivy was identified if the branch had heart-shaped leaves. Many scenes, especially on late vases, have vegetation spread across the background and it is represented as dot leaves on the stalks; sometimes the leaves are paired across the stem, other times the execution is more haphazard. These examples have been labelled dot-ivy but not included in the analysis since their significance beyond 'plant' is impossible to judge. An indication of the difficulty of identifying the kinds of plants in black-figure is that in the BAPD the labels vine and ivy are sometimes used when the foliage is simply represented as dots on a stem; grapevine, on the other hand, is there reserved almost exclusively for the branches on which grapes hang.

⁴²¹ See above, section on geometric dances, p.189 and n.356, and chapter one, p.75.

his komasts holding a branch of ivy while dancing to the pipes played by a woman on an oinochoe in Oxford, for instance.⁴²² The branches in scenes like this are deliberately and carefully drawn, they are the only branches in the scene which increases their significance, and the scenes themselves rather suggest a ritual reading. Branches or twigs appear sometimes in sacrifice scenes, such as on a dinos signed by Lydos which shows animals being led to sacrifice by men holding branches.⁴²³ The ritual aspect is shown in a wedding scene on an amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter in St Petersburg.⁴²⁴ The bridal couple is depicted in a chariot arriving at the entrance to a bridal chamber rendered through a column and the end of a *kline*. Behind the chariot walk two men, one of whom holds a kantharos while the other holds a long branch, probably to signify the religious nature of the event.⁴²⁵ However, as time progresses, branches become less frequently held and more often used as a background filler for all manner of scenes, so their association with ritual occasions wanes.

The purpose of analysing the occurrences of vine and ivy in Dionysian and komos scenes was to ascertain if there was any significance in the type of plant chosen by the painter in terms of festival or cult practice. The results of the search revealed that in fact the usual reason for choosing ivy over vine (or vice versa) was painter preference. The type of scene (apart from vineyard scenes) was not often a major motivation for the inclusion of one type of plant over another and in addition dot-ivy becomes a favourite choice of decoration in all kinds of scenes at the end of the sixth century making analysis of the denotation of such a plant even more difficult.

⁴²² Oxford 1965.122; *ABV* 154.45, 687; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310472*; see **fig.181**; Bothmer (1985: 160) describes the dancers as ‘both dancing and sticking out their stomachs’, similar perhaps to the earlier dancers. The youth wears a garland, the *hypothymis* around his neck; see Athenaios *Deipnosophists* 15.674c-d, 15.678d. Smith (2010: 68 [fig.18a]) proposes that the garland is merely to do with drinking rather than with a particular ritual occasion. On the size of the bellies of the figures, see Smith (2010: 82-83). See also a man holding a branch with a male piper on an oinochoe in Würzburg also by the Amasis Painter: Würzburg 333; *ABV* 153.36, 687; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310463*; see **fig.182**. Bothmer (1985: 153-154) disagrees that the figure is singing for Dionysos and does not provide a subject for the scene; it is tentatively identified as a komos in *ABV* (153.36). Certainly some form of ritual is depicted, but the lack of dance in this scene makes it difficult to label with any surety.

⁴²³ Athens NM Akr. Coll. 1.607; *ABV* 107.1, 684; *Add.*² 29; BAPD 310147*; see **fig.183**. Gebauer (2002: 35-36 [cat.P4, fig.4]) links the sacrificial procession with the Panathenaia through the Gigantomachy on a higher frieze. On the Gigantomachy represented on this dinos see Shapiro (2012: 408-410) and Moore (1979a).

⁴²⁴ St Petersburg 1403 (ST151); *ABV* 98.34; *Para.* 37; *Add.*² 26; BAPD 310034; see **fig.184**.

⁴²⁵ As Oakley and Sinos (1993: 35) point out.

From a search of the (relatively rare) inclusion of ivy in komos scenes, it became clear that painter preference was a major consideration. Of the 42 examples of ivy in komos scenes collected, 32 were on attributed vases, and of those 31.3% (ten examples) were attributed to the Acheloos Painter or near him.⁴²⁶ Another ten examples were attributed to other painters, with one of their komos scenes with ivy extant, while we have three from the Theseus Painter, three from the Leagros Group three times, and two from the Haimon Group, the Amasis Painter, and the Painter of Rhodes 13472. The same painters also depict ivy in their symposion scenes, although with the rising popularity of this scene later in the black-figure period, the key producers are the Group of Athens 581 (and 581 II) and the Haimon Group.⁴²⁷ In contrast it is the Leafless Group and the Painter of Elaiou I who paint grapevines in their komos scenes most frequently. This difference suggests that painter preference must be taken into account in analysis of scenes which include ivy or vine (when it is clearly identified as such).

To further test this motivation for choosing ivy over vine, specific scene-types were analysed to ascertain the extent of the effect of painter preference. The results of this wide-ranging investigation supported the idea that even if an artist were to paint a specific event it is likely his choice of foliage would be motivated by personal preference rather than the context of the scene itself. For instance, the Antimenes Painter paints a scene which includes a goat-rider three times,⁴²⁸ each with grapevines, the Acheloos Painter depicts it twice,⁴²⁹ using ivy both times, and the Theseus Painter paints it four times,⁴³⁰ but he uses neither ivy nor vine. Taking one item in a scene, such as the goat, and analysing all of the scenes that include a goat in the BAPD with reference to ivy and vine, it is clear that the painters seemed to choose one plant over another consistently, especially in the later period. The Theseus Painter, for instance, paints eighteen examples of scenes which include a goat, and of these, seven include ivy and none include

⁴²⁶ There are 958 scenes in the BAPD that come up with the search terms 'black-figure' and 'komos' and 45 with the terms 'black-figure' and 'komos and ivy' in the same decorated area. Two of the 45 showed an ivy wreath on the neck of an amphora and one on a reveller, so they were discounted, leaving 42 out of 958 examples showing ivy in a komos scene (4.4%). Of these 42, ten were on unattributed vessels.

⁴²⁷ There were 103 examples in the BAPD of symposion scenes with ivy (excluding ivy wreaths), and 1117 examples of symposion scenes. Those with ivy therefore account for 9.2%. Of the examples with an attributed painter (83 in total), 26.5% (22) were attributed to the Class of Athens 581 and 581 II, in addition a further 12% (10) were attributed to the Group of Agora 24377, closely associated with the Class of Athens 581 II. The Haimon Painter added ivy into his symposion scenes in 19 examples (22.9%).

⁴²⁸ BAPD numbers 29386, 29848, 6229.

⁴²⁹ BAPD numbers 302873*, 302882*.

⁴³⁰ BAPD numbers 330677*, 351559*, 118, 30141.

grapevine. The scenes that include ivy show satyrs and maenads dancing, usually without Dionysos. The Antimenes Painter on the other hand chooses to show satyrs and maenads with grapevines (in four examples), with only one example of ivy, when Dionysos is present but the satyrs and maenads are not, in contrast to the scenes by the Theseus Painter.

Nevertheless, there was a tendency to choose the grapevine over the ivy in scenes involving Dionysos. Although the god is associated with both types of plant, the grapevine is the basis for his 'gift of joy' to mankind. The vine was a feature of the procession of the Oschophoria and the Rural Dionysia and may well have been included in the other festivities as well. The presence of the vine in vase-painting in the hands of the god, his followers and as decoration could be a marker for cult-practice. Equally, the addition of ivy and vine branches to some images of komoi and symposia suggests that these events were conceptualised as ritual, and perhaps also as Dionysian, especially when the grape vine is added.

3.3.3.1 Vineyard scenes

One group of scenes that seems to be associated more strongly with satyrs than with mortals is the vineyard and the harvesting and pressing of the grapes.⁴³¹ In festival terms this is related to the Oschophoria when the grape harvest was gathered in and pressed.⁴³² During the pressing of the grapes, skins and pulp remaining would stain the presser red and there is also evidence to suggest that sometimes the person in charge of the wine press would allow his workers to drink at the treading floor.⁴³³ The making of wine would then become a party; the workers would be stained red by the colour of the grapes and the vigorous action required during the crushing of the grapes may well have reminded one of dancing. In addition, farmers travelled to the city in order to complain about the aristocrats' treatment of them and to ensure anonymity they smeared wine-lees on their faces.⁴³⁴ So the harvesting and pressing of grapes is bound up in ritual and a form of 'mask' was worn for a kind of humorous, insulting performance. The scenes of satyrs

⁴³¹ A good illustration of this can be found on a Type A amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter in Würzburg: Würzburg L265; *ABV* 151.22; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310451*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 38*; see **fig.101** and above, p.133n22. Stewart (1987: 36) comments on the realism found in this scene, describing it as a 'step-by-step account' of the treading of wine. On the poles that hold the branches of vine up, see Bothmer (1985: 116).

⁴³² See above, subsection 3.1.1, p.132.

⁴³³ Mayerson (2000: 164).

⁴³⁴ West (1974: 27-28); Habash (1995: 563n22).

working in vineyards, then, may well be a reference to festival practice through a mythological filter.

The scenes of harvesting grapes seem to be almost exclusively populated by satyrs. Komasts, apart from their red chests and faces coloured probably by wine- lees,⁴³⁵ have very little to do with the treading of the grapes, except perhaps in their actual dance movements. The high-stepping dance movement can be seen on some illustrations of the treading of the grapes, such as on an unattributed neck-amphora in Brussels from the end of the sixth century, which shows Dionysos seated with his kantharos being approached by a satyr with an oinochoe on the obverse and one satyr treading grapes on the reverse.⁴³⁶ This last satyr holds his left arm up high towards the border of the scene, while his right arm is down behind his back. His right leg is bent at a 90 degree angle, while his left is straight. He appears to be in mid-tread. Another satyr brings a fresh load of grapes and pours them into the basket-like vessel placed on the treading floor. This same action of having one leg brought up to level with the hips can be seen in other examples of treading scenes. One is on a neck-amphora attributed to the Mastos Group in Boston,⁴³⁷ another is on a Type A cup attributed to the Chiusi Painter in the Cabinet des Médailles.⁴³⁸ Perhaps this particular movement can be connected with the high-stepping satyrs and komasts in other scenes,⁴³⁹ although it is equally possible that this dance step was more broadly associated with satyrs.

⁴³⁵ Smith (2010: 38-39).

⁴³⁶ Brussels R278; BAPD 4246*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 419*; **see fig.185**.

⁴³⁷ Boston 01.8052; *ABV* 242.35, 257, 259.26; *Para.* 110, 114; *Add.*² 67; BAPD 302258*; **see fig.186**. Hedreen (1992: 46, 86 [pl.16]) argues that the scene on this vase is set on Naxos, in Dionysos' vineyard. There are four satyrs represented on this vase with frontal faces, a phenomenon Korshak (1987: 6-7 [cat.45-48, fig.6]) comments on in her discussion of the collaboration between the painter of the figures (in the manner of the Lysippides Painter) and the Affecter who has been suggested as the one responsible for the pattern work.

⁴³⁸ Paris, Cab. Méd. 1785; *ABV* 389; *Para.* 171; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 302907*; **see fig.187**; see Lissarrague (2001: 203-205) for colour photos. Lissarrague (1990b: 17 [16, fig.6]) stresses the lack of reality in this scene, since the satyrs are dancing through their tasks; Hedreen (1992: 77 [pl.28]) places this scene on Naxos as with the last in p.204n437.

⁴³⁹ Occasionally choruses perform the high-stepping movement, but it is not very common. A chorus is less likely to be connected to the treading of grapes, although it is possible that their movements may have originated in the treading of grapes but became one standard Dionysian dance move. For instance, the dancers who do not have the upright 'satyr ears' in their headbands are shown high-stepping on the Siana Cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter: Amsterdam 3356; *ABV* 66.57; *Para.* 27; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300600*; **see fig.48** and above, p.163n225. See also the shoulder of a hydria attributed to Lydos: New York 1988.11.3; BAPD 12278; **see fig.49** and above, p.163n226. For high-stepping, see subsection 3.2.2.3, p.177.

The scenes that do show men and youths picking and treading grapes are fewer by far than those that show satyrs engaged in the vintage, yet no doubt it was performed by a large number of people every year at the grape harvest. The substitution of satyrs for mortals in a situation where no doubt mortals did exactly what the satyrs are shown doing calls for some comment. Hedreen argues that the grapevine that the satyrs are collecting the grapes from is probably Dionysos' own on Naxos.⁴⁴⁰ Lissarrague suggests these satyrs are not labouring much in their work for the god,⁴⁴¹ but no doubt for the farmers harvesting and treading was rather more strenuous. Thus the replacement of satyrs for mortals may situate these scenes in the mythological realm, a place where the work is not arduous and the harvest is bountiful. If these are the god's vines, then the satyrs are working to create the god's wine; a mythological parallel to the mortal vineyards and wine. Scenes of satyrs gathering grapes and pressing them would inevitably remind the viewer of the activities in the city based around wine: the *Oschophoria* and *Anthesteria*.⁴⁴² Once again, the scenes here, although mythological, evoke the festivals familiar to the Athenians.

3.3.4 Drinking vessels: kantharos and oinochoe

Analysing some of the items that appear in Dionysian scenes may well provide a better appreciation of any festival activity that is signified by the inclusion of the items in the image. The kantharos, for instance, strengthens the connection between satyrs and komasts, while the oinochoe in some Dionysian cases highlights the humour in the scenes, and both vessels reinforce the idea of satyrs and komasts as worshippers of the god.

3.3.4.1 Kantharos

The kantharos, which from the middle of the sixth century becomes Dionysos' favourite attribute, is mostly in the hands of komasts and symposiasts, and not held by satyrs or Dionysos, in all examples of kantharoi in the 600-550 BC period in the BAPD.⁴⁴³ The

⁴⁴⁰ Hedreen (1992: 86).

⁴⁴¹ Lissarrague (1990b: 17) and (2001: 206).

⁴⁴² Hedreen (1992: 87) puts forward this theory. Lissarrague (2001: 203 [fig.161]) in his discussion of the exterior of the large cup in the Cabinet des Médailles (see fig.187 and above, p.204n438) comments on the frontal-faced satyr who follows after the procession. The satyr, he argues, 'seems to invite the drinker to follow the procession' which encourages a close association between mortal drinker and immortal revellers: it is possible to join in the celebrations of the god.

⁴⁴³ See above, p.150n154.

kantharos as a vessel does seem to be imbued with a certain cultic significance.⁴⁴⁴ In the early periods, as mentioned, it is held by komasts and symposiasts, but once Dionysos is depicted holding it from around the middle of the sixth century, it is almost solely in his hands. In 84.5% of all scenes which include the kantharos it is held by Dionysos, and satyrs and maenads only hold it in 12 examples (1.7%) when Dionysos is not present.⁴⁴⁵ Even komasts or symposiasts seldom use the kantharos (3.3%) after the vessel becomes particularly associated with the god. That the kantharos is used for the same purpose by Dionysos, satyrs, and komasts is a compelling piece of evidence to connect these mortal dancers with the Dionysian world. And as they are mortals, they are involved in cultic and ritual activities; thus their association with satyrs further supports the interpretation of black-figure scenes with regard to the evocation of festivals.

In addition, the early komos scenes sometimes have a large krater or dinos on a stand, often in the middle of the composition, which links them to the Dionysian sphere of activity. Isler-Kerényi discusses the komast dancers on a fragmentary dinos found in Vari ‘belonging to the phase between the Transitional and the Corinthian styles’ which is ‘considered the oldest occurrence of this iconographical type’.⁴⁴⁶ The combination of the wine vessel and the youth approaching with a wineskin (?) does seem to suggest that the wine is a fundamental feature of this scene, just as Dionysos in later scenes is the central figure and the focus around which satyrs and maenads or mortals dance. Isler-Kerényi therefore argues that the dancers, particularly the padded dancers, are in fact associated with the god of wine from very early times.⁴⁴⁷ Later scenes can show the same composition, as can be seen on a column krater attributed to the KY Painter.⁴⁴⁸ Five youths dance, two flanking the central dinos on its stand. The one to the left of the dinos holds an oinochoe and a drinking horn. Two women are also present, dancing with the youths.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁴ Carpenter (1986: 119-123).

⁴⁴⁵ There are 727 examples of ‘kantharos’ in black-figure in the BAPD.

⁴⁴⁶ Athens; Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 13, fig.9); **see fig.188**.

⁴⁴⁷ Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 14).

⁴⁴⁸ Berlin 1966.17; BAPD 4637*; **see fig.118**. Smith (2010: 47 [fig.9c]) sees this vase as an exception rather than the rule, however, stressing the rarity of large drinking vessels in scenes of early revelry.

⁴⁴⁹ These women may in fact be youths dressed as women, as Moore and Schwartz (2006: 37) point out. Smith (2010: 96) warns that this association with wine can be undermined by the rarity of the scenes which show the komasts in the presence of vessels relating to wine, mostly the early komos scenes are focused on the dance, not a central dinos or any other form of drinking vessel.

Very occasionally, the god of wine will be represented in the company of mortals.⁴⁵⁰ Usually, though, the vase-painters separate scenes that depict what one might cautiously term ‘reality’ and ‘myth’. This separation may seem to imply that the mortal komasts and immortal satyrs are therefore unconnected – the god attended by his mythical beings is one scene-type while the mortals having a good time is quite another. The few scenes that show both provide some evidence for a cultic connection between the two; this is most notably the case in the works of the Amasis Painter: the god influences humans and they interact with him and through him. A Type B amphora dated to c.550 BC and attributed to the Amasis Painter in Munich shows youths, definitely not satyrs, actually interacting with the god – one pours from his oinochoe into the god’s kantharos and two carry rather small wineskins.⁴⁵¹ This scene is quiet and reflective, a strong contrast to the komasts. However, the Amasis Painter is capable of showing great variation, and on another Type B amphora in the Louvre, perhaps a little later, c.550-540 BC, Dionysos (kantharos, wreath) stands gesturing with his left hand as two naked men and two clothed women dance around him.⁴⁵² As Smith observes, the Amasis Painter’s scenes along with those others which show men alongside the deity, should be placed firmly in the category of cult.⁴⁵³ These dancing or standing youths or men in the Amasis Painter’s oeuvre do reflect

⁴⁵⁰ Of the 727 instances of ‘kanthar*’ in the BAPD, only 21 depict (as far as can be ascertained) the god with men (2.9%). Of the 21 six were from the period 575-525 (including those by the Amasis Painter and the Affecter), twelve were from the middle period and three from the late period.

⁴⁵¹ Munich 1383; *ABV* 150.7, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 42; BAPD 310434*; see **fig.189**. There is a suggestion that these youths are the sons of Dionysos, but the literary evidence for his offspring is scant in this period: Gantz (1993: 116); Shapiro (1989a: 93) points out the similarity between Oinopion pouring wine from his oinochoe for Dionysos (as on Exekias’ neck-amphora in London: 1836.2-24.127 (B210); *ABV* 144.7, 672.2, 686; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310389*; *LIMC* 7 Oinopion 3*), and the youth performing the same action on this vase, but the presence of the other nude youths makes any identification uncertain. Bothmer (1985: 103) notes that there are five examples of Dionysos with four youths attributed to the Amasis Painter, but while he describes the scenes he does not offer an interpretation or identification beyond suggesting that one of them might be Oinopion (1985: 82). Rather he describes the youths as ‘the famous bystanders of the Amasis Painter’. On the amphora as a wine vessel, as it is shown here on the ground in front of Dionysos, see Scheibler (1987: 68-71 [fig.6]). Kaesar (1990: 332-33 [333, fig.56.15]) calls the youths here worshippers of the god, a label that fits well with the ritual aspect of the scene.

⁴⁵² Louvre F36; *ABV* 150.6, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 42; BAPD 310433*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 811*; see **fig.190**. On the Dionysian dance as represented on vases attributed to the Amasis Painter see Schöne (1987: 96-101, for the Louvre vase see 97-98 [cat.215, pl.15.2]). Bothmer (1985: 82) comments on this scene, observing ‘when we have Dionysos in the midst of dancing couples...two spheres, those of komoi and thiasoi, seem to intersect; while the fully human males can hardly be confused with satyrs, their female companions look suspiciously like maenads and are called such by Beazley’ (*Para.* 63). Henrichs (1987: 102-103 [103, fig.4]), on the other hand, is cautious in his identification of the women. While he labels the men ‘ordinary komasts without any ritual identity’, the women he suggests should be called ‘quasi-maenads’ since they are not holding items relating to the symposium but neither are they clearly depicted as maenads. The presence of Dionysos here is perhaps more of a marker for a ritual celebration than Henrichs suggests (as Isler-Kerényi [2007b: 86-90] argues), although the ritual itself is impossible to identify. For an overview of these arguments, see Smith (2010: 80-81 [fig.17c]).

⁴⁵³ Smith (2010: 11) comments, ‘On those rare occasions when the god of wine and drama is himself present, and shown in the company of mortal revellers, most obviously in the works of the Amasis Painter,

the stance of some satyrs in his work.⁴⁵⁴ Thus a connection can be made between these evidently mortal worshippers and the mythological satyr-worshippers.

3.3.4.2 Oinochoe⁴⁵⁵

As represented on vases, the oinochoe is used mostly in Dionysian scenes (46.4%), followed by komos or symposion scenes (14.2%) and then religious scenes (7.1%), although the earliest examples we have in the BAPD are a sacrificial scene⁴⁵⁶ and a komos scene.⁴⁵⁷ Its beginnings therefore suggest that this type of vase has ritual purpose, associated with wine. However, the oinochoe, despite its ritual purpose in some scenes, seems to become another object of ridicule in the hands of satyrs and maenads under the influence of Dionysos. Not uncommon are the scenes of an ithyphallic mule with an oinochoe hanging from the penis of the animal. A good example can be seen on a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group.⁴⁵⁸ Dionysos sits astride the mule while two satyrs, one leading the mule, one following behind, dance along with the god as he

the body language and attributes of the komasts suggest something other than ordinary revelry. These appear to be scenes of a more cultic nature, though an unspecified festival setting may also be intended.’ Isler-Kerényi (2007b: 90-91) is of the same opinion, stating, ‘The images [of the Amasis Painter] do not describe rituals any more than their predecessors did; nevertheless, the basic situation is evidently ritual. This appears, first and foremost, from the consistent presence (on at least four out of six images) of Dionysus. Where were people to encounter their gods if not in cult?’ She goes further to point out that vase-painters did not necessarily need to differentiate between the specific cult and the atmosphere of cult: ‘But to the artist, the difference between the ritual itself and the ritually evoked mythical setting was of no importance: his task was to represent what ritual represented.’ Stewart (1987: 37) describes the scenes of the Amasis Painter in which gods and mortals appear together as ‘quite simply epiphanies, testimonies to the power of the gods in the world and to their continuing involvement with mortal affairs’. The most common place for mortals to witness and celebrate epiphanies and the power of the gods was during festivals or rituals; once again the scenes on the vases evoke the experience of cult.

⁴⁵⁴ Smith (2010: 102) provides some examples of the Amasis Painter’s youths who perform similar dance moves to that of satyrs in the presence of Dionysos; for example on Oxford 1965.122; *ABV* 154.45, 687; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310472*; **see fig.181** and above, p.201n422.

⁴⁵⁵ On the use of the oinochoe, see Clark (2009).

⁴⁵⁶ This scene is shown on krater fragments in the Akropolis collection of the Athens National Museum. Women are approaching an altar: one plays the pipes and pours a libation from her oinochoe over the altar: Athens, NM, Akr. Coll. 1.621; BAPD 16762; Graef and Langlotz (1925: no.621, pl.37). These fragments have been interpreted as a depiction of the arkteia, see Kahil (1981). See also, among other examples, an oinochoe attributed to the Gela Painter from the early fifth century BC which shows worshippers approaching an altar of Athena (the goddess sits behind the altar with a phiale); one of the men holds an oinochoe: London 1905.7-11.1; *ABV* 443.3, 475.29; *Add.*² 120, 215; BAPD 330075*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 109*. Connelly (2007: 169-170 [fig.6.2]) explains that the oinochoe is one of a number of signifiers for sacrificial procession, along with sacrificial baskets, animals, altars, people processing, and an architectural setting; these elements can be used in various combinations to evoke the sacrifice in abbreviated or full form. Gebauer (2002: 76) argues against an interpretation of the goddess seated inside her temple in this example; he stresses the Gela Painter’s tendency to use columns as frames rather than specifically as indicators for the inside of a temple. These images of the goddess in a religious setting reflect a situation whereby the goddess becomes celebrated for her role as protector of Athens more than any other and they may not necessarily be associated with the Panathenaia: Hatzivassiliou (2010: 14 [cat.79, pl.3.2-3]).

⁴⁵⁷ Column krater attributed to the KY Painter: Berlin 1966.17; BAPD 4637*; **see fig.118** and p.206n448.

⁴⁵⁸ Villa Giulia 3550; *ABV* 375.201; *Add.*² 99; BAPD 302196*; **see fig.191**.

travels. The scenes that include satyrs and komasts thus provide a context of humour within which objects that can be seen as of cultic significance become a part of their drinking games and dancing. This marrying of ritual items and humour is an essential part of vase-paintings of the god and his followers and the festivals themselves.⁴⁵⁹

So, can everything a satyr does be taken as a joke? Hedreen thinks that this cannot be the case; he believes that the satyrs must be treated as a part of a serious cult as well as at times showing comedy. He argues that they are, after all, important followers of Dionysos and do engage in cult activity, thus they must not be discounted as merely lewd and funny creatures.⁴⁶⁰ The oinochoe, with its ritual background and association with the libation and pouring of wine might be a marker for more serious cult activity, and indeed there are some examples of scenes that seem to be more about a quiet interaction between the god and his worshipper. On the reverse of a stamnos attributed to the Group of Würzburg G199 Dionysos sits on a stool facing right holding out his kantharos.⁴⁶¹ A satyr steps towards him, holds onto the other side of the god's kantharos and pours wine into it from his own oinochoe. There is no raucous revelry or wild dancing here, nor on a neck-amphora, the name vase of the Group of London B250, this time with maenads,⁴⁶² or on Exekias' famous neck-amphora in London.⁴⁶³

Nevertheless, it is much more common for the satyrs in scenes with oinochoai to be dancing rather than using the oinochoe in any form of libation or other cultic action. For instance, on a neck-amphora attributed to the Painter of Tarquinia RC6847, from c.520 BC,⁴⁶⁴ Dionysos stands to right in the centre of the scene, his head turned back to the left. He holds large branches of vine hung with grapes and a kantharos rather neatly positioned directly under a bunch of grapes. He is flanked by two satyrs; the one on the left plays the aulos while lightly stepping forward (both heels are off the ground). The right satyr holds the oinochoe and is bent over under a large full wineskin. He too, however, is dancing;

⁴⁵⁹ The jests in the processions of the Lenaia, Rural Dionysia, and Anthesteria attest to this, see above, subsections 3.1.2-3.1.4, pp.134-143.

⁴⁶⁰ Hedreen (1992: 168-170).

⁴⁶¹ Hildesheim PM4681; *ABV* 289.24; *Para.* 126; BAPD 320327*; see **fig.192**.

⁴⁶² Dionysos is standing to right between two maenads who face him. The maenad on the right has an oinochoe that she holds out towards the god; he holds his kantharos up high: London B250; *ABV* 341.2; BAPD 301884*; see **fig.193**.

⁴⁶³ London 1836.2-24.127 (B210); *ABV* 144.7, 672.2, 686; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 310389*; *LIMC* 7 Oinopion 3*; see Mackay (2010: 315-326).

⁴⁶⁴ Munich J692, on loan to Erlangen (M31); BAPD 1268*; see **fig.194**.

only the tips of his back toes touch the ground and his front foot is also slightly lifted from the ground. He holds the oinochoe right down near the ground positioned slightly to the left of another hanging cluster of grapes. This clear association of the oinochoe with wine in the context of revelry, and the continuous dancing is much more the norm than the previous examples. It suggests that the satyrs are taking an item that is usually associated with cult and turning it into a joke, or a way to encourage laughter.⁴⁶⁵

The satyrs take an item of cultic significance and absorb it into their revelry and irreverent humour, precisely because Dionysos encourages such a juxtaposition of ritual and bawdy, wine-soaked humour. On an unattributed neck-amphora in Tarquinia from the middle black-figure period two satyrs are accompanied by a maenad each.⁴⁶⁶ The satyrs and maenads have their arms around each other, and the satyr on the right holds an oinochoe. This companionship represented between the satyrs and maenads is a continuation of the scenes of attraction between the satyrs and maenads, and so while they are allowing the influence of the god to direct their actions, any seriousness contributed to the scene by the inclusion of the oinochoe is undermined. This same feeling of challenging the ritual atmosphere that might be created on 'quieter', more contemplative scenes can be seen on an unattributed neck-amphora in Madrid.⁴⁶⁷ Dionysos stands on the right facing left holding his kantharos in his right hand at a tipping angle, indicative perhaps of a libation, while in his left (but drawn as a right hand!) he holds branches of vine. Facing him is a satyr, who for once is not dancing. The satyr holds his left arm out towards the god, perhaps gesturing, while in his right hand he tips an oinochoe forwards. Underneath the oinochoe, quite obviously portrayed, is the large phallus of the satyr. If there is any sense of decorum attributed to the scene through the use of the oinochoe, this is undercut by the presence of the satyr's obvious phallus and his gesturing. Satyrs are often shown as ithyphallic and this may be linked to the *Phallophoria* in honour of Dionysos as well as a reference to the effect of the drinking of wine.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁵ For more information on humour, see above, subsections 3.2.1.1-3.2.1.3, p.154.

⁴⁶⁶ Tarquinia 638; BAPD 13850*; see **fig.195**.

⁴⁶⁷ Madrid 10903; BAPD 14472*; see **fig.196**.

⁴⁶⁸ In some depictions, more often in red-figure, satyrs balance vessels on the ends of their phalloi; see for instance a red-figure psykter signed by Douris on which a satyr balances a kantharos on the tip of his penis and another pours the contents of an oinochoe into it: London E768; ARV² 446.262, 1566; *Para.* 375; *Add.*² 241; BAPD 205309*.

Certainly the Type B amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter that shows Dionysos holding an oinochoe can be seen as humorous.⁴⁶⁹ The god is placed centrally as he usually is, although for once he is actually moving; he appears to be running or dancing to right, looking back to the left, the oinochoe out behind him and his left hand holding his garments before his frontal chest. On either side of him two maenads have hoisted two satyrs onto their shoulders, a rather ridiculous inversion of the well-known maenad seated on satyr motif. This scene therefore emphasises the size of the maenads in comparison to the satyrs, creating rather small petite satyrs and larger maenads.

Finally, one other vase from the middle to late black-figure period should be mentioned, although there are others of a similar nature. An unattributed neck-amphora in Boston from c.520 BC depicts a scene that includes both a calm, even serious cultic scene as well as humour.⁴⁷⁰ Just left of centre Dionysos stands to right. He looks at a maenad (or conceivably Ariadne) who holds out an oinochoe. The centre of this image appears to be depicting a sacred, ritual moment. However, there is more to this scene: two satyrs, one on the left and one on the right. The one on the left is carrying a full wineskin and is depicted with his mouth open, perhaps singing drunkenly. The one on the right squats behind the maenad and is shown masturbating. Without the two satyrs the scene could have been taken as a ritual communion between the god and his maenad, but the presence of the satyrs immediately undercuts this view by adding an almost grotesque (to our eyes) frame to the picture. This incongruity, and the closeness of the masturbating satyr and his half-crouched position behind the maenad, reinforces the humour of satyrs and their uncouth behaviour.

When the god is not present, the satyrs are even more rowdy. On the reverse of a neck-amphora attributed to the Swing Painter in the Louvre, two satyrs head to left ebulliently.⁴⁷¹ The one leading is carrying on his shoulder a large hydria, while the one following is bent a little under the weight of a massive wineskin, and in his left hand he carries the oinochoe ready for pouring of wine. The same is true for the reverse of a neck-

⁴⁶⁹ New York, Market; BAPD 24084*; **see fig.153.**

⁴⁷⁰ Boston 80.621; BAPD 597*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 118*; **see fig.197.**

⁴⁷¹ Louvre F227; *ABV* 309.86; *Add.*² 83; BAPD 301565*; **see fig.198.** These figures may be intended as ambiguous figures as Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 145 [fig.78-79]) suggests, since they lack tails. The obverse of this vase shows Dionysos between two satyrs.

amphora in the manner of the Lysippides Painter.⁴⁷² Five satyrs dance to right, the leader stepping high. One plays the pipes, the one at the end carries a wineskin and another carries a column krater on his shoulder and an oinochoe. The satyrs are off to a party, and undoubtedly the end result will be similar to the depictions of the komos.

Komasts, too, use the oinochoe in scenes of revelry, combining any cultic significance attached to the vessel with their dancing and lust. On an oinochoe near the Pescia Painter,⁴⁷³ youths, one with an oinochoe, dance, and men and women dance and drink on the shoulder of a stamnos attributed to the Michigan Painter.⁴⁷⁴ A woman with krotala dips an oinochoe into the column krater and a man plays the lyre. A skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter shows a komos in full swing. Naked men dance, carry their companions, and one urinates into the oinochoe held by another.⁴⁷⁵

The presence of an oinochoe in the scene, even though it is sometimes used in ritual situations, seldom adds a more serious aspect to satyr or komast scenes. That the oinochoe was also used at drinking parties increases its appropriateness in the hands of satyrs and komasts who indulge in wine, highlighting their partaking in the gift of Dionysos rather than any cultic activity beyond that which is evident in their worship of the god. Context, therefore, is everything. The satyrs with their antics provide a humorous ambiance into which the oinochoe, sometimes a cultic object, is inserted. The rituals of the satyrs are intoxicated and humorous, but it seems that they are cultic activities nonetheless.

3.3.5 Summary

This exploration of some of the elements found in Dionysian scenes has reinforced the similarity between komasts and satyrs, particularly through their use of the kantharos and the addition of the goat in some of the scenes. This parallel between the two provides further evidence that both the satyrs and komasts can be interpreted as worshippers of Dionysos, one mythological and one mortal. Analysis of the scenes including oinochoai emphasised the importance of humour in the scenes of satyrs and komasts, an aspect found in Dionysian festivals. All of the elements chosen here for discussion in this section

⁴⁷² Cambridge GR27.1864 (G48); *ABV* 259.17; *Add.*² 67; BAPD 302249*.

⁴⁷³ Barcelona 1484; *ABV* 428.4; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 303283*; **see fig.199.**

⁴⁷⁴ Los Angeles A5933.50.8; *ABV* 343.1; *Para.* 156; *Add.*² 93; BAPD 301903*.

⁴⁷⁵ Tarquinia 637; *Para.* 259; BAPD 351583*; **see fig.200.**

were the clearest examples of further evidence to support the overall hypothesis of this thesis: that the vase-painters chose (whether intentionally or not) to represent their deities in such a way that was shaped through their experience of festival practice.

3.4 Conclusion

The study of Dionysian scenes in this chapter has been focused on providing further support for the view that vase-painting evokes or draws on festival practice more frequently than previously observed. The elements common in festivals held in honour of Dionysos as outlined in section 3.1, drinking, dancing, performing, jesting, the komos, and the sacrifice of a goat, supply a background of visible Dionysian aspects to identify in the scenes. The similarity of significant features across festivals reduces the likelihood of identifying specific festivals on the vases, but strengthens the case for seeing the scenes as evoking the public celebrations of Dionysos in more general terms. This association of scenes of the god with the representation of festival practice reinforces the view that Athenians visualised (and therefore depicted) their gods in reference to festival events.

The exact relationship between satyrs and komasts in vase-painting is extremely difficult to understand fully. This chapter has concentrated on comparing the two as worshippers of the god, but from two different positions: one mortal and one mythological. This separation probably has more to do with the tendency of vase-painters to keep the mortal and immortal worlds separate than with a difference in function between the two. In fact, section 3.2 addresses the similarity in the roles of the komasts and satyrs, thus providing some evidence for seeing both as worshippers of the god. If the revellers both mythical and mortal can be seen in this light, scenes of satyrs and komasts can be understood as evoking festival practice.

To further support the connection between satyrs and komasts, and the idea that many vases depict aspects of festival practice, some common elements found in Dionysian scenes were analysed in section 3.3. The findings added to the theories already discussed: the features frequently found in Dionysian scenes were all closely associated with rituals for Dionysos, another indication of the influence of visual spectacles (particularly performances and processions) on vase-painters.

Dionysos appears on an immense number of vases because of his association with wine and drinking, but also, as can be argued from the evidence above, because his festivals became larger, more visual, and more spectacular during the second half of the sixth

century. This increase in frequency and size of the public celebrations in honour of Dionysos was driven, at least in part, by the Peisistratids. But a deity with such popularity needs further investigation to discover the full extent of the influence of festivals. Following up on this study with a more comprehensive analysis will, in the author's opinion, further support the claim here advocated: the vase-paintings can reveal much more about rituals as they were influenced extensively by them.

CHAPTER FOUR

POSEIDON

This chapter explores the way Poseidon is depicted in black-figure vase-painting and, through this medium, his relationship with other gods and heroes, but more importantly, the representation of the god serves as a contrast for the deities previously analysed: Apollo and Dionysos. Unlike Apollo and Dionysos, Poseidon is not frequently depicted in the vase-painting available to us,¹ and as will be discussed further in the sections below, the following (mostly negative) statements can be made. He is not a key player in many mythological stories (section 4.2). In black-figure, his presence as a representation of ‘sea’ and his connection to Peisistratos are not clear-cut (although sections 4.3.2, 4.5.1, 4.5.2, and 4.6 put forward some arguments for a connection between the tyrant and Poseidon in art). From the evidence we have, his cult presence in Athens appears to be almost nonexistent (section 4.1 discusses his festivals),² and although his tie to Ionia is

¹ Boardman (1974: 218) observes, ‘The sea god Poseidon figures little, looking like Zeus but holding a trident, a fish or a dolphin.’

² Shapiro (1989a: 101) writes, ‘It has not often been claimed that the cult of Poseidon was one of the more important in Archaic Athens or that he played a central role there as in other cities, notably at Corinth and the Isthmos. No Athenian festivals specifically for Poseidon are recorded, though he may have shared in some for other divinities, and no temple of the god in Athens itself is known, though there were several elsewhere in Attika.’ He also claims that the evidence to show a strong cult, or even any cult, of Poseidon in Athens in the archaic period is tentative at best: (1989a: 104). The month named Poseideon seems to suggest that a key festival in honour of the god was held in Athens, although we know next to nothing about it if there was such a festival: Deubner (1966: 214). Poseidon’s temple at Sounion was one major sanctuary close to Athens, but he shared this area with Athena, as Odysseus’ mentioning of the silver rock of Sounion as sacred to Athena shows: Euripides’ *Cyclops* 293-294; Camp (2001: 109-110, 306-307). However, Tataki (1985: 16) argues that the temple of Poseidon at Sounion was closely connected to Athens, but the temple to Athena found next to it was more local. This may suggest that Poseidon was more significant in Athens, but his temple was placed appropriately on a headland jutting into the sea following the usual practice of placing sanctuaries of the sea god on harbours or near the sea: Finley (1985: xvii). In Corinth, on the other hand, the temple of Poseidon was in the city centre. Valavanis (2004: 279) describes this temple of

represented in one scene-type (that of the Delian Triad), beyond that his role as the most important Ionian god does not seem to be stressed. His iconographic attributes (section 4.3) hold true throughout the black-figure period and his defining attributes (to our eyes), the trident or the fish,³ which may have alluded to Poseidon's origin as the god with influence over fishing, remain in his hands. His association with horses is hardly to be found in black-figure in any meaningful way. And finally his relationships with other gods (section 4.5) are difficult to pin down and hard to find in black-figure. Occasionally in quiet scenes alongside Zeus it seems their relationship as brothers is represented; as contestant against Athena, there is nothing solid in archaic art, although there does seem to be some connection between them; as husband to Amphitrite there is some evidence in the vase-painting. However, no relationship seems to be the defining one, unlike Apollo's relationship with his mother and sister.

One way to explain Poseidon's absence from the extant vase-painting is to argue that, when taken alongside the lack of evidence regarding his cult in Athens, this is an indicator of his lack of importance, or of a lesser status in Athens. However, the infrequency of his presence on vases may not necessarily be a mark of his lesser status or significance in cult in Athens;⁴ rather it seems that it has more to do with his absence from the narratives of the sixth century which were associated with festival practice. Gantz describes Poseidon in the archaic period as associated with fathering children and supporting the Greeks at Troy, but with little else.⁵ However, Robertson's article outlines the evidence for Poseidon's festivals across the Greek-speaking world (including Athens), and while some of his points are speculative and the evidence is cumulative, there does seem to be a clear case for the importance of Poseidon,⁶ even as far back as Mycenaean times.⁷ Therefore

Poseidon, along with the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, as the 'earliest examples of monumental temple architecture', dating to before 650 BC.

³ The difference between a fish and a dolphin *when it is held in somebody's hand* is difficult to determine. For the purposes of this chapter, when a fish or dolphin is held by Poseidon or anyone else it is always labelled a fish.

⁴ See above, p.216n2.

⁵ See Wüst (1953: 468-469) who notes that Poseidon is second only to Zeus in the number of sons he produces, and Gantz (1993: 63) explains, 'Other than his activity as a father, and his frequent championing of the Achaians in the *Iliad*, Poseidon is not as common a figure in Greek mythology as one might expect...there is no trace in the early literature of his role in the misfortunes of Minos and Pasiphae, or of his attempt to win the patronage of Athens or other territories.' There is an impressive list of the offspring of Poseidon in Gantz (1993: 62).

⁶ Robertson (1984). He begins his article with the statement, 'The record shows that Poseidon was once worshipped in every part of Greece as a god of general importance to the community' but qualifies this quickly with 'Yet much of the testimony is antiquarian and retrospective; Poseidon's pre-eminence is more

his absence from images on Attic vases seems odd. Yet taken alongside Zeus, for example, a deity whose festivals are not centred around a major aetiological myth, this absence is more comprehensible. Despite Zeus' key role in the birth of Athena, he still does not appear particularly often on vases, and when he does it is often in the context of a myth with another figure as its focus – such as the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. Zeus' 'role' in the pantheon is that of king of the gods providing a model of leadership and yet in spite of this he appears surprisingly infrequently. There is more to the choice of deity on a vase than simply their sphere of influence or control or their seniority or importance. In contrast to Zeus and Poseidon, the gods Apollo and Dionysos appear frequently in art, often in repetitive scene-types, and in the context of this study one might argue that it is because of their highly visible festivals and the public re-enactments of the mythology associated with those festivals⁸ *as well as* because of their role within the Greek pantheon that Apollo and Dionysos were so frequently chosen as the figures for adorning a vase.

of a memory than a reality' (1984: 1). His article focuses on the festival of Poseidon in the month of Poseideon, but from the evidence there is an argument to see Poseidon as a major god in many places around the Aegean.

⁷ Poseidon's name is found on the Linear B tablets: Bremmer (2010: 3); Simon (1998: 59). For a full discussion of Poseidon's name see Heubeck (1958-1959).

⁸ We know that festivals were sometimes depicted on vases, particularly on vase-shapes associated with the festival: the krateriskoi at Brauron is an example of this. However, even if the shape was not used in a festival context, it does not follow that it cannot depict a festival as Shapiro (1997: esp. 63) shows in his discussion of scenes on pelikai.

4.1 Festivals of Poseidon

In the previous two chapters a discussion of the festivals of the god held in Athens has been the starting point, but in this section, there follows a brief overview of the evidence for festivals of Poseidon in Athens as far as can be ascertained,⁹ then a summary of some of the other areas of Greece where Poseidon was honoured.

4.1.1 Athens

In Athens, there is very little evidence for the worship of Poseidon; although there are several cult places in Attica itself, there are few within the city.¹⁰ The Akropolis is shared among Athena and several other gods, the most important of which were probably Athena, Artemis, Zeus, and Poseidon,¹¹ giving Poseidon at least part of a sacred area in Athens (albeit a shared one).¹² There are, for instance, some dedications to Poseidon found on the Akropolis.¹³ The Erechtheion was the building in which Poseidon, among others, was honoured; Pausanias lists the deities and heroes associated with the Erechtheion: Zeus Hypatos, Poseidon, Erechtheus, Boutes, Hephaistos, Athena, and Hermes.¹⁴ However, the building as we know it now is a classical building, probably begun in the late 430s or even after,¹⁵ but we must assume that the cultic significance of the site was much older. On the west pediment of the Parthenon, again of a classical date, is shown the contest between Athena and Poseidon,¹⁶ suggesting at the very least the significance in Athens of the contest between the two gods in the middle of the fifth

⁹ As has been indicated the evidence for festivals of Poseidon within Athens is largely absent; see p.216n2.

¹⁰ See Shapiro (1989a: 101) who comments that although Poseidon may have been a key deity in some other areas of Greece, in Athens he appears not to have been based on festival records and the evidence from temple sites; see above p.216n2. He also claims that the evidence to show a strong cult, or even any cult, of Poseidon in Athens in the archaic period is tentative at best: (1989a: 104).

¹¹ Pedley (2005: 187).

¹² We know that Poseidon shared his sacred space not just with other deities but also with the hero Erechtheus: Shapiro (1989a: 101-102); Hopper (1971: 66).

¹³ Hopper (1971: 66): 'It is worth noting that the dedicator of an offering there, in return for some unspecified but rich harvest from the sea, saw nothing odd in referring to 'the ruler of the sea, Lord of the Golden Trident'.'

¹⁴ Pausanias 1.26.5-1.27.1. See Travlos (1971: 213-227) for the Erechtheion.

¹⁵ Camp (2001: 95).

¹⁶ Camp (2001: 218) notes that it is possible to guess at how the figure of Poseidon looked by examining the much later façade of the Odeion of Agrippa, the figures of which were based on the statues of Poseidon and Hephaistos from the pediments of the Parthenon; see also Thompson (1950: 104).

century.¹⁷ Nevertheless, according to Shapiro, the cult of one aspect of Poseidon, Poseidon Helikonios, was significant in Attica at the end of the Bronze Age (or slightly before).¹⁸

The name of the month Poseideon is probably a reference to a festival in honour of the god; although nothing remains in Athens to help us piece together what happened,¹⁹ it seems to have been held in the coldest part of the year.²⁰ We do know that on the 8th of the month Poseidon was honoured,²¹ specifically as Khamaizelos (seeking the ground, low-growing) in private Athenian festival calendars, with cakes and wineless offerings.²² Deubner, following Plutarch, places the state Posidea (about which we know very little) on the 8th of Poseideon.²³ At the Haloa, there was a procession organised for Poseidon, whose nature was, according to Deubner, originally chthonic.²⁴ Just out of Athens, at Hippeios Kolonos, there was a temple of Poseidon, where his influence over horses was shared with Athena.²⁵ The evidence is from the fifth century but Shapiro argues that the centrality of the cavalry in the sixth century suggests that it is likely this aspect of Poseidon was of significance then.²⁶ At Agrai, near Athens, Demeter Thesmophoros and Poseidon Helikonios were worshipped.²⁷

4.1.2 Sounion

Sounion, the deme of the Leontis tribe, contains some Bronze Age remains, and the Homeric epics provide evidence that there was significant cult activity there.²⁸ Its position, a headland jutting out to sea, made it an ideal location for a temple and sanctuary

¹⁷ Shapiro (1996: 217, 223n9).

¹⁸ Shapiro (1989a: 102-103).

¹⁹ Deubner (1966: 214).

²⁰ Theophrastes, *Characters* 28.4; Deubner (1966: 214n9).

²¹ Plutarch, *Theseus* 36.4.

²² Deubner (1966: 214).

²³ Plutarch, *Theseus* 36.4; Deubner (1966: 215).

²⁴ Deubner (1966: 62). Eustathios *ad Iliadem* 791.15; Deubner (1966: 64n1); Nilsson (1925: 121) states that Poseidon 'has a place in the Haloa, the Attic festival of the vegetation.' Christopoulos (1994: 125) has Poseidon's chthonic aspect predate his association with water and the sea and for this reason the god was connection with Erechtheus, an Athenian divinity particularly connected with the earth.

²⁵ Sophocles *Oedipus at Kolonos* 1070f. See Hopper (1971: 66).

²⁶ Shapiro (1989a: 108).

²⁷ Eustathios *ad Iliadem* 361.36; Shapiro (1989a: 102).

²⁸ Camp (2001: 14, 305). According to the *Odyssey* (3.278ff.) Menelaos stopped at Sounion on his way home from Troy and buried his helmsman Phrontis. Tataki (1985: 16) writes that the place had been inhabited since the third millennium BC as can be deduced from the tombs there.

for Poseidon.²⁹ The first major proof we have for the worship of Poseidon at Sounion is a find of kouroi dating to around 600.³⁰ The earliest evidence for a temple of Poseidon comes from the end of the archaic period, just before the Persian Wars. This temple was being built when the Persians arrived, so was never finished, but some of the limestone of the old temple was incorporated into the new classical temple for Poseidon, which was built to the same plan as the Hephaisteion.³¹ The frieze of the pronaos of the classical temple included a boar hunt, a Gigantomachy, as well as a Centauromachy.³² The area of Sounion was a strategic position, and so was fortified. The fortifications that remain today are dated to the fifth century during the Peloponnesian War.³³

Sounion was not just dedicated to Poseidon, however. Athena also held great sway there as a temple dedicated to Athena Sounias shows, and it too was built in the fifth century, although earlier than the classical temple of Poseidon.³⁴ Some of the archaeological finds at Sounion can be dated to the seventh century, but the best that have been found were all found in the sanctuary of Athena. For instance an Attic clay plaque by the Analatos Painter depicting a hoplite-laden warship with a carefully drawn and distinctive helmsman, now in the Athens National Museum,³⁵ was found in Athena's sanctuary.³⁶

There is evidence for a fifth-yearly festival held at Sounion, which included races of ships, at least by the time of Herodotos.³⁷ Deubner follows Schoemann in suggesting that this particular festival was in honour of Poseidon.³⁸ Tataki sees the temple of Poseidon at

²⁹ Camp (2001: 307).

³⁰ Camp (2001: 307-308); Tataki (1985: 17-18). The most well-known kouros from Sounion is held in the Athens National Museum and is known as the Sounion Kouros (Athens 2720); see Boardman (1991: fig.64). See also Athens 3645, another kouros from Sounion; Boardman (1991: fig. 65). According to Richter (1960: 30) there are at least four from Sounion from this time period; she lists them on pages 42-46 (cat.2-5, fig.33-49).

³¹ Camp (2001: 55, 308).

³² Camp (2001: 108-109). Some of these blocks survive, and Camp (2001: 110, fig.103) illustrates one of the Centauromachy.

³³ Tataki (1985: 37-38).

³⁴ See Euripides' *Cyclops* 293-294 and above p.216n2.

³⁵ Camp (2001: 305-306) discusses the cult of Phrontis and the offerings associated with the worship of the helmsman, noting the carefully drawn helmsman on the plaque attributed to the Analatos Painter: Athens 14935; Tataki (1985: fig.58); Camp (2001: 306, fig.267); Boardman (1998: fig.192) with museum information.

³⁶ The identity of the helmsman has been posited as Phrontis, but the findspot of the plaque does not support this suggestion. There are several more finds from Athena's sanctuary illustrated throughout Tataki (1985).

³⁷ Herodotos 6.87; Lysias 21, *Defence Against a Charge of Taking Bribes*, 5.

³⁸ Deubner (1966: 215).

Sounion as closely connected to Athens, while the temple of Athena found alongside Poseidon's was a more local affair.³⁹ This may suggest that Poseidon was more significant in Athens, but his temple was placed appropriately on a headland jutting into the sea rather than in the city of Athens itself.

4.1.3 Eleusis

Poseidon was worshipped at Eleusis as Poseidon Pater in a shared temple with Artemis Propylaia,⁴⁰ and the Eumolpidae clan, of vital importance in the running of Eleusis and the sanctuary, claimed to be descended from the sea god.⁴¹

4.1.4 Eleusis and Athens

Apart from the Eleusinian Mysteries, there were other festivals held at Eleusis that included the Athenians. Pausanias describes a sanctuary of Poseidon, shared with Demeter, Kore, Athena and Zeus Meilichios at the boundary between the territory of the Athenians and the Eleusinians.⁴² Deubner describes the two gods, Athena and Poseidon, as guests of Demeter and Kore.⁴³ At the Skira festival, the priest of Poseidon, priestess of Athena Polias, and the priest of Helios would process to Skiron⁴⁴ under the shade of a large awning or umbrella.⁴⁵ The procession was organised and led by the Eteoboutadae clan, a very ancient clan descended from Athenian kings and from whom the priest of Poseidon and the priestess of Athena Polias were always chosen.⁴⁶ Robertson names Demeter, Athena and Poseidon as the three Skira deities,⁴⁷ and places it as at one time 'among the most important in the whole calendar of Athenian festivals.'⁴⁸

³⁹ Tataki (1985: 16).

⁴⁰ Pausanias 1.38.6; Shapiro (1989a: 102).

⁴¹ Simon (1983: 24).

⁴² Pausanias 1.37.2.

⁴³ Deubner (1966: 47).

⁴⁴ Pausanias (1.36.4) describes the situation of the place as on the sacred street near Eleusis, shortly before the Kephisos; see also Robertson (1996: 52-56); Deubner (1966: 46).

⁴⁵ Deubner (1966: 46).

⁴⁶ References to the Skira can be found in Lysimachides, *FGrH* 3B, 366F3. Christopoulos (1994: 128-129) explains the presence of the priest of Poseidon at Eleusis as a result of the war between Athens and Eleusis, and gives a description of the Skira festival with bibliography. See also Parker (2005: 173-177); Simon (1983: 23); Nilsson (1940: 81).

⁴⁷ Robertson (1996: 53).

⁴⁸ Robertson (1996: 56).

4.1.5 Poseidon in other areas of Greece

4.1.5.1 Isthmia and Corinth

Poseidon was a major deity in other city states in Greece, such as at Isthmia and Corinth.⁴⁹ The Isthmian games, instituted in 582,⁵⁰ were held in his honour,⁵¹ and Isthmia itself was sacred to Poseidon from the dark ages. The remains of sacrificial activity have been uncovered dating back to the eleventh century, and dedications to the god, including bulls, vases, and most tellingly, model ships have been discovered from the geometric period.⁵² The earliest temple of Poseidon built at Isthmia can be dated to between 700-650.⁵³ Quite soon after the games were instituted, another temple was built for Poseidon.⁵⁴ The games included the standard fare for ancient games, but also rowing and horse races, possibly to please Poseidon.⁵⁵

Pindar describes Poseidon as dwelling 'on the wave-washed reef before the walls of Corinth'.⁵⁶ There are early votive plaques dedicated to Poseidon in Corinth at a sanctuary near the Potters Quarter, and on these plaques the god is sometimes depicted⁵⁷ or potters engaged in their craft, an aspect not usually associated with Poseidon.⁵⁸ The temple of

⁴⁹ Pindar (*Olympian* 13.4-5) describes Corinth as the entrance for 'Isthmian Poseidon'.

⁵⁰ Valavanis (2004: 281).

⁵¹ Pindar mentions Poseidon's connection with the Isthmian Games in his odes: see *Isthmian* 1.32; 2.12-16; *Olympian* 13.40-42. Valavanis (2004: 272) discusses the founding myths of the games; one is a hero-cult in honour of Melikertes instituted by Sisyphos, another credits Theseus with the games, as a way of purifying his murder of Sinis, and the final instance involves Poseidon's win over Helios for control of the land. See the chapter on the Isthmian games in Valavanis (2004: 268-303).

⁵² Valavanis (2004: 278). Simon (1998: 62) makes a distinction between Poseidon as inventor of ships and as father of seafaring peoples; a role that would fit his supreme ability to create offspring: 'Poseidon ist nicht der Erfinder der Schiffe, wohl aber der Stammvater seefahrender Völker, vor allem der Phäaken.' The ship then might be a signifier for seafaring *peoples* rather than an indicator of Poseidon's power over the *transport* across the sea.

⁵³ Valavanis (2004: 279).

⁵⁴ A temple was built fairly soon after about 582 or 580 BC, as can be seen through the archaic roof tiles discovered on the site: Hemans (1994: 64); Pedley (2005: 134).

⁵⁵ Valavanis (2004: 281).

⁵⁶ Pindar, *Isthmian* 4.19-20, trans Sandys (1915: 462-463).

⁵⁷ See for instance *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 103-117*; Simon in *LIMC* 7, pp.456-458 (Poseidon).

⁵⁸ Boardman (1998: 185) writes, 'Near Corinth's Potters Quarter, on the slopes of Acrocorinth, there was a shrine of Poseidon to which the potters and painters took votive plaques. Some are quite crudely painted but the scenes include valuable representations of potters at work.' On the representation of potter's workshops and the making of pottery on Attic pinakes, see Karoglou (2010: 30, 69-70, cat.11; 95-96, cat.110; 176, fig.88-89).

Poseidon was in the city centre of Corinth,⁵⁹ despite the usual practice of placing sanctuaries of the sea god on harbours or near the sea.⁶⁰

4.1.5.2 Further afield

Poseidon was especially important in Pylos,⁶¹ and from an early time period as Homer's *Odyssey* proves.⁶² There is a city called Poseidonia (Paestum) in Italy, which translates to Poseidon's city; it was settled in about 600 BC by Greeks. However, in Pedley's discussion of the sanctuaries, no temples of Poseidon have been identified.⁶³ The major temples and sanctuaries are dedicated to Hera and Demeter, as far as can be ascertained. In Boiotia, there was a key festival and sanctuary in honour of Poseidon, the Onkhesteion,⁶⁴ although as Kowalzig points out, it seems to be the only one for Poseidon in that area.⁶⁵ It was possibly celebrated before the archaic period as Poseidon appears to be associated with Boiotia in the *Iliad*'s Catalogue of Ships.⁶⁶ Poseidon and Apollo are also particularly important for the seaboard at Argos and Akte.⁶⁷ In Troizen there is evidence for a festival in honour of Poseidon during which masters served and fed the slaves.⁶⁸ Poseidon was an important deity in Troizen;⁶⁹ according to Pausanias, Poseidon

⁵⁹ Valavanis (2004: 279) describes this temple of Poseidon, along with the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, as the 'earliest examples of monumental temple architecture', dating to before 650.

⁶⁰ Finley in Easterling and Muir (1985: xvii). This anomaly may be explained by seeing Poseidon as beginning as an all-encompassing deity in terms of his reputation and role in Corinth; he cared for the whole city, not just the seafaring aspects of it; this point of view is put forward by Curtius, cited in Konaris (2010: 489).

⁶¹ Bremmer in Bremmer and Erskine (2010: 5): 'There was probably a hierarchy among Mycenaean divinities, as Poseidon is mentioned most and receives the greatest number of offerings in Pylos.' Shapiro (1989a: 103).

⁶² *Odyssey* 3.4ff. The citizens of Pylos have gathered in their nine companies and sacrifice nine bulls for each of the nine companies.

⁶³ Pedley (2005: 167-185; 168).

⁶⁴ The sacred area and activities are briefly described in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 230-240: it was an area sacred to horses and chariots. See also Pindar *Isthmian* 1.32-33; *Isthmian* 4.19.

⁶⁵ Kowalzig (2007: 365): 'The Onkhesteion is the only significant cult of Poseidon's in all of Boiotia', but it seems to have been monumentalised in the sixth century.

⁶⁶ 'Poseidon of Onkhestos was indeed an old god of the "Boiotians", and is loosely attached to a group of this name in the *Catalogue of Ships*': Kowalzig (2007: 366). In the *Iliad*, Poseidon is connected with a group of Boiotians under Leitos and Peneleos, who held sway over 'Onkhestos the sacred, the shining grove of Poseidon' (2.494-508; trans Lattimore [1951: 89]).

⁶⁷ As Kowalzig (2007: 150) points out, 'Apollo and Poseidon were among those who tied the Akte's maritime communities together. Particularly when set against the religious landscape of the Argive Plain, Argos and the cities of the coast are noticeably different. While Hera dominates the Argeia, Apollo and Poseidon rule Argos and the seaboard...Poseidon is especially prominent in these cities. That there is a tradition of Poseidon scuffling with Hera over guardianship of the Argive Plain, just as he does with Athena at Athens, may indicate the god's inherited standing at Argos. Poseidon has a similar experience at Troizen, and he is a conspicuous god at Hermione.'

⁶⁸ Versnel (1987: 130).

⁶⁹ Plutarch, *Theseus* 6.1; Strabo, *Geography* 8.6.14. Burkert (1979b: 113, 199n21).

and Athena were both the chosen deities of Troizen, Athena with the epithets Πολιάς ‘of the city’ and Σθενιάς ‘strong’ and Poseidon named Βασιλεύς ‘king’.⁷⁰

Poseidon is a particularly important Ionian god, alongside Apollo. The Panionian festival of Poseidon Helikonios in Mykale hosted the meeting of the Ionian League and the Panionia festival.⁷¹ Ionian cult centres such as Sinope, Smyrna, Delos, and Mykonos provide evidence to show that festivals for Poseidon were held in the month Poseideon.⁷² There was also an altar at Helike and at Miletos for Poseidon Helikonios, according to Pausanias.⁷³ The sacrificial victim for Poseidon was a bull, sometimes killed in the sea or on a boat as Menelaos does in Euripides’ *Helen*.⁷⁴ Certainly, small votive offerings in the shape of bulls have been found in sanctuaries of Poseidon, particularly at Isthmia.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Pausanias 2.30.6.

⁷¹ Herodotos 1.148; Graf (2010: 66); Shapiro (1989a: 102); Simon (1998: 65).

⁷² Deubner (1966: 214).

⁷³ Pausanias 7.24.5.

⁷⁴ Euripides, *Helen*, 1583-1588. Pindar also mentions a bull sacrifice to Poseidon in his *Nemean Ode* 6 (40-42) and his *Olympian Ode* 13 (69, 80-81). Kerényi (1951: 186).

⁷⁵ Valavanis (2004: 278, fig.388, 390).

4.2 Poseidon in mythology

Poseidon is not the major character in many myths of which we are aware (one such where he is a key player is in the contest with Athena, see section 4.5.1), perhaps because it seems his original role was connected to the activity of fishing⁷⁶ and to some extent agriculture⁷⁷ which later expanded to include the sea and seismic activity (including tsunamis).⁷⁸ The myths that *do* feature Poseidon do not seem to be directly associated with any particular festival of which we are aware, since the festivals focus on his ‘agricultural’ aspect, while the myths seem more to do with relationship to other gods, such as Zeus or Athena. This would mean that the vase-painters would have had no visual festival re-enactment of the deity and his stories to serve as the basis for their depictions, which in turn would account for the infrequency of depictions of the god, particularly in a narrative context in which he is a central figure.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ See below, subsections 4.3.1, p.227 and 4.3.2, p.230.

⁷⁷ He is the god of all water, including rivers or fresh water, as Vicent argues (2007: 260), and thus is in charge of vital irrigation for the fields. Appropriately one of his major achievements is being extremely fertile and lustful (he has many children from many affairs): Gantz (1993: 62-63). The sea was used first for fishing before long sea voyages and trade routes were established. In Hesiod’s *Theogony* (440-443), Poseidon and Hekate are named as the deities to pray to for a successful catch from the sea. Burkert (1979b: 114) associates horse sacrifices (in the sea, mentioned by Pausanias [8.7.2]) to a plentiful harvest of fish, although Vicent (2007: 260) interprets these sacrifices as for a deity in charge of rushing underground waters. In addition, from the evidence we have of how his festivals were celebrated there is a clear connection with other fertility deities and a focus on agrarian concerns. Robertson (1984: 14-15) focuses on the winter festivals, about which we have some small pieces of evidence, and concludes, ‘Poseidon’s winter festival is concerned with agrarian fertility; the setting, the victims, the god’s titles, above all his recurring partnership with Demeter, leave no room for doubt.’

⁷⁸ Demeter, one of the best known agricultural deities, does have a clear place in mythology through the loss of her daughter Persephone to Hades as is told briefly in the *Theogony* (913-914) and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* which can be dated to the first half of the sixth century (before the time of Peisistratos): West (2003: 8-9). This myth of Demeter losing her daughter Persephone to the Underworld for the barren months of the year is an aetiological myth to explain the seasons, but beyond this important myth, Persephone has no great role to play in other stories. Gantz (1993: 68-69) discusses the other myths in which Demeter plays a central role, although there are very few. Perhaps, then, like Poseidon, her sphere of influence as an agricultural (or food-providing) deity restricts the role that she can play in mythology, unlike the goddess of success, Athena, for instance.

⁷⁹ See chapter one, section 1.3, p.39, for a discussion of the process behind the identification of festival practice in vase scenes.

4.3 Poseidon's iconographic attributes⁸⁰

Poseidon's iconographic attributes are fixed from early on in the black-figure tradition: he is shown as a bearded, fully draped man (unless he is fighting in the Gigantomachy), whose major identifier is a trident.⁸¹ This manner of depicting Poseidon concurs with the descriptions of the god in the *Iliad*: Poseidon is described as using his trident as he destroys the wall the Greeks built.⁸² Poseidon's position as Zeus' brother⁸³ and therefore of the senior rank of gods is signalled by his beard, in contrast to the younger generation of gods, such as the youthful Apollo.

4.3.1 Trident⁸⁴

Poseidon is most often shown with a trident; in fact that is one of the key indicators of his identity. Without it, his identity is uncertain.⁸⁵ The trident seems to have been used in the fishing industry – that of the tunny or tuna fish in particular.⁸⁶ But it is also, like the sceptre of Zeus, one of the indicators of his power and status.⁸⁷ In the early period

⁸⁰ On attributes and their function, see Mylonopoulos (2010), especially page 179 where it is asserted that although the attribute is a powerful means of communication, it can be ambiguous and context must be considered.

⁸¹ As an example, see a neck-amphora attributed to the Omaha Painter (c.570 BC) on which is shown a birth of Athena scene with Poseidon depicted as a draped, bearded man with a trident: Louvre E861; *Para.* 33.1; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 350214*; see **fig.155**. Carpenter (1991: 41) describes Poseidon briefly and stresses the constancy of the god's representation until the fourth century. In the Gigantomachy, Poseidon is sometimes shown in armour, and he attacks his foe with a rock and trident; see below, subsection 4.5.1.2, p.255. For a brief summary of the attributes of Poseidon see Simon in *LIMC* 7, p.477 [Poseidon].

⁸² For instance, in *Iliad* 12.17-34, Poseidon, with trident in hand, uses all of his abilities against the wall of the Greeks; his power over rivers, the sea, and the earth all come into play, although he shares the destruction with Apollo and Zeus. See also *Odyssey* 4.506, 5.292.

⁸³ Technically Zeus is the younger brother, but in some versions, because Zeus was more powerful and king of the gods, he was imagined as the older brother. For example, Zeus describes himself in the *Iliad* (15.165-166) as Poseidon's elder brother and a greater power.

⁸⁴ For a discussion of the trident see Wüst (1953: 478-480).

⁸⁵ Mommsen (1975: 64) points out, that at least in the early work of the Affector, even a draped male holding a fish does not guarantee that the character should be interpreted as Poseidon: 'Die Mantelmänner, die in Gruppe 1-3 unauffällig kleine Fische halten, lassen sich nicht auf Poseidon deuten, da auch mehrere von ihnen in einer Darstellung vorkommen können.'

⁸⁶ The Chorus in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* (131) describe Poseidon's trident as a device for fish-striking or spearing (ἰχθυβόλον...μαχανῆ).

⁸⁷ For instance, the chorus in Aristophanes *Clouds* (567) state that the trident stirs up the sea and the earth. Mylonopoulos (2010: 182) sees the trident as a symbol of Poseidon's power over natural forces, and Makkay (1983: 339-342) agrees that the trident was a symbol of power and not as closely connected to fishing as is often claimed. Christopoulos (1994: 129-130) constructs a case for seeing the trident as a symbol of the priestly office of Poseidon-Erechtheus, although this is strictly in the cultic sphere as opposed to art. Walters (1892-1893) argues that the trident developed from a staff very similar to Zeus' sceptre, which was topped with a design resembling that of a lotus flower. Over time, the Greeks began to

Poseidon is shown with his trident vertical with its base planted firmly on the ground, as can be seen on a Siana cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter from the middle of the sixth century.⁸⁸ Zeus sits on a throne in the centre of the scene with his lightning bolt stashed under the seat. He is holding a gnarly walking stick.⁸⁹ Behind Zeus stands a goddess,⁹⁰ and behind her Poseidon is depicted with another male behind him.⁹¹ Hermes (boots) approaches Zeus from the right, Athena (aegis, helmet, spear) follows him, while Dionysos with his drinking horn is on the far right of the scene. Poseidon is shown in a similar stance on a little master lip cup signed by Xenokles dated to c.540-530 BC.⁹² He is in the centre in this scene with Zeus (thunderbolt) on his right and Hades (?) on his left.

Mostly the trident retains its three-pronged fishing-spear appearance, but every now and then the trident is depicted in a more elaborate form, as on a hydria attributed to the Leagros Group in a private collection in Switzerland.⁹³ Poseidon (fish and trident) is depicted on the far left of the main scene seated and partly concealed behind a goddess holding a flower (either Artemis or Leto). Standing between the goddess and Apollo, who is seated in the centre playing his kithara, is Hermes, holding a flower. The right of the scene is taken up by Dionysos (with his spreading grapevine) and another goddess (Artemis or Leto). The trident (sceptre?) of Poseidon is almost identical to the flower held out by Hermes and the female figure on the left; it has five curving points like the petals.

Apart from Poseidon, very few other characters in black-figure are depicted holding the trident. One instance of the trident in the hands of someone other than Poseidon is in

differentiate between the two gods more clearly, and so the attribute of the trident underwent a similar process. Nilsson (1953: 166n22) argues that the trident is not connected to the lightning bolt of Zeus but is clearly a representation of Poseidon's power over the sea.

⁸⁸ Heidelberg S5 (VI29A, 55A); *ABV* 63.1; *Add.*² 17; BAPD 300545*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 264*; see **fig.201**; see Carpenter (1986: 99-100 [pl.27]) for a full description of the scene. Shapiro (1989a: 116 [pl.48c]) draws attention to Zeus' central position in the scene and thus his power, but points out that a satisfactory interpretation of the scene is lacking. The illustration of the power of Zeus may come in part from the height of the figures on this cup; here the Heidelberg Painter has 'made the most use of the high-figured frieze', something rare on Siana cups: Brijder (1997: 13).

⁸⁹ Schefold (1992: 11) labels this kind of stick when it appears in the hands of Zeus in black-figure 'the gnarled stick of the paterfamilias'.

⁹⁰ It is likely that this goddess is intended as Hera, as Brijder (1991: 449) suggests, not simply because she is directly behind Zeus, but also because she is holding her veil away from her face.

⁹¹ Brijder (1991: 449) suggests it may be Ares, but it could be Apollo.

⁹² London 1867.5-8.1007 (B425); *ABV* 184; *Para.* 76; *Add.*² 51; BAPD 302436*; *LIMC* 4 Hades 14*; see **fig.202**. Schefold (1993: 222) suggests that the figure is Dionysos rather than Hades, but there are no attributes to support such a hypothesis. The winged horses may reflect Poseidon's power over horses, but winged horses were also sometimes used as decorative motifs.

⁹³ Switzerland, private; *Para.* 164.45bis; BAPD 351202*; see **fig.203**.

scenes of the Kalydonian Boar hunt.⁹⁴ One of the heroes of this hunt wielded a trident, perhaps Euphemos the son of Poseidon, or even Theseus himself.⁹⁵ The trident is shown on a dinos attributed to the Painter of London B76 which depicts the boar hunt.⁹⁶ The hunter approaches the boar from behind and appears to be stabbing it with his trident. A similar composition is represented on a slightly later Siana cup attributed to the BMN Painter, c.560-550 BC.⁹⁷ The reverse of the Siana cup (in Taranto) shows a deer hunt, but no trident is in evidence; it does seem therefore that the trident was a particular attribute of a hunter of the Kalydonian Boar rather than a weapon used by hunters at any other time.⁹⁸

Apart from the scenes of the Kalydonian Boar hunt, the trident is held in two instances in the BAPD by a male riding a winged horse; both instances are Siana cups attributed to the Heidelberg Painter. One of these instances has the male figure wearing a hat and holding the trident horizontally in the interior of the cup.⁹⁹ He is identified as Bellerophon in the BAPD and by Brijder, but Shapiro makes a case for seeing him as Poseidon based on later representations of Poseidon on a winged horse.¹⁰⁰ The other is more fragmentary and shows the rider with the trident in the midst of a scene which includes men and women, some of whom hold wreaths.¹⁰¹ In the BAPD, the figure holding the trident is tentatively identified as either Poseidon or Dionysos in this second example.

Occasionally Nereus will hold the trident rather than Poseidon,¹⁰² but if there is no other figure with a trident present,¹⁰³ or no other iconographic identifier, even here it is possible

⁹⁴ On the Kalydonian Boar hunt see Bothmer (1948); Schnapp (1979); Barringer (2001: esp. 147-161); and a full bibliography in Clark (1990: 40-41).

⁹⁵ Hyginus places Euphemos at the hunt: *Fabulae* 30; Theseus is attested to being a part of the hunt by Pausanias when describing the scene on the Temple of Athena at Tegea, 8.45.6; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 30; and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.

⁹⁶ Dated to c.560 BC: Boston 34.212; *ABV* 87.18; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300807*; *LIMC* 6 Meleagros 12*; **see fig.204.**

⁹⁷ This Siana Cup is made up of several fragments, some in Malibu: 86.AE.156.1-2 and S80.AE.17.1-2; BAPD 9018036; and some in New York and Taranto: *ABV* 227.13; *Para.* 107; BAPD 302850*; **see fig.205.** For a discussion of the whole cup, see Clark (1990: 41-43 [pl.85]).

⁹⁸ On the use of the trident in the Kalydonian Boar hunt see a neck amphora attributed to the Fallow Deer Painter of the Tyrrhenian Group: Germany, private, 11 (prev. Basel, Market; Helgoland, Kropatscheck); BAPD 6359; Hornbostel (1980: 68-71, cat.48); **see fig.206.**

⁹⁹ Paris, Cab. Méd. 314; *ABV* 65.41; *Add.*² 17; BAPD 300584*; **see fig.207.**

¹⁰⁰ BAPD 300584*; Brijder (1991: cat.408, [pl.134a-c]); Shapiro (1989a: 109, [pl.52a]).

¹⁰¹ Syracuse 7.268; *Para.* 27.10bis; BAPD 350188; Brijder (1991: cat.378, pl.127d); **see fig.208.**

¹⁰² See for instance a column krater which depicts Herakles fighting Triton with Nereus standing alongside holding a trident: Paris, private; BAPD 25843. Mylonopoulos (2010: 189-190) briefly discusses those who

that Poseidon was intended instead, or that the trident carried such a strong association with the sea that the identity of the person in the scene was largely irrelevant except for their connection to the sea.¹⁰⁴ However, one of the key identifiers for Nereus is his status as an old man – represented through the use of added white for his hair. If the figure with the trident is an old man, it would indeed appear to be Nereus rather than Poseidon. The trident, then, is Poseidon’s key attribute, and one that represents his mastery over both the sea and the creatures within it and not his protection of horses, a distinction that supports the theory that in black-figure the god’s primary function was related to bodies of water.

4.3.2 Fish (or dolphin)¹⁰⁵

The fish, shown in Poseidon’s hands after c.540 BC, is less frequently depicted than the trident but still signifies Poseidon’s connection with the sea rather than horses. It is mostly used *as well as* the trident as a signifier, and is only rarely held by Poseidon without the trident. Poseidon’s dominion over the sea and bodies of water is one of the reasons fishing is part of the god’s sphere of influence, and it is particularly the tuna or tunny fish that is associated with the god.¹⁰⁶ Poseidon is depicted with a fish and a trident on an unattributed neck-amphora in the Louvre which shows the god with Athena and Hermes,¹⁰⁷ and also on the reverse of a neck-amphora attributed to the Affecter.¹⁰⁸ This

hold the trident – Nereus, Halios Geron, and tritons – as well as commenting on the use of attributes such as the trident for humour or irony, as is shown on the Cabirion ware skyphos with Odysseus carrying the trident of the god he successfully challenged: Oxford V262 (G249); BAPD 680002*.

¹⁰³ On a late lekythos in Berlin, two figures hold a trident. One male figure holding a trident and dolphin rides a hippalektryon, while the other holds a trident and a drinking horn. It seems that the figure riding the hippalektryon should be identified as Poseidon, but the other figure holding the trident is probably Nereus as he is shown with white hair: Berlin 4774; BAPD 41337; *LIMC* 5 Hippalektryon 45*; **see fig.209**.

¹⁰⁴ There are some late scenes which show unusual scenes involving a trident. On plaque fragments in Athens, several women appear to be in a ritual procession (one carries a sacrificial basket and a youth plays the pipes) but one of the women is carrying a trident: Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2575; BAPD 32207; Graef and Langlotz (1925: pl.108.2575); **see fig.210**.

¹⁰⁵ As noted above, p.217n3, the word fish has been chosen to cover both the dolphin and the fish when it is being held, since when it is placed *in the hands* of a figure in black-figure, it is not always clear as to whether it is a fish or dolphin (nor does that distinction seem to matter; it seems to serve merely as a signifier for a connection to the ‘sea’ and Poseidon’s power over the fish and travel on the waves).

¹⁰⁶ Wüst (1953: 492). One could sacrifice a tuna to the gods (called a *thunnaion*), as Durand (1989b: 128) explains, because it bleeds well (see Thompson [1947: 81]). In fact, we have a sacrifice of a tuna depicted on an olpe attributed to the Leagros Group, c.510-500 BC: Berlin F1915; *ABV* 377.247; *Para.* 163; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 302328*; **see fig.211**. A man holds a very large fish over a bell-krater (although there is a table in the background, it appears the man’s fingers are curled under the fish, holding it up and so the fish is about to be ‘sacrificed’) while a youth brings back a knife to cut into the fish. On this kind of sacrifice of a fish, see Durand (1989b: 127-128, 241n37) and Gebauer (2002: 322-323), and for a lengthy description of the fish itself and its uses in the ancient Mediterranean, see Thompson (1947: 79-90).

¹⁰⁷ Louvre F257 (MN36, N3197); BAPD 4802*; **see fig.212**.

¹⁰⁸ Louvre F19; *ABV* 241.28; *Add.*² 61; BAPD 301316*; **see fig.213**.

combination of attributes is found also in the later black-figure period as on a hydria attributed to the Painter of London B343, from c.510 BC, which shows the Delian Triad.¹⁰⁹ The fish as one of Poseidon's iconographic attributes is not introduced in the evidence left to us until the middle period of black-figure, although it is held by others before this time,¹¹⁰ as for instance on a kyathos attributed to the Boeotian Dancers Group, c.570-560 BC, on which Triton holds a fish,¹¹¹ or on the dinos signed by Sophilos on which Okeanos holds a snake and a fish.¹¹²

The dolphin¹¹³ at the beginning of the sixth century was used mostly for decoration,¹¹⁴ and sometimes as a signifier for the sea.¹¹⁵ Only occasionally is the dolphin shown with other sea creatures, such as in the interior of a Siana cup attributed to the C Painter which depicts a large octopus with two dolphins.¹¹⁶ The dolphin (and sometimes the fish) continued to be used mainly as a decorative motif through the middle of the sixth century,¹¹⁷ frequently on cups,¹¹⁸ which have their own connection to the sea,¹¹⁹ although the dolphin and fish do of course continue to be signs for 'sea' as well.¹²⁰

¹⁰⁹ Leiden PC1 (prev. Canino Coll. 767); *Para.* 154.1*bis*; BAPD 351144*; see **fig.214**. On scenes of the Delian Triad which include Poseidon, see Heimberg (1968: 24-26) and section 4.5.2 below, p.261.

¹¹⁰ Walter-Karydi (1991: 243) lists some of the other sea deities which hold the dolphin, but argues that it was still most associated with Poseidon as god of the sea.

¹¹¹ Louvre CA577; *ABV* 30.13; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300345; *LIMC* 6 Nereus 3*; Kilinski (1978: fig.14); see **fig.215**. Pipili in *LIMC* 6, p.825 [Nereus 3*] lists an artist: the Painter of Boston 01.8110.

¹¹² London 1971.11-1.1; *Para.* 19.16*bis*; *Add.*² 10; BAPD 350099*.

¹¹³ In discussing fish or dolphins depicted on vases when they are not used as an iconographic attribute for Poseidon, Triton or Okeanos, the distinction between fish and dolphin is important, thus here the dolphin has been identified on the basis of a longer snout and narrower tail.

¹¹⁴ In the BAPD in the first half of the sixth century, there are twelve examples of dolphins, nine of which are fragmentary or used for decorative purposes. For instance, a neck-amphora attributed along with the Horse Head Amphorae has the foreparts of a horse on the body of the vase and a leaping dolphin on the neck: Bloomington 74.10.1; *Para.* 10; *Add.*² 6; BAPD 350026*; see **fig.216**.

¹¹⁵ Dolphins used for the purpose of representing the sea can be found in early black-figure as on the Nettos Painter's name vase in Athens where dolphins leap beneath the feet of the flying gorgons reminding the viewer of the myth of Perseus who was pursued over the ocean by Medusa's two sisters: Athens 1002 (CC657); *ABV* 4.1, 679; *Para.* 2.6; *Add.*² 1; BAPD 300025*. Similarly, the exterior of a Siana cup in Kassel (compare C Painter) shows a gorgon running on both the obverse and the reverse, framed in each case by a leaping dolphin: Kassel T663; *Para.* 25; *Add.*² 16; BAPD 350180*; Brijder (2000: pl.175b-c, 177a); see **fig.217**. As Ridgway (1970: 89) explains, the Greeks preferred to represent a landscape through the use of an animal or personage that inhabited the area – so a fish or dolphin is used for the sea. The chorus in Aristophanes' *Knights* (560) sing of Poseidon as the ruler over dolphins, and in the context it seems reasonable to see this description as praising his power over the sea as Walter-Karydi (1991: 244) points out.

¹¹⁶ Cologne, Univ. 306; *Para.* 25.109*bis*; *Add.*² 15; BAPD 350176*; see **fig.218**. One of these dolphins appears to have been pictured in an area too small and seems a little truncated; or it was intended as a short, fat fish.

¹¹⁷ Around the middle of the sixth century, there are more examples of dolphins and fish, 63 in total in the BAPD. Dolphins in particular are a frequent motif for a shield device too, as can be seen on a shield held by a warrior on a lekythos that can be compared to the Sandal Painter: Paris, Petit Palais 430; *ABV* 70; BAPD

The issue of the identification of a draped male figure holding a fish but without the trident, however, is complex and relies a great deal on context. On an unattributed little master band cup in Como, Triton is depicted in the centre flanked by two figures holding fish.¹²¹ The figure on the right has white hair and looks as though he is fleeing (or dancing?) like the Nereids who fill the rest of the picture field. The figure on the left stands firm, and so in the BAPD the figures are identified as Nereus and Poseidon. Probably the identification is correct in this case, and equally the labelling of the male as Poseidon in the chariot driven by a female figure on a neck-amphora attributed to the Leagros Group from c.490 BC is almost certainly right,¹²² although some of the other elements in the scene might seem unusual.

300640*. Even Athena boasts the dolphin on her shield (although the device is difficult to make out) on the Panathenaic amphora attributed to Exekias: Karlsruhe 65.45; *Para.* 61.8*bis*; *Add.*² 39; BAPD 350447*; and on the prize-amphora attributed to the Burgon Group in the British Museum: London 1842.7-28.834; *ABV* 89.1; *Para.* 33; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300828*; on the early prize amphorae, see Moore (1999 [fig.9-10 for this vase]).

¹¹⁸ For instance, a row of leaping dolphins is depicted around the interior rim of a cup which can be compared with the BMN Painter: Louvre CA2988; BAPD 8656*; **see fig.219**. Another picture field frequented by the dolphin is under the handles, often in scenes where the dolphin (or the sea) has seemingly no connection. A dolphin is depicted under the handles of a Type A cup, the name vase of the Group of Vatican G66, but the scenes on obverse and reverse are of men and youths courting: Vatican G66; *ABV* 209.1; BAPD 302667*. See also the dolphins under the handles on a cup in the manner of Lydos; the other images on the cup include sphinxes and a battle: New York 25.78.6; *ABV* 116.9 (the BAPD lists 116.8 as well as 116.9), 685; *Add.*² 32; BAPD 310242*; **see fig.220**.

¹¹⁹ Mackay (2010: 216-217); Lissarrague (1990b: 107-122); Seidentopf (1990); Beazley (1986: 48). The interior of an unattributed little master band cup in the Louvre shows Poseidon (or Nereus) riding a hippocamp in the centre medallion and around the rim, ships interspersed with dolphins: Louvre F145 (S1259); BAPD 4390*; **see fig.221**. On ships (particularly warships) in the ancient world, see Morrison (2000: the vase in question is discussed on page 176, fig.52). Beazley [1932: 189] identifies the figure in the centre of this cup as Poseidon and Isler-Kerényi (2007a: 183 [fig.111-112]) also calls him Poseidon; she discusses this scene among others in her section concerning Dionysos, dolphins, ships, and the sea. Dolphins can also appear in the medallion itself, as if they are swimming in the wine. The medallion in the centre of a cup signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos is filled with three large dolphins: Berlin 4604; *ABV* 78.13; *Add.*² 22; BAPD 300736*.

¹²⁰ A dolphin leaps in the background of Herakles' struggle with Triton on a Type A amphora attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter: Würzburg L263; *ABV* 142.6; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 310374*; **see fig.222**; and dolphins represent the sea over which Apollo travels in his tripod on a neck-amphora attributed to the Ready Painter: Louvre CP10619; *ABV* 685.8; *Para.* 53; *Add.*² 35; BAPD 306550*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 381*; **see fig.14**; for more information on this vase, see chapter two, p.54n28.

¹²¹ Como 19; BAPD 1789*; **see fig.223**.

¹²² Berlin F1869; BAPD 6094*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 225a*; **see fig.224**. The assumption that when a female drives a male passenger in a chariot she is a goddess is clearly relevant here; see Mackay (2010: 89). Simon in *LIMC* 7, p.471 (Poseidon 225a*) argues that a divine wedding between Poseidon and Amphitrite is not being depicted on this vase since Amphitrite is not performing any bridal gesture. Nevertheless, it is the presence of Poseidon and a female figure in a situation rather like a wedding that encourages the identification of the female as Amphitrite his wife.

It is often assumed that it is Poseidon who holds a fish in scenes such as the one attributed to the Affecter in Tarquinia, but this identification is not certain.¹²³ The figure identified as Poseidon stands to left holding a fish and a spear (not a trident). He faces Dionysos who holds out his kantharos and a grapevine. This central pair is framed by two male figures and Hermes (possibly). Dionysos' identity is certain, but the Affecter is very fond of painting male figures holding fish and spears so it is difficult,¹²⁴ without using the context, to identify the figure.¹²⁵ Again the context suggests that this should be Poseidon greeting Dionysos, but without the trident there is no certainty.

The appearance of the fish in Poseidon's hands only after about 540 BC may provide a starting point for a discussion on the influence of the tyrant Peisistratos on art during his tyranny. Blok has argued,

After Boardman's reconsideration of his hypothesis, the case of Peisistratid influence on the visual arts has all but disappeared. The same goes for the cases of cult, as demonstrated willy-nilly by Shapiro, and for architecture and literature, as revealed without any apparent qualms by Boersma and Slings...In so far as one case of cultural policy supported the others, no support is left at all.¹²⁶

Her claim for the disappearance of the case for Peisistratos' influence on art is exaggerated; the case is simply less intensely argued and any ideas on 'influence' are put forward tentatively. Shapiro's work on the art and cult of Athens in the Peisistratid period¹²⁷ does provide evidence for a growth in the festivals and celebrations of some deities¹²⁸ and it would be particularly difficult to argue that Peisistratos and those of influence associated with him had no effect on the cults of the period.¹²⁹ It is surely too naive to suggest that in the fifth century those in power were using public works of art to

¹²³ Tarquinia 625; *ABV* 245.65; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301358*; see **fig.225**.

¹²⁴ There are at least twelve examples of vases which depict a male figure holding a fish in the works of the Affecter collated by Mommsen (1975); some of these have more than one such figure in each scene.

¹²⁵ Some of these vases will be discussed in section 4.6 below, p.268.

¹²⁶ Blok (2000: 30).

¹²⁷ Shapiro (1989a).

¹²⁸ Many other scholars have noted this growth in festivals and sanctuaries, particularly those of Athena and Dionysos, and some put Peisistratos as the cause of the embellishment of the festivals: Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006: 10, 93); Simon (1983: 101) states that Peisistratos added the dramatic competitions to the City Dionysia; Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 58); Deubner (1966: 139). That Dionysos became much more popular in the middle of the sixth century is certainly apparent: Mackay (2010: 234); Shapiro (1989a: 85-86).

¹²⁹ There is also the well-known ruse that Peisistratos used to come to power after his first exile; that of using Phye as 'Athena' and coming back into the city in a procession. Herodotus (1.60) gives the account of this trick and Boardman (1972) used this very story to provide evidence for his work on Peisistratos and the tyrant's political manipulation of art. What the use of this charade with Phye/Athena shows, as Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006: 92-93) notes, is that Peisistratos was well aware of the political benefit of ritual and its importance to the Athenians. For a discussion of the reception of Peisistratos by the Athenians during this procession see Sinos (1998). Boardman (1975a: 5) argues that Peisistratos used his political acumen to institute and validate a new religion (the Lesser Mysteries) using myth.

demonstrate political or social ideas in Athens while Peisistratos and other leaders in the sixth century did not.¹³⁰ The art of the time period does reflect the popularity of various deities or festivals, just as it has been argued that images are a reflection of the values of the society from which they spring.¹³¹ It would not take much thought on the part of a leader to use public art to influence what values are emphasised or what deities or heroes are singled out,¹³² and these values then are reflected in vase-painting.¹³³ As Boardman argues, it seems reasonable to assume that vase-painters would not be the ones responsible for the manipulation of the myth, but rather they would ‘merely reflect new opinions and stories, though they may sometimes be led to express them in a manner suggested by their narrative medium and its conventions.’¹³⁴

Turning back to Poseidon, then, perhaps Peisistratos may be part of the reason for this shift from the fish as decoration to showing the fish in the hands of the god, and the clear favouring of the sea as Poseidon’s sphere of control in black-figure.¹³⁵ The tunny fish was associated with Peisistratos, at least by the time of Herodotus, since the historian claims that Peisistratos was given a prophecy on the eve of his third tyranny comparing the

¹³⁰ On the use of public works for the dissemination of ideas see Boardman (2001: 208). Shapiro (1992b: esp. 29-32) discusses the large numbers of public monuments erected to display Athens’ power after the Persian War, and Kimon’s role as financial backer for some large and public works of art.

¹³¹ Schmitt Pantel and Thelamon (1983: 19-20).

¹³² For leaders other than Peisistratos, see for instance Shapiro’s discussion of Kimon and Theseus (1992b: esp. 33) and Hoffmann (1988: 148) in his discussion of the imagery of the cock-fight and its association with courage and glorious death states, ‘Quite clearly Lykourgos used religion and the arts to inculcate the masses with his ideology.’

¹³³ The case for Theseus in art (including vase-painting) is described by Cook (1987: 167) as not necessarily having political intent, although it ‘reflects [the] results of political action...Theseus, for instance, was becoming more popular in Athens by the end of the sixth century, with official encouragement it seems, and his more frequent representation in art may be due simply to that popularity.’ In response to this, Boardman (1989: 158) argues that Herakles fits into this same model, and so Peisistratos’ use of the hero is still visible in the vase-paintings. Boardman (2001: 202) explains that

the use of heroic or divine figures in what appears to be ordinary narrative...may also reflect civic identities and activities. The general principle is not contestable – from the use of appropriate images of gods or heroes to identify towns on their coinage, to that ready assimilation of rulers to heroes and gods which is made explicit in later times. If the associations mean anything, as they must, on coinage or in laudatory poems, addresses and portraits, they might be expected to emerge also in popular art, and so on vases.

Further, if we take Webster’s view (1972: 298) that many stock scenes were copies of more expensive vases commissioned by the aristocracy, then it is not such a leap of faith to see scenes requested by aristocratic leaders of the polis as reflected in stock scenes.

¹³⁴ Boardman (1989: 158). Shapiro (1992b: 32) emphasises the vase-painters’ awareness of the works of art around them and the influence this seems to have asserted on their work.

¹³⁵ In a recent (as yet unpublished) paper entitled ‘Peisistratos and the Wine-dark Sea’, Mackay has explored a network of indications in vase-painting that suggests a response to Peisistratos’ marine activities over a period of time.

Athenians to tunny fish and Peisistratos to the fisherman.¹³⁶ Lavelle has summarised the evidence that describes how to catch the tunny fish, and it appears that the fish were known for their stupidity, blindness, apathy, and inflexibility.¹³⁷ This meant that the Greek fishermen were so far advanced beyond their prey that the contest was totally uneven and the catching of the fish simply too easy. The key figure in this fishing circle was the ‘tunny-watcher’ or ‘hooper’.¹³⁸ He had special knowledge and ability that allowed him to figure out how to catch and outwit the tunny fish. As Poseidon was Peisistratos’ ancestor through the Neleids from Pylos,¹³⁹ Peisistratos’ tie with the sea was doubly strong, as was seen at his victory against the Megarians at Nisaia.¹⁴⁰ The presence of the fish, seen as the tunny fish,¹⁴¹ held by Poseidon only after the middle of the sixth century may therefore have been a reminder of Peisistratos’ heritage in some instances (for more discussion, see below, section 4.6).

Poseidon holds dominion over the sea with his fishing spear, and particularly over this type of fish and its capture after about 540 BC, and Peisistratos was seen as a descendant of the god who was ‘given’ Athens as a fisherman is given the catch of fish.¹⁴²

¹³⁶ Herodotos 1.62.4. It reads ‘The cast is made, the net outspread, the tunnies will rush headlong through the moonlit night.’ (trans. Lavelle 1991: 317).

¹³⁷ Philostratos Major, *Imagines* 1.13; Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 537a18; Oppian, *Halieutica* 3.645-648; Lavelle (1991: 321-322). On the tunny fish in ancient times see Keller (1963: vol.2 382-393); Thompson (1947: 79-90); Radcliffe (1921: 99-105).

¹³⁸ The chorus in Aristophanes *Knights* (313) describe Cleon as like the one who watches the tunny fish (θυννοσκόπος) as he waits for the money. On the ‘hooper’, see Thompson (1947: 87-88); Radcliffe (1921: 101-102).

¹³⁹ This claim that Peisistratos was one of the Neleids from Pylos is cited in Herodotos (5.65.3), who goes on to say that Peisistratos’ father, Hippokrates, named Peisistratos after one of Nestor’s sons as mentioned in the *Odyssey* (3.37). Lavelle (2005: 18-29) analyses the potential for truth behind this claim and concludes that ‘it is not possible to say on the present evidence’ (2005: 27). However, he does point out that ‘There is in fact no evidence to suggest that the Athenians ever rejected the Peisistratids’ claim to Pylian ancestry’ (2005: 28), which is just as important for the end result. On the issue of Peisistratos’ genealogy and its relationship to vase-paintings see Shapiro (1983).

¹⁴⁰ The evidence we have for what actually occurred at Nisaia is fanciful (Aineias Taktikos), but what is clear, as Lavelle (2005: 52-60) explains, is that there was a resounding victory for the Athenians at Nisaia which brought Megara to its knees, and the key figure and leader of this battle was Peisistratos.

¹⁴¹ Shapiro (1989b: 40-41) explains the reasoning behind the identification of the fish Poseidon holds as the tunny fish or tuna: ‘Poseidon was naturally associated with all sorts of fish, but judging from the evidence of anecdotes and cult practice he was definitely fondest of the tuna. Indeed, his association with the tuna seems to be older than that with the dolphin’.

¹⁴² Lavelle (1991: 323-324) argues that later Athenians explained Peisistratos’ third victory and tyranny through his favour from the gods, particularly Athena. The oracle makes the Athenians seem as though they have no option but to fall to tyranny, as the gods appear to have willed it. Shapiro (1989b: 42-43) also discusses this scenario. Blok (2000: 30) argues that Poseidon holds no claim over Peisistratos, nor the art of the period: ‘Poseidon, the genitor of the Neleidai and hence of the Peisistratid family, was not awarded special cult in the sixth century.’ This chapter will provide verification that in certain representations of the god of the sea, his relationship to Athens and Athena is evident, and there is some evidence, although

Peisistratos did hold quite a powerful position even before he became tyrant because of his ability in the Megarian war. Lavelle describes Peisistratos as ‘Athens’ most outstanding war leader’ after the war with Megara¹⁴³ and the fact that there was very little rebellion during Peisistratos’ third tyranny and that of his sons until the very end is a clear indication of his popularity.¹⁴⁴ This suggests that should any vase-painter be influenced by the actions of the tyrants (such as illustrating a particularly lavish procession put on by the tyrants, or choosing to depict a god favoured by the tyranny) the purchaser of the vase had no issues about buying and keeping the item.¹⁴⁵

4.3.3 Horses

Poseidon is also responsible for horses.¹⁴⁶ Horses, however, are not as frequent in scenes of Poseidon in black-figure as one might expect.¹⁴⁷ He seems to have only one of his areas of governance stressed in Attic black-figure; that of the sea (although the sea-horse or hippocamp, discussed at p.240 below, may help to join the two worlds of the god).¹⁴⁸ This kind of concentration on one aspect of a deity is not unprecedented; Apollo, too, largely loses his identity as a bowman after the middle of the sixth century, and it is his musical aspect that is focused on.¹⁴⁹ For Poseidon, though, his iconographic attributes have always been representative of the sea in the trident, and while he does sometimes

tenuous, to suggest that Poseidon was given certain roles that can be linked with Peisistratos (see below, subsections 4.5.1, p.244 and 4.5.2, p.261).

¹⁴³ Lavelle (2005: 155).

¹⁴⁴ Lavelle (2005: 157); Blok (2000: 31) writes, ‘In general, the tyranny enjoyed an unmistakably favourable reputation, only turning into real oppression after the murder of Hipparchos (514).’

¹⁴⁵ In fact, it is possible that the aristocrats had an input into the decoration found on vases. Webster (1972: 295-300) discusses potters and their clients. He concludes that pottery was available and used by all levels of society and contracts between potters and the state were made and that commissions were a part of the potter’s oeuvre. It was these commissions that he argues may have led to the many stock or repeated scenes; the standard scenes were copies of the commissioned vase and it was the aristocracy that requested the singular scenes which influenced later scenes. Barringer (2001: 46) also assumes that the aristocracy had some form of control over the production of ceramics, possibly as buyers of the product.

¹⁴⁶ This is clearly expressed in Aristophanes’ *Knights* (551-557) when the chorus address Poseidon as the deity responsible for and taking delight in the racing horses and the chariot contests.

¹⁴⁷ At least it seems that the horse is not so commonly depicted with Poseidon at Athens. Other areas may have given Poseidon’s sphere of influence over horses more obvious prominence. Poseidon (trident) is shown riding a horse on a tetradrachm from the end of the sixth century from Potidea: *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 70*.

¹⁴⁸ There is some evidence to see the horse associated with water, but this is not stressed by the vase-painters. Nilsson (1953: 162, 163, 167) points out the close link between the horse and various aspects of nature, including water, and for the Greeks a clear connection to wells. Burkert (1979b: 114, 200n24) sees the horse associated with the fish in geometric Argive pottery.

¹⁴⁹ For the argument that this change from bowman to musician is a reflection of the changing focus of the cults of Apollo, probably brought about by Peisistratos’ desire to strengthen Athenian ties with Ionian cities (of which Delos was one), see chapter two, section 2.1, p.50 and 2.2, p.59.

ride in a chariot, it is by no means his most common form of depiction. Poseidon is the only Greek Olympian deity to be shown riding a horse, but this is in red-figure or on sixth century Corinthian pottery,¹⁵⁰ where the god was seen as a central deity,¹⁵¹ although Shapiro argues that some early examples in black-figure do show Poseidon as the figure with a trident riding a winged horse.¹⁵²

There is clear evidence for Poseidon's association with horses in cult and Shapiro argues, 'Though we tend automatically to associate Poseidon first and foremost with the sea, it seems clear that in early Greek thought he was just as often linked with the horse.'¹⁵³ Near Athens, at Hippeios Kolonos, Poseidon and Athena are associated with horses; the evidence is from the fifth century,¹⁵⁴ but Shapiro argues that there may have been a strong presence in the sixth century at the height of the phalanx.¹⁵⁵ Hopper writes, 'this Athena "of the horses" looks like a late intrusion into the sphere of Poseidon' which came about as another example of Athena's power over the natural forces represented by Poseidon.¹⁵⁶ Outside of Attica too, Poseidon's influence over horses is reflected in cult,¹⁵⁷ and Burkert notes that horse sacrifices for Poseidon were common in early Greece.¹⁵⁸

However, despite the large number of horses found on vases, very few show Poseidon in the same scene, so there is not necessarily any immediate association established in black-figure with the god of horses. Athena has her owl, Apollo has his deer, Dionysos has his

¹⁵⁰ For examples of red-figure and Corinthian pottery depicting Poseidon on a horse, see Mylonopoulos (2010: 193); Simon (1998: 69, fig.73; 70, fig.77).

¹⁵¹ The Corinthians presented Pegasus on their coins from the beginning of the minting of coinage, as Kraay (1976: 80) notes, rather like the Athenians used the owl; the winged horse was the result of Poseidon's liaison with Medusa and thus closely associated with the god of the sea. For some examples of Corinthian coins, see Kraay (1966: pl.13-14).

¹⁵² Shapiro (1989a: 109) is discussing a Siana cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter: Paris, Cab. Méd. 314; *ABV* 65.41; *Add.*² 17; BAPD 300584*; see **fig.207**; this cup is examined above, p.229.

¹⁵³ Shapiro (1989a: 108).

¹⁵⁴ Athena was in charge of the 'civilising' of the horses (taming and training of them), under the guise of Athena Hippias; see for instance Sophocles *Oedipus at Kolonos* 1070f. Although the Parthenon was constructed later than the period under discussion here, it is worth noting that the west side of that building was a celebration of the horse as Palagia (2005: 252) explains.

¹⁵⁵ Shapiro (1989a: 108) points out that Poseidon as patron of the horse was worshipped most at Kolonos alongside Athena Hippias. The conclusive evidence for the importance of the cavalry comes from the late fifth century, however, and given the population of Athens in the sixth century and the wealth required to own a horse, the size of the cavalry may have been relatively small.

¹⁵⁶ Hopper (1971: 66). On Athena Hippias see also Pausanias 1.30.4 and 1.31.6.

¹⁵⁷ At the Isthmian games in honour of Poseidon, extra horse races were added, for instance (Valavanis [2004: 281]), and in Boiotia at the Onkhesteion (see above, subsection 4.1.5.2, p.224), horses and chariot were the focus as the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (230-240) tells us.

¹⁵⁸ Pausanias 8.7.2 mentions the casting of horses wearing bridles into the sea as a sacrifice; see also Burkert (1979b: 113).

goat, but Poseidon's horse is not in any way a kind of 'familiar' as these are, perhaps because occasionally in myth he appears as a horse.¹⁵⁹ The horse, even in geometric art, is associated with wealth and status rather than the deity.¹⁶⁰

With regard to the depictions of horses and Poseidon in black-figure, we do have one example of the god on one side and a stable on the other that has been interpreted as depicting Poseidon's own stable.¹⁶¹ This is on a Type A cup attributed to the Amasis Painter in New York.¹⁶² Poseidon is shown between warriors setting out and youths with spears, while on the obverse several horses are shown being tended by youths within a stable (represented by entablature). This scene is the exception that proves the rule, however, as such a clear association of the god on one side and horses on the other is rare.

4.3.3.1 The representation of horses elsewhere on vases depicting Poseidon

Nevertheless, what can be noted is that the depictions of horse-riding and horsemanship, including chariots, turn up in scenes more often on vases which have Poseidon in another picture field. This differs from vases which have other deities pictured somewhere else on the vessel. When compared to scenes of Apollo playing the kithara for other gods (excluding narrative occasions such as Herakles' apotheosis or wedding scenes),¹⁶³ the trends for what is depicted in another picture field of the vase is noticeable. On vases with

¹⁵⁹ As for instance when he chased Demeter: see Wüst (1953: 483); compare also Poseidon as a horse in his mating with Medusa.

¹⁶⁰ That horses, and by extension, chariots (also sacred to Poseidon in some areas, such as Onkhestos, see above, subsection 4.1.5.2, p.224), were a symbol of wealth and status from the geometric period onwards is widely accepted: Coldstream (2003: 76-77) describes some images of horses found in rich graves, seeing them as badges of knightly status; see also Moon (1983: 98); Kyle (1992: 89, 91); Padgett (2003: 4). Mertens (2010: 86) describes the favourite themes of 'wealthy aristocratic [symposium] participants – horses, warfare, and Homeric tradition.' The horse can be linked to the underworld because of its appearance on grave goods and, according to Pausanias (8.18.6), the ability of a horse's hoof to withstand the waters of the Styx. Therefore Poseidon has been seen as a chthonic deity: Schachermeyr (1950: 15, 18). On the removal of this distinction between chthonic/Olympian with regard to the gods and heroes see Ekroth (2002: esp. 328). I agree with Nilsson that it is more likely a reference to the wealth of the deceased than a vehicle for the transportation of souls to the Underworld: Nilsson (1953: 163) with references; see also Nock (1952: 225).

¹⁶¹ Mertens (2010: 83-87 [with colour plates]) quotes the *Iliad*'s famous episode of Poseidon harnessing his horses with reference to this scene: 13.20-39.

¹⁶² New York 1989.281.62 (prev. Kings Point, Schimmel 24); *Para.* 67; *Add.*² 46; BAPD 350483*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 261*; see **fig.226**. On this scene see also Moore (2004: 39-40 [fig.7-8]); Shapiro (1989a: 108-109 [pl.21b]); and Simon in *LIMC* 7, p.476 (Poseidon 261*). For a discussion of the representation of architecture on vases, see Pedley (1987).

¹⁶³ The scenes used for this analysis were from the BAPD and included: Apollo playing for female figures (any number); Delian Triad scenes (excluding those that include Poseidon); Apollo (placed centrally in the scene) playing for other deities; and Apollo playing for a god or goddess in a chariot excluding those that can be linked to a narrative (Herakles' apotheosis, wedding scenes). Excluded were scenes in which Apollo was not the central figure, as for instance in some gatherings of gods or narrative scenes like the birth of Athena.

scenes that include Poseidon, horses are found on almost a quarter of all examples (24.5%). Following horses, Herakles is the most frequent (20.5%), then warriors without horses (16.6%), then scenes of other deities (13.2%), then Dionysian scenes (12.6%).¹⁶⁴ The most prolific scene that has horses on the other side is that of the Gigantomachy. Out of 30 instances of the Gigantomachy that include Poseidon, eleven show horses (including those pulling chariots).

In comparison, the other picture fields on vases that have scenes with Apollo as the key player place emphasis mostly on Dionysian scenes (28.2%). Next most frequent are warriors (excluding horses or chariots) with 17.2%, followed by Herakles (13.2%), other gods (12.8%) and scenes including horses (12.8%).¹⁶⁵ This should not be interpreted as an attempt to suggest that the vase-painters deliberately chose horses or chariots when they painted Poseidon, but rather that it is a noteworthy trend that may indicate that the god of the sea was indeed associated with horses, if only loosely. It is also striking to observe that Apolline scenes are matched often with Dionysian scenes, much more than scenes which include Poseidon.

Thus overall the focus of the Athenian vase-painters remains on Poseidon's seafaring aspect, indicating the importance of this to the painters, and presumably their clientele as well. Determining a reason for this bias in favour of the sea is difficult. Certainly, during the sixth century the Athenians' military ability on the sea and their mastery of trade routes is clear.¹⁶⁶ But it appears that the vase-painters already preferred the sea-deity Poseidon over the horse-deity Poseidon before Peisistratos, with his mythological genealogical ties to Neleus and his naval victories,¹⁶⁷ came to power. Perhaps this focus on the sea aspect of the god can be explained through the way the governance of the

¹⁶⁴ There are 151 scenes of Poseidon which are on a vessel which has another decorated picture field, and of these 37 include horses, followed by 31 which show Herakles, 25 which show a fight without chariots or horses, 20 which show other deities, and 19 which show Dionysian scenes.

¹⁶⁵ 227 vases were included in these statistics as they show Apollo in a central role in one picture field and have another image elsewhere on the vase. There are 64 Dionysian scenes, 39 scenes depicting warriors, 30 showing Herakles' exploits, 29 depicting other deities, and 29 which include chariots.

¹⁶⁶ The switch from Nereus to Triton as Herakles' opponent in vase-painting is most likely a reflection of this: see Mackay (2010: 140-141); Glynn (1981: 132); Boardman (1975a: 10) and (1972: 59-60); see also Ahlberg-Cornell (1984) on the representations of Herakles fighting sea monsters on vases.

¹⁶⁷ Lavelle (2005: 52-60) discusses the Megarian War and Peisistratos' role in it in great detail. See also Glynn (1981). The tyrant's victory in the Megarian Wars at Nisaia was probably based on a strike from the navy, even if the battle was fought on land, but Cook (1987: 168) argues that the only naval aspect of the tyrant's victory over Megara was 'unopposed transport' and the battle was fought and won on land.

world was partitioned as we are told in the *Iliad*: the sky, the sea, and the Underworld allocated among the three brothers.¹⁶⁸

One possible way that vase-painters may have reconciled the two spheres of Poseidon is to show him riding on fantastical creatures associated with the horse, particularly the hippocamp, or to show the horse as winged (Pegasos). The earliest rendition of the hippocamp in the BAPD is from a Corinthian alabastron dated to the first quarter of the sixth century BC.¹⁶⁹ The Athenian examples are not far behind however, with Poseidon or Nereus (the figure is white-haired but holding a trident) depicted riding on a hippocamp on the interior of a little master lip cup.¹⁷⁰ The cup is decorated with ships sailing around the inside of the rim interspersed with leaping dolphins. On a fragment of a Siana cup attributed to the C Painter, Poseidon (trident?) is shown riding a hippocamp or Pegasos.¹⁷¹ During the period 550-500 BC, however, there is a relative dearth of examples of Poseidon riding any sort of mount. Later, though, the Athena Painter has painted Poseidon holding a trident astride a magnificent hippocamp followed by leaping dolphins,¹⁷² and on a skyphos in New York from c.500 BC, the Theseus Painter has added wings to his seahorse.¹⁷³ At the end of the sixth century, the hippalektryon enters the tradition, and again is a reference to Poseidon's influence over horses and the sea.¹⁷⁴ On a kyathos in a private collection in Lugano, Poseidon (trident) sits astride the cock-horse while strands of ivy twine in the background.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁸ *Iliad* 15.183-193.

¹⁶⁹ Princeton 1992.1; BAPD 61; *Acquisitions of the Art Museum 1992* (1993: 70); **see fig.227**. An alabastron dated to a similar time is illustrated in the *LIMC*: Basel, Market; *MuM Auktion* 26, 1963, 34, no.64, pl.22; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 153*. The hippocamp was frequently shown in Etruscan art during the sixth century, taken from Greek terracottas, gems, vases, or bronzes: Vermeule (1964: 106-107).

¹⁷⁰ Louvre S1259 (F145); BAPD 4390*; **see fig.221** and above, p.232n119.

¹⁷¹ Syracuse 49635; BAPD 8204; Brijder (1983: pl.18d); **see fig.228**. Only a portion of the inner medallion is preserved.

¹⁷² Black-figure, white-ground lekythos: Oxford 1889.1011; *ABL* 255.19; BAPD 519*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 156*; **see fig.229**. Boardman (1974: 218) is not convinced that the character riding a hippocamp in later black-figure is Poseidon: 'The figure with a trident riding a horse-fish (not a true sea-horse) on late vases might be Poseidon, Nereus or another marine power.'

¹⁷³ The entry in the BAPD labels the creature a hippalektryon, but the tail is definitely serpentine and not avian: New York 17.230.9; *ABL* 250.22; *ABV* 703; BAPD 306783*; *LIMC* Nereus 15*; **see fig.230**. Pipili in *LIMC* 6, p.826 (Nereus 15*) identifies the figure as Nereus, but he may also be Poseidon.

¹⁷⁴ The hippalektryon is associated with the sea as can be seen on a late lekythos in Berlin on which dolphins are represented leaping around a cock-horse: Berlin 4774; BAPD 41337; *LIMC* 5 Hippalektryon 45*; **see fig.209**.

¹⁷⁵ Lugano, Private; *MuM Auktion* 18, 1958, no.101, pl.31; BAPD 11675; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 159*; **see fig.231**.

The preference for hybrid mythical horses rather than the standard horse alongside Poseidon may still reflect the god's association with horses through a mythological filter, revealing once more the desire of the ancient Athenians to retain the distinction between mortals and immortals.¹⁷⁶ Some gods are set apart by their accompaniment of the fantastical or hybrid, or their ability to transgress societal boundaries.¹⁷⁷ Dionysos is associated with the satyr, half man, half horse (or goat), and likewise Poseidon, while governing the skills to do with mundane horses, rides a winged horse,¹⁷⁸ or a hybrid monster encompassing his other sphere of influence, the sea. Thus it is this combination of horsemanship and the sea that seems to have brought the sea-horse together; along with the earliest representations of the god in the BAPD is the Corinthian alabastron discussed above which shows Poseidon astride a hippocamp.¹⁷⁹ Again, though, if this was the answer to the conundrum of depicting Poseidon as god of sea *and* horses, perhaps more examples might have been painted (and thence been preserved in greater numbers). So it appears, once more, that Poseidon's connection to the sea rather than with horses is of primary importance for the vase-painters, and this is clearest in the middle of the sixth century, perhaps another (admittedly tenuous) potential association with the tyrant.

¹⁷⁶ See chapter two, p.127.

¹⁷⁷ The female deities frequently demonstrate this: Artemis is a female hunter, Athena a victorious female warrior; mortal women showing these traits are seen as 'Other' and are found in myth, such as the Amazons.

¹⁷⁸ A Corinthian column-krater attributed to the Potedan Painter depicts three winged horses with riders, the last figure named Potedan, another name for Poseidon: Bari 6207; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 151•. Corinth particularly embraced the winged horse symbol; not surprising, given Poseidon's position in that city.

¹⁷⁹ Simon (1998: 74-75 [fig.80]), in her discussion of the Oxford lekythos mentioned above (BAPD 519*; see **fig.229**), describes the god in this scene as the power over sea and horses: 'Poseidon reitet hier kein landläufiges Pferd, sondern ein geflügeltes Seepferd. Er ist Hippios und Meersherrscher zugleich'.

4.4 Poseidon alone or with Nereids¹⁸⁰

While Poseidon is often shown in scenes with other figures, usually deities, there are a number of depictions of the god alone, particularly in the later period of black-figure.¹⁸¹ In these images of the god, he is usually depicted riding on a hippocamp or a hippalektryon (on the later vases). Thus when the god is given the sole or primary position in a picture field on a vase, his power of the sea and his ‘taming’ of it to his will (represented by his ability to ride a powerful and mythical creature associated with it¹⁸²) are the major concerns of the vase-painters. For instance, on a late lekythos in the manner of the Haimon Painter in Bucharest Poseidon is shown riding on a hippocamp with dolphins frolicking in the background.¹⁸³

Scenes which show Poseidon alone but not riding a fantastical beast are rare. On an oinochoe connected with the Painter of Louvre F161, Poseidon is shown running with his trident with a vine in the background.¹⁸⁴ This vase is dated to the middle period of black-figure and may be a reference to the Gigantomachy in which Poseidon uses his trident as a weapon.¹⁸⁵ Yet in almost all scenes of Poseidon fighting the giants the god of the sea carries with him a large boulder with which he will crush his opponent. On this oinochoe the god does not carry this piece of rock which will become the island Nisyros,¹⁸⁶ so any reference to the Gigantomachy is not as clear as it could be. One other later vase is

¹⁸⁰ This section of the text focuses on scenes of Poseidon either on his own in a picture field or with Nereids; these scenes are separated from those which show the god with other Olympian deities (discussed below, section 4.5, p.244). For a full discussion of Nereids, see Barringer (1995).

¹⁸¹ Of the nineteen examples of Poseidon alone in the BAPD (excluding fragments which do not give an indication of the full picture), fifteen are from the late period of black-figure.

¹⁸² Usually this creature is at least part horse, but he rides a female triton on a cup in the manner of the Haimon Painter: Athens 357 (CC1108); *ABV* 561.541; *Add.*² 136; BAPD 331635; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 163*; **see fig.232.**

¹⁸³ Bucharest 03327; *Para.* 279; BAPD 351907*; **see fig.233.**

¹⁸⁴ Villa Giulia M553; *ABV* 450.2; BAPD 330163.

¹⁸⁵ Poseidon uses his trident as well as the rock Nisyros on a neck-amphora attributed to the Class of Cambridge 49: Cambridge GR28.1864 (G49); *ABV* 316.1; *Add.*² 85; BAPD 301642*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 175*; **see fig.234.** See also a neck-amphora near the Group of Munich 1501: unknown location, once Sir William Peek Coll.; *ABV* 341.3; *Para.* 153; BAPD 301890*. Nisyros is a volcanic island near its ‘parent’ Kos (from which Poseidon apparently took the rock which would become the island of Nisyros) in the Dodecanese islands. It is prone to earthquakes and its volcanic cone in the centre of the island is still active.

¹⁸⁶ The god is occasionally shown with just a trident, but the island he has thrown (or will pick up and throw) is usually depicted close by. The north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury shows Poseidon wielding his trident while the island is depicted under the hooves of the horses of the chariot in front: *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 132•. Moore (1977: 320-321) provides the reasoning for placing Nisyros in this position rather than on the god’s shoulder or on the ground beside him.

unusual in that it shows Poseidon riding on a bull.¹⁸⁷ Simon points out that Poseidon in this vase-painting is shown riding side-saddle, like a woman,¹⁸⁸ but his identity is certain as he holds both a trident and a fish. He also holds a large ivy branch. The obverse of this vase shows Dionysos riding on a bull and this may serve as a way of understanding the painter's use of a bull rather than a hippocamp. Poseidon was given bulls as sacrifice¹⁸⁹ and the river gods,¹⁹⁰ particularly Acheloos, were imagined in part bull-form.¹⁹¹ The painter may have wanted to stress the god's association with rivers, or the painter may have aimed for a sense of balance by showing both deities on bulls, or again it may have been some kind of joke, especially as the god is sitting side-saddle.

¹⁸⁷ Unattributed amphora: Würzburg L194 (HA146); BAPD 405; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 160*; see **fig.235**. Simon (1998: 75 [fig.82]) explains Poseidon's mount by emphasising the early association of the bull with the god compared with the later connection with the horse.

¹⁸⁸ Simon in *LIMC* 7, p.463 (Poseidon 160*).

¹⁸⁹ See for instance, *Iliad* 11.727-728, 20.402-403; and *Odyssey* 1.24, 3.5-6, 3.8, 3.177-178, 11.130-131, 13.180-181, 13.184, 23.227-228. Anhalt (1997) discusses the occurrences and significance of the bull in the *Odyssey*.

¹⁹⁰ A bull is sacrificed to the river-god Skamander in the *Iliad*, 21.130-131.

¹⁹¹ On a Siana cup attributed to the Painter of Boston CA, Herakles fights Acheloos in bull form: Boston 99.519; *ABV* 69.1; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300620*; see **fig.236**. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae* Deianeira is wooed by Acheloos, who approaches her father in three different forms: a bull, a snake, and a bull-headed man (5-14). In the *Iliad*, Skamander is described as bellowing like a bull: 21.237. On rivers and river gods see Brewster (1997); see Lee (2006: 317-321 with references) for a brief overview of the river god Acheloos.

4.5 Poseidon's relationship to other deities

The relationship between Poseidon and one or two of the other deities is complicated in cult, in history and legend, and in literature. In the following section it will be argued that if we are to see more festivals reflected in the vase-painting then the basis of many of these more intimate and smaller gatherings of two or three gods may represent a cultic connection or relationship, at least in the eyes of the vase-painters and the purchasers of their wares.

4.5.1 Athena and Poseidon

Poseidon's relationship with Athena and with Athens is a complicated one due in part to the myth of the contest between the two gods for the city. Despite this antagonism, in black-figure Poseidon and Athena appear to be on good terms. Since we know so little about the cults of Poseidon within Athens itself, the vase-paintings become much more valuable as a way of gaining some small insight into the way the Athenians may have conceptualised and responded to the god. What can be deduced from a study of the vase-paintings that include the deities Poseidon and Athena confirms Poseidon's position as a powerful protector of Athens, even though he failed in his attempt to claim the city as his own. Furthermore, it is the god's position as a deity connected with the sea that seems to have had the greatest impression on the vase-painters, not his role in the equestrian sphere.

The contest for Athens is one of the key myths that includes both Poseidon and Athena as major players and so may have influenced the way the vase-painters decided to represent the god of the sea. However, there is some question as to the date of the origin of the myth, since despite the narrative of the contest between the two deities for the patronage of the city of Athens, it seems the Athenians claimed both gods with little ill-will during the sixth century.¹⁹² The earliest reference we have to the myth in literature is in Herodotus, who lists the gifts provided by Athena and Poseidon when they argued over

¹⁹² Calame (2010: 246) labels Poseidon as tutelary deity of Athens alongside Athena; Brouskari (2006: 174) explains, 'The Erechtheion was dedicated essentially to two deities, the main gods associated with Attica, Athena and Poseidon, who were *theoi synnaoi* (gods sharing the same temple)'. Barringer (2008: 66) warns that one should not overlook Poseidon's importance despite his loss to Athena, although her focus is on the classical period, after the success of the Athenians against the Persians.

the land: an olive tree and a salt spring respectively.¹⁹³ In art the west pediment of the Parthenon is the earliest *certain* representation.¹⁹⁴ These are both relatively late with regard to the period under discussion here. However, there is evidence from the various versions of the myth that suggests it has an origin earlier than the fifth century, and it seems that indeed the myth was known in the sixth century.

The most complete account of the argument for Attica is in the *Bibliotheca*.¹⁹⁵ The author describes the contest as a race from Mt Olympos to the Akropolis as well as the giving of a gift (for Poseidon a salt sea and for Athena the olive tree),¹⁹⁶ with Kekrops serving as witness. When the two gods quarrelled Zeus intervened and called on the gods to judge between them; the gods chose Athena who had called on Kekrops as her witness. The author also makes it clear that Poseidon was angry at his loss and flooded the Thriasian plain. Xenophon suggests that Kekrops was the one to judge, although it was the will of the gods.¹⁹⁷ Pausanias mentions the trident marks and salt spring that Poseidon created in his contest for the land of Attica, although he does not describe the judges or any other details,¹⁹⁸ apart from noting that the Parthenon's west pediment shows the competition between Poseidon and Athena.¹⁹⁹ There are also two other versions found in later evidence: one states that it was the women who voted in favour of Athena (and were the majority),²⁰⁰ and the other that Poseidon created a horse instead of the salt spring.²⁰¹

¹⁹³ Herodotus 8.55.

¹⁹⁴ For interpretations of some black-figure scenes as showing the contest see Marx (2011); Sourvinou-Inwood (2008); Shapiro (1989a: 104) and below, p.245n201. For discussions of the west pediment see Palagia (2005; 1993: 40-59); Barringer (2008: 66-67).

¹⁹⁵ [Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca* 3.14.1.

¹⁹⁶ Palagia (2005: 143; 1993: 40) argues that the race was the important part of the contest rather than the giving of gifts until the Roman period – the olive tree and salt spring were 'mere tokens'; see also Binder (1984: 17-18). Pollitt (2000: 222-223) seems to suggest that the contest was based on the value of the gifts, but focuses on the variant in which the gods had to race to Athens in order to claim it, and Athena managed to get Kekrops as a witness. Certainly claiming Kekrops as the witness (for either her gift or her arrival) seems to be the reason for Athena's triumph.

¹⁹⁷ Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.5.10.

¹⁹⁸ Pausanias 1.26.5

¹⁹⁹ Pausanias 1.24.5.

²⁰⁰ Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.9.

²⁰¹ Scholia on Virgil's *Georgics* 1.2; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.70; Kerényi (1951: 185). Palagia (2005: 244; 1993: 40) cites two red-figure vases which depict the horse rather than the salt spring, suggesting the variant was known at least by the classical period. Sourvinou-Inwood (2008) interprets some fragments attributed to Sophilos from c.580-570 BC as showing Poseidon giving the gift of the horse to the Athenians during the contest for Attica: Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.585A; *ABV* 40.17; *Para.* 18; *Add.*² 11; BAPD 305076*; *LIMC* 1 Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos 4*; see **fig.237**; and Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.585B; *ABV* 40.18; *Para.* 18; *Add.*² 11; BAPD 305077*; see **fig.238**.

The lack of evidence of the myth before the Parthenon has led some scholars to suggest that the story of the contest between Athena and Poseidon was created after the Persian wars as a way to explain the Athenians' prowess on the sea.²⁰² The problem with a later post-Persian war date of the myth, as Hurwit points out that, is that the story is too complicated and has too many contradictions to suggest a simple and straightforward fifth century invention.²⁰³ As Parker rightly argues, it makes little sense to read the myth as a made-up attempt to show Athens' domination on the sea, since the myth makes it clear that Poseidon loses,²⁰⁴ and, at least in the *Bibliotheca*,²⁰⁵ that he is quite forthcoming in his anger. It is also important to bear in mind that earlier literature, particularly the *Odyssey*, stresses an antagonism between Poseidon and Athena.²⁰⁶ In addition, the antagonism shown between the heroes Erechtheus²⁰⁷ and Eumolpos²⁰⁸ may be a reflection of the anger between Athena and Poseidon,²⁰⁹ and by extension Athens and Eleusis.

²⁰² Shapiro (1989a: 105-106) concludes that it seems 'very possible' that the story was a fifth-century invention, and points out that there is no tension to be found between Poseidon and Athena in vase-painting, which suggests that no tension existed between them. He also remarks that there was a sudden increase in the importance given to Poseidon on the Akropolis in the middle of the fifth century: (1996: 217). See also Neils (2001: 190); Hurwit (1999: 32); Binder (1984: 21-22). For a list see Marx (2011: 23n11, 33n74). Plutarch (*Themistokles*, 19.2-3) suggests that the story was made up, but by the ancient Athenian kings, rather than later leaders, to encourage the Athenians to turn to agriculture rather than the sea as their source of revenue.

²⁰³ Hurwit (1999: 31); Parker (1987: 200).

²⁰⁴ Parker (1987: 199-200) comments,

It has recently been suggested that our myth was first invented in or near the 470s, as a way of acknowledging mythologically through the figure of Poseidon the new importance of sea-power in Athenian life. That suggestion fits ill with the analysis just given, which was based on the broader type to which the Attic myth belongs; for angry Poseidon might be more likely to thwart than to favour Athenian endeavours at sea. That consideration, though, is decisive only for those who put their faith in the fixed meaning of a myth, rather than in its historically varying meanings. The Athenians could have adopted the old mythical pattern but chosen to stress within it Poseidon's interest in Attica, rather than his lasting resentment.

²⁰⁵ *Bibliotheca* 3.14.1.

²⁰⁶ Hurwit (1999: 32). Parker (1987: 211n56) points out that in Euripides' *Erechtheus*, Poseidon remains an enemy. However, sometimes the two deities are called upon together, such as in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* (130-133) where the chorus chant, 'O Pallas, and the Horseman, Prince of the Sea, King of the Trident, Poseidon, deliverance from fear, deliverance grant.' (Trans. Grene in Grene and Lattimore [1956]).

²⁰⁷ According to the *OCD*³, before the fourth century, Erechthonios and Erechtheus may not have been distinguished; certainly in the *Iliad* (2.546-551) it is Erechtheus who is born from the earth and tended by Athena rather than Erechthonios. On the question of the identity of Erechtheus and Erechthonios, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2010: 51-66).

²⁰⁸ The fight between Eumolpos and Erechtheus was told in Euripides' *Erechtheus* and is the motive for the war between Athens and Eleusis; that Poseidon was cheated out of Attica was told by Isocrates in his *Panathenaicus* (193): see Binder (1984: 16-17). Robertson (1996: 54-55) argues that the story of the battle between Eumolpos and Erechtheus is, in fact, a ritual myth, explaining the endless fight between wet (Eumolpos, son of Poseidon) and dry (Erechtheus, 'adopted' son of Athena, see below, p.246n209) at the time of the threshing when sunlight was so vital.

²⁰⁹ In mythology, Eumolpos is the son of Poseidon and Chione (*Bibliotheca* 3.15.4; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 49). Erechtheus, on the other hand, is a confusing figure. Before the fourth century it appears that Erechtheus was often confused with, or seen as the same as, Erechthonios (*OCD*³). In later texts Erechtheus is the grandson of Erechthonios, and it is the latter who was the offspring of Hephaistos and Ge (after Athena brushed off Hephaistos' semen from her leg with a piece of wool). Ge appears from the earth to hand the

Hurwit suggests that Poseidon's taking over of the identity of Erechtheus,²¹⁰ for instance on the Akropolis in the Erechtheion, is a later attempt at reconciliation between the two gods the Athenians revered (especially after the Persian Wars).²¹¹ Christopoulos argues that the association of Poseidon and Erechtheus (two separate divinities) was one way for the Athenians to emphasise once again their autochthony and their mastery over land and sea.²¹² The obvious antiquity of the trident marks on the Akropolis suggests that an explanation that does not rely on extrapolation from the Persian Wars is more convincing. Also, recently there have been attempts to identify the contest in black-figure vase-painting, as can be seen in the work of Marx and Sourvinou-Inwood.²¹³ These interpretations of fragments of vases are difficult to prove conclusively, but if they are correct then the myth was certainly known in the sixth century. Finally, one other way of interpreting the contest is to take into consideration Poseidon's character as a force of nature and Athena's role as a civiliser,²¹⁴ something the myth may be explaining or illustrating,²¹⁵ which has little to do with the Persian Wars.

Much more can be gleaned from the myth than the anger between the two deities, however, as Parker explains.²¹⁶ Athena's victory ensures that a) her supremacy in Athens is justified²¹⁷ (possibly by the gods themselves or the Athenians²¹⁸); b) the olive tree is

child to Athena who accepts him, although she then places him in a box or basket for safe-keeping. This story is told in full in the *Bibliotheca* (3.14.6); see also ps-Eratosthenes, *Katasterismi* 13; Hellanicus, *Phoronis* (FGRH 1A, 4F39); Hyginus, *Fabulae* 166; Euripides, *Ion* 260-282; cf. Pausanias' (3.18.13) description of Hephaistos' chase of Athena as depicted on the Amyklai throne; Gantz (1993: 77-78, 235-236). It seems that at least in these later sources it is Erechthonios who is the 'adopted' son of Athena, but in the *Iliad* (2.546-551) it is Erechtheus who is cared for by Athena after he has sprung from the earth. On Poseidon's association with Erechtheus, see below, p.247n210, 212.

²¹⁰ For a discussion of Poseidon's amalgamation with Erechtheus, see Calame (2010: 246); Brouskari (2006: 174, 184).

²¹¹ Hurwit (1999: 32-33).

²¹² Christopoulos (1994: esp. 125, 130). The priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus claimed direct descent from Erechthonios and therefore earth itself, but Poseidon had also revealed the sea underneath the Akropolis, combining both spheres in one sacred space. The Athenians claimed mastery over both of these areas. Sourvinou-Inwood (2010: 66-68) clearly differentiates between Poseidon-Erechtheus and Erechtheus, even though they shared an altar in the Erechtheion.

²¹³ Marx (2011); Sourvinou-Inwood (2008).

²¹⁴ Bremmer (2010: 17); Hopper (1971: 66).

²¹⁵ As Sourvinou-Inwood (1987: 216) points out, myths 'articulate, and are articulated by, religious realities such as ritual tensions and symbolic oppositions'.

²¹⁶ Parker (1987: 198-199).

²¹⁷ Although in most versions of the myth, Athena wins by some sort of trickery. Isocrates mentions that Eumolpos brought an army of Thracians against Athens claiming that his father Poseidon had been cheated out of the patronage of Athens: *Panathenaicus* 12.193. See Palagia (2005: 243).

²¹⁸ Pollitt (2000) argues for an interpretation of the west pediment as a representation of the Athenians as autochthonous and just, with the legendary founding families of Athens involved in a judging of the two gods and their gifts.

given sacred status;²¹⁹ c) the land of Attica is honoured by being desired by two mighty gods;²²⁰ and d) Kekrops was a fine, virtuous king who bore witness to the event (or perhaps even judged it depending on the version of the myth²²¹). Beyond this extrapolation, the evidence that we have for the relationship between Poseidon and Athena in the archaic period can be ascertained only from any images of these two gods together as provided in art, and the overwhelming impression one has from viewing the black-figure vases is that Poseidon and Athena appear to have a special, companionable friendship.²²²

The fact that this seems to go against what was presented in the story, particularly in the *Bibliotheca*, and also in Euripides' *Erechtheus*,²²³ does not make the affable relationship in the archaic period any less likely. Nor does it rule out the option of the Athenians choosing to take Poseidon as a second protective deity, with the god bearing no grudge towards the Athenians for his loss.²²⁴ One may argue that the Parthenon's west pediment shows the contest in a striking and combative way,²²⁵ as the two deities spring apart

²¹⁹ Kyle (1996: 118) makes an observation regarding the Panathenaic prize amphorae: the olive oil in the jars was a reminder of Athena's special gift, and therefore the battle over Attica with Poseidon; this final connection is perhaps a little far-fetched with regard to the oil given to the games' winners.

²²⁰ Plato, *Menexenus* 237c. Barringer (2008: 73), who gives an overview of the Parthenon's decoration in context, briefly sums up the pediments: 'Thus, the east sculptures of the Parthenon belong to the realm of the gods and their achievements, while the west sculptures – the contest for Athens, the fight between Athenians and Amazons – laud Athens and its heroic achievements.' With this interpretation it becomes clear that the pediment can be viewed as a triumph for Athens, rather than focusing on the loss Poseidon suffers. Palagia (2005: 252) sees the pediment as a reconciliation between the two gods, both powerful, together encompassing agriculture, arts, crafts, horses and the sea. Sourvinou-Inwood (2010: 70-71) explains that the title Poseidon-Erechtheus brings to mind the contest for the Akropolis and establishes Athena's supremacy over Poseidon while at the same time reminding one of the protection of Poseidon as well. Binder (1984: 19) describes the Athenians as treasuring the thought that two gods contended for their land. However, other areas were also fought over by the gods, and Poseidon is frequently seen as the loser. Pausanias (2.15.5) states that Argos was fought over by Hera and Poseidon, and was won by Hera; in Plutarch, there is a list of the places that Poseidon lost: Athens to Athena, Delphi to Apollo, Argos to Hera, Aegina to Zeus, and Naxos to Dionysos (*Moralia* 741a, *Table-Talk* 9). See also Parker (1987: 199). However, in some versions he did oust Helios for control of Isthmia: Valavanis (2004: 272).

²²¹ Kekrops is described as having been chosen as the judge because of his *arete* by the son of Perikles in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3.5.10).

²²² A recent article by Sourvinou-Inwood (2008) discusses the possibility of some fragments attributed to Sophilos showing the contest between Poseidon and Athena, see above, p.245n201. If her analysis is correct, then the myth was certainly known c.570 BC. The deities and Kekrops and his daughters are, according to Sourvinou-Inwood, approaching the place at which the competition will be held, so the focus seems to be less on the aggression between the two deities as on the privilege of the Athenians in gaining these gifts (Poseidon here brings a horse rather than providing the more common salt-spring).

²²³ See Euripides, *Erechtheus* in Collard, ed. (2008).

²²⁴ Indeed, in Plutarch's *Moralia*, *Table-Talk* 9, there is a discussion of Poseidon's loss to Athens, but his good will is emphasised, '[he] took his failure with an easy-going absence of resentment' (741a; trans. Sandbach [1969: 248-249]). See also Aristides' *Panathenaicus* 40-42. Parker (1987: 200).

framed by rearing horses. The energy and focus on the separating of the two gods could be interpreted as a sign of their antagonism or Zeus' intervention to prevent Poseidon's destructive anger,²²⁶ but the shape of the pediment and the purpose of the temple must be taken into account before any judgement can be made. The centre of the pediment has been damaged, but it may have contained an olive tree,²²⁷ and if this was the case, then the centrality of the olive tree is a clear indicator of the winner of the contest. It makes for a dramatic scene, then, to have the deities in the centre, in full action, leaning away from the centre to reveal (perhaps) the olive tree. Their weapons, the spear for Athena and trident for Poseidon, continue the striking diagonal lines created in the composition, providing the beginning of the momentum that will continue down to the corners of the pediment and focusing attention on the centre of the pediment. Furthermore, the purpose of the Parthenon was, of course, for the glory of Athens and Athena.²²⁸ What better way to impress this upon visitors and residents of the city than to present two deities in competition for the polis, the winner having the temple dedicated to her?²²⁹ Equally, it is

²²⁵ Boardman (1974: 219) writes, 'It is interesting to notice how the Amasis Painter seems to insist on a friendly relationship with Poseidon, while Classical art dwells on their struggle for possession of Athens, as in the Parthenon pediment.'

²²⁶ Palagia (2005: 244) points out that the pediment seems to be focused on the intervention of Zeus against Poseidon who has retaliated against Athens for the decision to choose Athena.

²²⁷ Barringer (2008: 66-67) outlines the possibilities for the centre of the pediment, 'which originally was filled by either the olive tree; Poseidon's trident; Zeus, who adjudicated the dispute; Zeus' thunderbolt; or a combination of these'. The evidence for seeing these items in the centre of the pediment comes mainly from the scenes on two hydriai: one is known as the Pella hydria and is in the manner of the Pronomos Painter and dated to the end of the fifth/beginning of the fourth century BC: Pella 80.514; BAPD 17333*; *LIMC* 6 Poseidon 241*; the other is attributed to the Apollonia Group and dated to c.325-300 BC: St. Petersburg P1872.130; BAPD 6988; Marx (2011: pl.6.1-2). For a discussion of the hydria and the west pediment see Drougou (2000: 199-206). Any marble pieces that have been associated with the olive tree (if one places the sacred tree in the centre following the Pella hydria) are, as Palagia (2005: 246) has pointed out, of Roman date and so cannot be taken as incontestable evidence.

²²⁸ Demosthenes (*Against Androtion*, 22.13) is forthcoming in his praise and pride in the Parthenon and Propylaia, and links it to the victory spoils taken from the Persian War, a major source of pride for the Athenians. On the Parthenon as a victory monument, see Castriota (1992: esp. 135). In addition, a strong emphasis on autochthony has been identified in the west pediment because of the large number of female figures represented, suggesting that the families of Kekrops and Erechtheus are portrayed; descendants of those sprung directly from the earth: Palagia (2005: 244); see also Pollitt (2000). Robertson (1985: 175) remarks, 'The Parthenon, however, built out of the tribute from Athens' subject-cities, seems to have a strongly propagandist character, and the identification of Athena with her city of Athens is part of that.'

²²⁹ Palagia (2005: 225) states that the marble sculpture on the temples was probably a way of conveying messages about the cult to the visitor of the ancient site. If this is indeed the case, then the pediments can be interpreted as imparting information about Athena, patron deity of Athens, and Poseidon. Palagia (2005: 242) argues that the west pediment was used as a way of explaining the presence of a cult of Poseidon on the Akropolis.

possible that the sculptural decoration was under the jurisdiction of the Eteoboutadai tribe, from which the priest of Poseidon and priestess of Athena Polias were chosen.²³⁰

I would argue therefore that the contest was known in the sixth century and that the focus of the Athenians at this time was on the desire of two powerful deities to gain the patronage of Athens, and rather than Poseidon's anger at the loss, the Athenians preferred to see his favour of Athens. Further, the gifts of the two gods helped to provide the Athenians with two of their strengths – agriculture, particularly of the olive tree, and skill on the sea. With this in mind, the friendly relationship between the two gods in archaic Athens is more easily explained, particularly when one takes into account some of the other similarities between Poseidon and Athena. They are, for instance, both agricultural deities.²³¹ They also have many cultic connections, and their names appear together in Linear B.²³² The Skira²³³ celebrates both deities, and as Parker argues the festivals (those for which we have information) that combine Athenians and Eleusinians stress the peace between the two cities, and therefore the two deities.²³⁴ At Lakiadai Poseidon and Athena were associated together, and with Demeter and Kore.²³⁵ Finally, even if the quarrel over Attica was indeed an argument that led to the anger of Poseidon, there is no reason that the Athenians could not have encouraged him to favour their city once again.²³⁶

One way to reconcile the two gods is to see the Athenians as claiming as many deities as possible who would like to, or who have, a claim to Athens. For instance, Erechthonios (or Erechtheus)²³⁷ was the son of Hephaistos and Ge but was given to Athena who claimed him and so the Athenians can claim to be descended from both Hephaistos and Athena,²³⁸ as well as being sprung from the very soil. The same kind of thing may apply to Athena and Poseidon – both deities are willing to fight over Attica, and only one can

²³⁰ Simon (1983: 23) observes, 'The Eteoboutadai, who held the priesthood of Athena Polias, certainly had an influence on the sculptural program of the Parthenon and on the statue of Athena Parthenos.'

²³¹ On Athena, see Hopper (1971: 66-67). Athena's role of looking after the olive trees in Athens gives her an agricultural facet, and Simon (1983: 39-46) ties this in with the Arrephoria festival in honour of Athena and Aphrodite, where the falling of the dew was needed for the olives to become plump.

²³² Hurwit (1999: 32).

²³³ See above, p.222.

²³⁴ Parker (1987: 203-204) suggests that the relationship between Athens and Eleusis gives Athens the upper hand over Eleusis in non-religious matters, while the domination is reversed in cultic matters.

²³⁵ Hopper (1971: 66).

²³⁶ Parker (1987: 200).

²³⁷ See above, p.246n209.

²³⁸ Both deities are associated with skill, as Barringer (2008: 103) notes, something undoubtedly not lost on the Athenians.

win, but it does appear that the Athenians have the loser's blessing as well.²³⁹ Equally, all of these claims that Athena has over the Athenians legitimises and maximises her glory and power and therefore that of the city. The Akropolis is one visible way of showing this,²⁴⁰ and the sharing of the Erechtheion is the key to the Athenians' collection of deities and heroes, all of whom provide cultic significance and protection over various aspects of life.²⁴¹

Returning to the black-figure vase-painting, what is clear is that Poseidon, despite the infrequency of his appearance on vases of this period, does appear to have a special relationship with Athena. Shapiro thinks that the proximity of their sanctuaries on the Akropolis is an indicator of their relationship and is reflected in the vase-painting.²⁴² The Amasis Painter certainly shows a relationship between Athena and Poseidon in some of his scenes, although there are arguments about whether the depictions of the two deities show a positive or negative connection. Shapiro discusses the Amasis Painter's scenes of these two gods, concluding that the composition encourages the viewer to see the relationship as a friendly one, most likely to do with cult.²⁴³ The two examples by the Amasis Painter have a similar composition, although the deities are reversed: the neck-amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles shows Athena on the left holding her spear in her right hand across her body, but not in a threatening manner.²⁴⁴ Her intricately drawn aegis

²³⁹ Certainly this is the view that is expressed in Aristides, *Panathenaicus* 40-42. The gods fought over Athens, which increases the greatness of the city, and Poseidon, despite losing, gave his blessing to the Athenians.

²⁴⁰ As Hurwit (1999: 34) points out,

Myth was central to the self-definition and self-representation of any Greek city-state, and the proper understanding of the Acropolis and its complex of buildings and images in large measure depends on the use, power, and resilience of the myths of the birth of Athena, the Gigantomachy, the contest with Poseidon for the possession of the land, and the birth of Erechtheus/ Erichthonios. Taken together, the myths confirm and validate Athena's role as a mighty warrior-princess and deserving patron and protector of Athens – as, in fact, the “mother” of her country.

²⁴¹ Brouskari (2006: 174-184) describes the Erechtheion with all of its different cults.

²⁴² As Shapiro (1989a: 105) states, ‘Throughout the sixth century, vase-paintings attest to an especially close relationship between Poseidon and Athena, which is easily understood if both had cults on the Akropolis and both were considered patron gods of the city.’

²⁴³ Shapiro (1989a: 106-107):

We are left, then, with two versions of the rather stately, yet friendly, encounter of two gods, a composition which does not occur elsewhere in the Amasis painter's work. Precisely *because* there is no mythological narrative, and no connection with neighboring subjects, we can best understand the pairing in terms of proximity of cult.

Boardman (1974: 219) also sees the relationship as friendly.

²⁴⁴ Neck-amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter: Paris, Cab. Méd. 222; *ABV* 152.25, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310452*; see **fig.239**; Neer (2012: 145, fig.5.42) provides colour photos of both obverse and reverse and compares the two sides, suggesting that this vase presents the two sides of the polis: country and city, wilderness and Akropolis. The second example is also a neck-amphora, although more fragmentary:

writhes with snakes and her crested helmet touches the upper border of the picture frame. Her shield is not in evidence; her left hand is raised in greeting. Poseidon faces her with his trident planted firmly on the ground between them.

This may seem a little forceful, but in fact the trident is represented in this position in a number of earlier representations of the god in seemingly non-threatening situations. For example, on a Siana cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter in Heidelberg, Poseidon is represented with his trident in a vertical position in front of him, but he is in a line-up of deities behind the throne of Zeus; in this case the trident merely appears to be an identifying feature.²⁴⁵ The same can be said of the Poseidon on a hydria in the manner of Lydos in the J. Paul Getty Museum.²⁴⁶ He stands facing a female figure performing the *anakalypteria*,²⁴⁷ and therefore not threatening the god in any way; even here he holds his trident firmly upright in front of him. Even the Amasis Painter, in other scenes which include the god, presents the trident in this vertical position. On an olpe signed by Amasis as potter in the Louvre, Poseidon awaits on the left of the scene for the delegation bringing Herakles to Olympos.²⁴⁸ Hermes leads Athena and Herakles to the god (not Zeus in this particular case),²⁴⁹ and Athena holds her spear in a vertical position mirroring that of Poseidon's trident, although Hermes stands between the two of them.

The Amasis Painter's scenes that include just Poseidon and Athena do not seem to have a narrative, but there are several examples of the goddess depicted in a mythological scene with Poseidon standing by. In fact, despite Poseidon's relative rarity in black-figure, Athena appears alongside him in over a third of all representations of Poseidon in the company of other gods. Of the 96 scenes illustrated in the BAPD that depict Poseidon with one or more of the other deities, 35 show Athena (36.5%). This number is an indicator of the number of myths depicted on vases that include Poseidon alongside Athena (who is usually the central character), which in turn implies the closeness of their

Boston 01.8026; *ABV* 152.26, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310453*; see **fig.240**. In this second example Athena is the one who places her spear-butt on the ground before Poseidon; his gesture is missing, however.

²⁴⁵ Heidelberg S5 (VI.29.A; 55A); *ABV* 63.1; *Add.*² 17; BAPD 300545*; see **fig.201** and above, p.228n88.

²⁴⁶ Malibu 86.AE.67 (86.AE.113); BAPD 79*; see **fig.241**.

²⁴⁷ The identity of the female figure is debated. Hedreen (1992: 88); Schefold (1992: 24); and Kaempf-Dimitriadou in *LIMC* 1, p.728 (Amphitrite 43*) argue for an identification of the goddess as Amphitrite, while Clark (1988: 55) and Moore (2010: 48n71, fig.21) identify her as Ariadne (or simply a goddess).

²⁴⁸ Louvre MNB2056 (F30); *ABV* 152.29, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310456*; see **fig.242**.

²⁴⁹ See Shapiro (1989a: 107), who discusses why this exchange might indicate a connection between Ionia, Poseidon, Herakles and Peisistratos.

relationship to the vase-painters of this time.²⁵⁰ The two most important mythological scenes for our purposes here include the birth of Athena and the Gigantomachy.

4.5.1.1 Birth of Athena²⁵¹

Poseidon is present in a number of scenes of Athena's birth, and therefore a closer look at these examples may allow us to see more clearly the relationship between the two gods. In the Attic versions of the birth of Athena,²⁵² Poseidon is shown as an observer (he appears in fifteen of the 74 examples in the BAPD, 20.3%),²⁵³ but perhaps surprisingly his presence is much more frequent in earlier renditions of the birth than later. In the BAPD the number of examples of the birth of Athena is much fewer in either red or black-figure at the end of the archaic period, a decline that may show a change in tastes or attitudes towards the myth or what it represents.²⁵⁴ The emergence of the new fully armed goddess

²⁵⁰ Neils (1996b: 186-189) discusses a neck-amphora attributed to the Three-Line Group which shows women working with wool on the obverse and Athena seated in the centre of the reverse framed by Hermes, Poseidon and two female figures: Louvre F224; *ABV* 320.5, 672, 694; *Para.* 140; *Add.*² 86; BAPD 301676*. She suggests that this may be a rendition of the weaving of the peplos for the goddess to receive at the Panathenaia. If this is the case, then the vase-painter chose to have Athena accompanied by Poseidon and Hermes as she awaits her birthday present.

²⁵¹ This subsection includes only those scenes that are labelled as the birth of Athena in the BAPD; this may exclude those that show Zeus before the birth.

²⁵² It was the Corinthians, rather than the Athenians, who first painted the birth of Athena. From the discovery of a fragment of a Corinthian pinax on the Acropolis from the second quarter of the sixth century BC it can be surmised, as Shapiro (1989b: 33) explains, that this was about the time when the Athenians began to represent the birth scene. On the fragment Athena is shown: her torso, most of her shield and her upraised right arm are emerging from Zeus' head (the god is named); two female hands are preserved on the far left of the fragment, behind Zeus' head: Athens, Akr. 2578; *LIMC* 2 Athena 343* (Shapiro [1989b: 33n7] incorrectly cites the illustration in the *LIMC* as Athena 346*). According to Schefold (1992: 9-10) it was Ionian artists who first tried to create a representation of the birth of Athena, but there is plenty of evidence, such as Corinthian shield bands, to show that the Corinthians depicted the birth before the Athenians. For evidence of a painting of the birth of Athena from the seventh century attributed to a Corinthian painter, see Strabo (8.3.12) and Athenaeus (8.346b-c).

²⁵³ Shapiro (1989b: 34). Brommer (1961: 76n10) lists ten examples of the birth which include Poseidon; in the BAPD there are fifteen.

²⁵⁴ It is possible that when the Athenians began to paint the birth of Athena scenes, they included Poseidon because he was found in some Corinthian representations (he is after all the chief deity of the Corinthians); see above p.253n252. In the depiction of the birth by Cleantes, Poseidon is present with a tunny fish, so it is perhaps scenes like this which encouraged the inclusion of Poseidon in Attic scenes. As time progressed, however, perhaps the sea-god had a weaker claim to being at Athena's side. However, Schefold (1992: 10) argues that Solon was involved in the planning of the building of the temple of Athena and her stance of Athena Promachos, and these renditions of the birth were based on a hymn and painting. This view does not necessarily negate the idea that the Athenians took inspiration from the Corinthians for the painting of the birth of Athena.

from the head of Zeus does draw attention to Athena's ability to bestow victory, especially in war, and perhaps may have been one way to glorify the city of Athens through their goddess.²⁵⁵

The presence of Poseidon more frequently in earlier birth scenes than later suggests that perhaps he was more readily associated with Athena's birth in the first three quarters of the sixth century.²⁵⁶ Out of the 69 dated black-figure examples in the BAPD, nine of the fifteen scenes which include Poseidon fall in the period before approximately 530 BC.²⁵⁷ His presence may suggest that the Athenian vase-painters associated him with Athena more readily in the middle of the sixth century. It is also possible that this may have come about because of Peisistratos' connections with the Neleids and Pylos, and therefore Poseidon, not to mention his marine activity during the expedition by sea to Megara and his defeat of Nisaia.²⁵⁸

The most prolific painters of the birth scenes are those from Group E. Out of the 74 instances of the scene in the BAPD, 21 are attributed to Group E (28.4%), so their choice of deities to fill the space has an impact on the number of scenes in total. However, this does not mean that the statistics should be ignored, because the painters of Group E were aware of and responding to the political and social climate of the time (or some aspects of it), as were the other painters.²⁵⁹ What can be seen is that those from Group E chose to

²⁵⁵ Schefold (1992: 16) states 'the theme of the birth of Athena is one of the most characteristic emblems of the proud self-confidence of that earlier period.' Schefold (1992: 14) argues that the drop in frequency of birth of Athena scenes is because 'the violence of the birth out of the head of Zeus does not fit in with the lyric sensibility of the Peisistratid period, and the myth would appear grotesque to the anatomical understanding of classical times.' Schefold's explanation here is rather far-fetched; while the birth is indeed violent, the focus is rather on the power and war-like goddess, which will end in victory for her, rather than on the pain that she may be causing Zeus. Also, even though the birth is slightly more common around the middle of the sixth century, the severe drop in the number of renditions is found at the end of Peisistratos' reign, rather than during it.

²⁵⁶ Or that the Athenians were more closely resembling the Corinthian scenes which may have included Poseidon, see above, p.253n254.

²⁵⁷ There are two examples of the birth of Athena from the period dated as 600-550 BC in the BAPD, and one of these includes Poseidon (50%); in the 575-525 BC period there are 34 examples, eight of which include the god of the sea (23.5%). In the period from 550-500 BC there are 29 examples, only four of which include Poseidon (13.8%), and in black-figure there are no late examples that show Poseidon. There are some examples of Poseidon present in birth scenes in red-figure, however, but not during the sixth century.

²⁵⁸ The total number of scenes of Poseidon in the BAPD does show a slight increase in the third quarter of the sixth century, before dropping off again towards the end of the century; while this may be another piece of evidence to suggest that the vase-painters chose to depict the sea-god more often during the time of Peisistratos, there are too many other factors which would affect these numbers for them to relied upon.

²⁵⁹ See Shapiro (1992b: 32); Schnapp (1989: 71) points out all of the images and ideas that would surround an ancient Greek on all sides – the context within which an artist is working must be taken into account.

depict Poseidon as present at Athena's birth in almost a third of all of their representations of the birth, much more frequently than Dionysos and Hephaistos, despite Dionysos' presence as a signal for celebration (and his common appearance on vases) and Hephaistos' central role in the myth.²⁶⁰ In the number of scenes of the birth overall, Poseidon is almost as frequently shown as Hephaistos and still more common than Dionysos.²⁶¹ Surprisingly, Ares is often represented, particularly in the works of Group E.²⁶² His association with Athena is perhaps through the cross-over in their spheres of influence: his in war as strife and hers in success in war. Perhaps this similarity encouraged the depiction of Ares in the scene; if so, Poseidon's presence may well be explained the same way: the relationship between Athena and Poseidon may have prompted the vase-painters to put the god into the scene.²⁶³

4.5.1.2 Gigantomachy²⁶⁴

A closer look at scenes of the Gigantomachy, as with the birth of Athena discussed above, may strengthen the idea that Poseidon and Athena were associated, particularly in the protection of the polis. The construction of the birth of Athena scenes suggests that Poseidon was one of the main choices of a deity present at her birth (apart from those with a central role to play) as well as showing that he was chosen more often during the time of Peisistratos. As indicated above, this provides a tenuous link between Athena and Poseidon, and possibly Poseidon and the tyrant and the city. When we return to the Gigantomachy, however, the connections between the gods become much more obvious. Athena is one of the major deities active in the Gigantomachy and in the commemoration of this battle at the Panathenaia there is firm evidence to support the idea that the Athenians saw the battle against the giants as a mythological representation of Athena (and the other gods) protecting their own city state (as an idealised and just polis) against chaos and destruction.²⁶⁵ As the deity associated with the city, it makes sense that Athena

²⁶⁰ There are 21 scenes of the birth of Athena attributed to Group E in the BAPD and Dionysos appears in three scenes (14.3%), as does Hephaistos (14.3%). Poseidon is represented in six (28.6%).

²⁶¹ Of the 74 examples of the birth of Athena in the BAPD, Poseidon appears in fifteen (20.3%), Hephaistos appears in eighteen (24.3%), and Dionysos in eight (10.8%).

²⁶² Ares appears in 26 examples overall (35.1%) and fifteen Group E scenes (71.4%).

²⁶³ It is possible that the vase-painters may have wanted simply to present other members of the Olympian family and therefore Poseidon was inserted into the scene as the brother of Zeus; however, he was still chosen over Hera, wife of Zeus, for example.

²⁶⁴ The story of the Gigantomachy is told in full in the *Bibliotheca* 1.6.

²⁶⁵ On the commemoration of the Gigantomachy at the Panathenaia, see Hurwit (1999: 30-31). Ferrari Pinney (1988: 473) explains that the Gigantomachy seems to have been associated with the tyranny and 'the

would be the one protecting the city most often as represented in vase-painting. Like the birth of Athena, the Gigantomachy was a prevalent theme in black-figure, but unlike the birth scenes the number of instances continued to grow throughout the archaic period.²⁶⁶ In the BAPD there are 500 scenes labelled as the Gigantomachy, and Athena is present in 417 of them. When counting the scenes of the Gigantomachy, scenes on the obverse of the Panathenaic vases have not been included, even though there is evidence to suggest that she might be standing at the ready to dispose of a giant, or be celebrating her victory over a giant.²⁶⁷

When analysing the number of vases as well as the frequency of the gods shown participating in the Gigantomachy, it quickly becomes evident that Poseidon is favoured as a fighter against the giants. The earlier scenes of the Gigantomachy show a large number of gods fighting beside each other, as on Lydos' fragmentary dinos in the Akropolis Collection.²⁶⁸ But as time goes on, it becomes common for each deity to be shown alone with one or two opponents.²⁶⁹ Athena is, of course, the most commonly depicted divinity shown fighting giants alone in later black-figure by a massive margin; she is fighting a giant (sometimes named as Enkelados as, for example, on a pyxis fragment attributed to the BMN Painter,²⁷⁰ and in literature²⁷¹) in 83.4% of all the Gigantomachy scenes. Herakles is the next most frequent, but he is seldom shown fighting alone. Poseidon is the most common deity after that, appearing in 49 Gigantomachy scenes, 29 of which show him alone. Compared with the other deities, this is a very large number. The next most frequently represented deity is Ares, but he is

Gigantomachy was particularly stressed at the time of the creation of the Great Panathenaia and of the grand celebrations of the Peisistratid period'. Vian in *LIMC* 4, p.251 (Gigantes) places the start of the representations of the Gigantomachy in the second quarter of the sixth century; this is the time of the reorganisation of the Panathenaia festival. Castriota (1992: 138-143) discusses the Gigantomachy on the Parthenon and describes the battle as the triumph of Zeus' laws over chaos, destruction and hubris (139) with an emphasis on Athena's role as Zeus' second; see also Herington (1955: 60-62).

²⁶⁶ Moore (1979b: 23).

²⁶⁷ See especially Ferrari Pinney (1988) who discusses the promachos stance of Athena on the Panathenaic vases which reflects the Gigantomachy, particularly as a narrative: 'the aftermath of the war against the giants' (1988: 474).

²⁶⁸ Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.607; *ABV* 107.1, 684; *Add.*² 29; BAPD 310147*; see **fig.183**. In the BAPD, Poseidon is not mentioned as one of the gods present in the scene, but Moore's diagram places him behind a large mound, identified as Nisyros, wielding his trident; on this scene of the Gigantomachy, see Moore (1979a); Shapiro (2012: 408-409 [fig.20.3]) and (1989a: 38 [pl.39c]).

²⁶⁹ See Vian in *LIMC* 4, p.265 (Gigantes).

²⁷⁰ Athena in a chariot with Herakles faces Porphyriion and Enkelados (named): Malibu 86.AE.143 and 86.AE.46 (L.88.AE.46 in the BAPD); BAPD 10148*; see **fig.243**. Lyons (2009: 166 [167, fig.1]) discusses these fragments as the largest of this type of vase, the distinctive Nikosthenic pyxis.

²⁷¹ See for instance Euripides, *Ion* 210-211.

shown in only 38 scenes, of which only six show him fighting alone. For a comparison, in the BAPD Zeus is never shown fighting a giant alone, neither is Apollo, and Hermes is in single combat in only two cases.²⁷²

The importance of representing the deity fighting a giant alone becomes clear when one takes into account the peplos given to Athena at the Great Panathenaia. According to Barber, the Gigantomachy may have been represented (at least sometimes) down the centre panel of the peplos in squares, each one representing one deity fighting their opponent.²⁷³ This composition may have been the inspiration for the one-on-one fights between giant and god that become more prevalent in later black-figure.²⁷⁴ With this in mind it becomes much more significant in light of Poseidon's connection with Athena that Poseidon is shown most commonly alone with his enemy giant. The association between the Panathenaia and Athena is clear, but Poseidon's special relationship to the goddess and therefore to the city may have been a part of the celebration then as well. It appears that the vase-painters, when calling to mind the Gigantomachy, thought first of Athena, and then, significantly, of Poseidon. He stands out for his ability to be remembered as a vital and single player of the Gigantomachy while almost all of the other gods appear mostly in group scenes. From this position as second only to Athena in the Gigantomachy (Herakles is more frequently depicted, but he is so closely connected to

²⁷² The statistics for each of the deities provide us with a quick view of the trends that appear in vase-painter preference. Note that it is predominantly male gods that appear in this list because they are identifiable through iconography. Apart from Athena and Artemis, the female deities are hard to identify one from the other, so they have been excluded from this list. Judging from the low number of representations of Artemis, however, it is unlikely that the goddesses will be rivals for Poseidon's status as second deity only to Athena. So Athena is the most commonly depicted, followed by Herakles who appears in 54 Gigantomachy scenes out of the total 500 in the BAPD (10.8%), but is presented alone in only six examples, which is 11.1% of his total scenes. Poseidon is the next most frequent, depicted in 49 Gigantomachy scenes (9.8%), of which 29 show him alone (59.2%), the largest percentage barring Athena's. Ares is in 38 Gigantomachy scenes (7.6%), six of them alone (15.8%). Zeus is in 26 of the scenes of the Gigantomachy (5.2%), but is not shown alone at all in the BAPD. Dionysos is next, appearing in 21 scenes (4.2%), six of them alone (28.6%). Hermes is shown in fifteen scenes (3%), two of these alone (13.3%); Artemis is in nine scenes (1.8%), one alone (11.1%); and Apollo is in six scenes on the BAPD (1.2%), none of which show him alone.

²⁷³ Barber (1992: 116) discusses the textile industry in ancient Athens and provides evidence to show that the women had the skills to create either friezes or squares depicting the Gigantomachy on the yearly peplos for Athena. The squares would have been cheaper to produce so may have been used at times of financial stress. Simon (1983: 71) writes, 'The Gigantomachy may have been shown on the middle stripe of the peplos in a series of panels with the Olympians in single combat. An archaistic marble statue of Athena in Dresden has such an arrangement.' On the primary sources which describe the peplos given to Athena at the Panathenaia, see chapter two, p.115n337.

²⁷⁴ As Vian in *LIMC* 4, p.265 (Gigantes) suggests, 'La faveur dont ce schéma a joui au VI^e siècle suggère que les peintres des vases se sont inspirés d'une œuvre célèbre, sans doute de péplos tissé pour les Panathénées.'

Athena, he is rarely shown separate from her), it seems that we should perhaps recognise him as a secondary deity of the city who gives his protection willingly to the people of Athens. Therefore the relationship between Athena and Poseidon is not one of bitter rivals, as the contest over Athens might suggest, but as a greater and lesser force combined for the good of Athens.

With this in mind Poseidon's position alongside Athena on some of the vases of the Gigantomachy is explained. There are five instances of Poseidon and Athena fighting together against the giants in the BAPD²⁷⁵ and two on which Poseidon is depicted on one side of the vase and Athena on the other.²⁷⁶ On an unattributed neck-amphora in Rome, from c.520 BC, Athena attacking to left is overcoming a half-crouching giant while Poseidon heads to right, holding his large rock Nisyros, stabbing a falling giant with his trident.²⁷⁷ The two deities are placed back to back in the centre of the scene, despatching the giants. On the obverse of a pelike in Leipzig attributed to the Leagros Group, Athena spears a falling giant while on the reverse Poseidon appears to be about to crush a giant under Nisyros.²⁷⁸ The idea of both gods fighting against the giants is reinforced by showing the two deities on the vase, seemingly working together despite being on opposite sides of the vase.²⁷⁹

An amphora of Panathenaic shape in Copenhagen attributed to the Swing Painter gives us a further clue as to the connection between Athena and Poseidon through the medium of the Panathenaia.²⁸⁰ On the obverse of this vase Athena stands in her characteristic stance with her spear raised and her shield ready, although her back foot is planted squarely on the ground. A little owl perches on the upper edge of her shield which sports three white

²⁷⁵ Four of these five instances are in the period 550-500 BC: BAPD 41650, 43389, 302305, 9023200; the final example is placed in the late period: BAPD 41122.

²⁷⁶ These are both placed in the 550-500 BC period: BAPD 302303*, 301538*.

²⁷⁷ Rome, American Academy; BAPD 41650; *LIMC* 4 Gigantes 185*; Shapiro (1989a: pl.19b); see **fig.244**. Moore (1979b: 24-26) discusses how Nisyros and the trident are used by Poseidon in these scenes of the Gigantomachy.

²⁷⁸ Leipzig T368; *ABV* 376.222; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 302303*; see **fig.245**.

²⁷⁹ While there is some resistance to seeing both sides of a vase as related in all cases as Hoffmann suggests (1988: 160), in this example there appears to be no reason to separate these two scenes rather than viewing the whole vase as presenting a unified picture. Barringer (2001: 33) reasons that all images are chosen from a repertoire, suggesting that some connection can be made; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999: 119) agrees on the whole, although he points out the difference a 'closed' composition can make. This pelike in Leipzig has 'open' composition on both sides: the giant on the obverse steps towards the right frame of the image, although he is collapsing under Athena's onslaught; the giant being crushed by Nisyros on the reverse looks towards the right border of the scene encouraging the viewer to continue turning the vase to see what is on the other side.

²⁸⁰ Copenhagen 3672; *ABV* 307.58; *Add.*² 82; BAPD 301538*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 174*; see **fig.246**.

balls and her helmet reaches up through the tongue pattern of the upper border. The snakes of her aegis are painted spread out behind her and atop the two columns framing the scene stand two panthers. On the reverse Poseidon is shown in the centre of the scene holding Nisyros up on his shoulder. He faces right and threatens a giant on the ground. The latter holds up a small rock but it is dwarfed by the massive island Poseidon has heaved onto his arm. Sometimes there are no connections between the two sides of a vase, but with Panathenaic vases the links are somewhat stronger because of the already established practice of placing an associated activity from the games on the reverse.²⁸¹ If Ferrari Pinney is right to see Athena's stance as an evocation of her fight against the giants (which is also depicted on the new peplos),²⁸² then perhaps one can make a stronger connection between the two deities Athena and Poseidon based on this particular vase: both are engaged in the Gigantomachy.

It does pay to note, however, that Poseidon may have been chosen more frequently because of his unusual tactic in the Gigantomachy: his use of the trident and the crushing of a giant under the island of Nisyros (this kind of victory is particularly fitting since the giants themselves use rocks and in addition they are the children of Gaia).²⁸³ However, this does not take into account his more frequent pairing alongside Athena, which still stands as a way of measuring their special relationship as protectors of the city of Athens. Perhaps one could even go so far as to point out that the use of a large rock, something other gods do not use, might have reminded the viewers of the vases of Poseidon's ability to both create and destroy large walls of fortification, as he does in the *Iliad*.²⁸⁴ It is also true that other deities do have special ways of despatching the giants – Dionysos sometimes uses lions or snakes,²⁸⁵ and Apollo, Artemis, and Herakles use their bows and

²⁸¹ See above, p.258n279.

²⁸² Ferrari Pinney (1988).

²⁸³ Boardman (1974: 220) notes, 'Poseidon is armed only in the early scenes but is most often naked or lightly dressed. He fights with his trident, rarely a spear, and his special contribution is to crush the giant Polybotes with an enormous rock, broken from the island of Kos, which, when it falls, will become the island Nisyros.' See also Moore (1979b: 24-26). Vian in *LIMC* 4, pp.259-260 (Gigantes) discusses Poseidon's role in the Gigantomachy, emphasising the importance and frequency of the depictions of Nisyros as opposed to Poseidon just using the trident.

²⁸⁴ Poseidon and Apollo built the walls at Troy for Laomedon: *Iliad* 7.452, 21.441ff; but Poseidon is also able to destroy fortifications as he does to the walls of the Greeks after they have defeated the Trojans: *Iliad* 12.13-33.

²⁸⁵ Dionysos makes use of a lion, panther and snake on the fragmentary amphora in the Athens Akropolis collection: Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2211; BAPD 3363; Moore (1979a: pl.14-15); see **fig.247**.

arrows,²⁸⁶ but this does not make them any more frequent in the scenes preserved for us.²⁸⁷

From what can be gleaned from the scenes in black-figure, the relationship between Athena and Poseidon seems to be a strong and friendly one, and while the evidence is inconclusive about the date of the myth of the contest between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica, it seems likely that the myth was known in the sixth century. But rather than focus on the antagonism between the gods, the Athenians seemed to concentrate on the protection of the city provided by both Athena and Poseidon, and their close relationship that may be explained through ritual associations. It could be argued that Poseidon's rarity in vase-painting as a whole does cause some problems in this case, since if he was a key protector or cult-figure in Athens, his presence may well have been more frequent in vase-painting. It pays to keep in mind, however, that Poseidon, while a powerful and important god, is completely overshadowed in Athens by the Athenians' patron deity, who, one has to admit, claims a fair share of any god's sphere of influence since she is the agent of success. Poseidon shares his festivals with Athena too, in Athens, and even his sacred spaces give way to hers, as on the Akropolis and at Sounion. He therefore is a secondary deity at Athens, whose festivals are combined with Athena's and whose identity is eclipsed by hers. Poseidon's infrequent occurrence in Attic black-figure suggests that his festivals, if they were celebrated in Athens, were not as visible as Athena's. Poseidon is always outdone by Athena and his cults and temples are often associated with hers; it is Athena who appears in the vase-painting rather than Poseidon. Her cult is more visible and so it is evoked more often in the archaic vase-paintings.

²⁸⁶ See for instance a Gigantomachy on a little master band cup akin to the Lysippides Painter: New York, Daniel Abraham; *ABV* 265.1; *Para.* 117; *Add.*² 69; BAPD 320002*; see **fig.248**.

²⁸⁷ It is true that Herakles appears slightly more often than Poseidon, but he hardly has an identity in his own right; he is envisaged as helping the gods in general (he appears on his own in only six Gigantomachy scenes).

4.5.2 Apollo and Poseidon

Poseidon and Apollo are often taken as opposing powers: Poseidon is a god of the force of nature, in contrast to Apollo's civilising role.²⁸⁸ In black-figure, Apollo and Poseidon are rarely found in the same scene *except* for in scenes of Apollo's festival on Delos, and this incongruity requires some explanation.²⁸⁹ Poseidon appears in a number of scenes of the Delian Triad, which may present another facet to the god's role and presence in vase-painting. He is not a particularly prevalent god in the general mythological repertoire represented in black-figure scenes, but his presence can be explained through his *role* in the Delian scene. As the god in charge of safe sea travel²⁹⁰ his depiction in scenes set on the island of Delos is more easily explained, and his status as a principal deity there is also indicated.²⁹¹ Alongside Hermes, who appears even more frequently in scenes of the Delian Triad, Poseidon's function as one of the gods who would ensure protection during sea travel is strengthened; Hermes, too, is a god associated with safe travel and the Athenians had to travel over the sea to Delos in order to attend the festival held there.

Of all the 208 instances of Poseidon in the BAPD, 23 show Poseidon in a scene along with Apollo and his mother and sister (or sometimes just with Artemis). For example, a neck-amphora in Munich attributed to the Antimenes Painter shows Poseidon (trident) on the right of the composition, with Hermes (hat, boots, kerykeion) on the left.²⁹² Apollo (kithara), to right, is flanked by Leto and Artemis, the latter with a deer behind her. There may be some question as to the identity of the goddesses in these scenes, since at times Poseidon and the goddess are superimposed, as on a neck-amphora in Capua attributed to the Painter of London B272.²⁹³ Poseidon, again on the right of the scene, stands slightly behind the goddess, while Hermes is depicted superimposed over the goddess on the left. However, more often than not it is the goddesses who are superimposed over the male gods, giving them prominence in the scene; their identity (rather than that of the male

²⁸⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood (1987b: 232).

²⁸⁹ See below, p.262, for a discussion of the rarity of scenes which include Poseidon and Apollo in close proximity or in smaller gatherings of gods.

²⁹⁰ The *Homeric Hymn to Poseidon* makes this point clear: 'I salute you, Poseidon, earth-rider, sable-hair. Keep your heart well disposed, blessed one, and assist those at sea.' (22: 6-7; trans. West [2003: 204-205]).

²⁹¹ See below, p.263.

²⁹² Munich 1576; BAPD 1158*; **see fig.249**; Burow (1989: 58-59 [no.M8, pl.136]) points out that in these Delian Triad scenes of the Antimenes Painter, when Poseidon is present he is always facing the action, unlike some renditions by other painters.

²⁹³ Capua, Campano 145; *ABV* 694.3; *Para.* 153; BAPD 306612*; **see fig.250**.

gods) is more central to the scene.²⁹⁴ If the female figures were intended as Amphitrite and Maia, the goddesses associated most with Poseidon and Hermes, it would be more likely that the gods would be placed over the goddesses instead as a part of the indicator of their identity which would need to be made clear given that the scene-type of the vase is strongly reminiscent of the Delian Triad with its central focus on Apollo as kitharist.²⁹⁵

Poseidon's association with Apollo in other scenes is surprisingly rare, perhaps because they do seem to be conflicting forces. They are on opposing sides in the Trojan War even though they helped to build the wall for the Trojans together. Poseidon, angry over the lack of payment from Troy,²⁹⁶ supports the Greeks, while Apollo is the staunch ally of the Trojans. According to Strabo and Pausanias, Apollo took over Delphi from Poseidon,²⁹⁷ the civilising force subduing the force of nature.²⁹⁸ In vase-painting, Poseidon very seldom associates with Apollo except in general gatherings of gods. While Athena, Hermes, Dionysos, and Zeus are all shown alone with Poseidon, Apollo is not. He is not even shown when Poseidon is depicted with only two other deities, except in one example of the Gigantomachy on a late skyphos related to the Athena Painter.²⁹⁹ In larger groups of deities, Apollo occasionally stands next to Poseidon, as in the birth of Athena scene on

²⁹⁴ As for instance on a neck-amphora attributed to a hand near the Painter of London B272: Vatican 386; *ABV* 694; *Para.* 153; BAPD 306614*; see **fig.251**. This neck-amphora shows both goddesses superimposed over the gods. On another neck-amphora, this time attributed to the Medea Group, Poseidon is superimposed over the goddess on the right while Hermes stands slightly behind the goddess on the left: London B262; *ABV* 321.3; *Para.* 87; BAPD 301684*; see **fig.42**; this leads Walters (1929: 10) in the *CVA* entry to provide two identifications for each of the figures: Amphitrite or Artemis and Aphrodite or Leto.

²⁹⁵ Steiner (1993: 207) discusses the vase-painters' use and manipulation of a 'template'. Every image recalls a 'canonical' scene and then emphasises different aspects of it to present the message of the vase-painter. If the Delian Triad of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis can be seen as the 'canon', then these scenes stress the other gods that might be relevant to Delos and Apollo – in this case Hermes and Poseidon. The closeness of the scene's composition to the Delian Triad argues for an identification of the female figures as Artemis and Leto.

²⁹⁶ *Iliad* 7.452 and 21.441ff. Poseidon also sent a sea-monster against Troy which Herakles killed: 20.143-148.

²⁹⁷ Strabo (8.6.14) and Pausanias (2.33.2) describe Poseidon's and Apollo's exchange of Delos for Kalauria and Delphi for Taenarum.

²⁹⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood (1987b: 231-232) discusses the gift-exchange in this swapping of land between Apollo and Poseidon and argues that Apollo is the civiliser who takes over from wild nature. Earlier in her chapter, she argues against the idea that Poseidon was the husband of Gaia and so had a part in the oracle at Delphi before Apollo which was then taken by force (1987b: 220-221). Kowalzig (2007: 149-150) outlines this swap and concludes that this may reflect the migration of the Dorians and Ionians. On the mythological owners of Delphi and their meanings see Sourvinou-Inwood (1987b). Through this exchange of lands, the roles of the gods are clarified: Apollo as the deity in charge of prophecy and Poseidon of wild nature; the latter must give way to the former at Delphi which becomes a centre of the civilised Greek world.

²⁹⁹ Apollo is shown with his bow fighting giants in the same scene as Poseidon with his trident and Nisyros and Athena with her owl: Tel Aviv, Museum Ha'aretz; *Para.* 262; BAPD 351627.

a lost Type A amphora attributed to Group E.³⁰⁰ Poseidon with his trident stands on the left of the scene behind Apollo who plays his kithara. However, the two deities face each other even less often.³⁰¹ On a Type A amphora attributed to the Chiusi Painter, c.510-500 BC, Athena and Herakles are in a chariot led by Hermes.³⁰² Apollo plays the kithara behind the rumps of the horses and Poseidon looks back over his shoulder towards Apollo and the chariot.³⁰³ With so few examples of the two gods interacting or even placed together in vase-painting, it seems striking that Poseidon should be depicted in scenes of Apollo's festival.³⁰⁴

However, Poseidon's presence in these scenes is not as unexpected as the information above might imply. The Delians, as residents of an island, were fervent worshippers of the god. Equally the Athenians had to arrive by sea and so it would be relevant to show the god of safe travel by boat as a part of the composition. Shapiro sees these scenes of the Delian Triad as representative of the gods as 'the Ionian gods *par excellence*',³⁰⁵ rather than as referring to Poseidon's role of governing the sea. Placing Poseidon in the same scene as the Delian Triad does seem to have been a careful choice on the part of the vase-painters, given that the occurrence of Poseidon alongside Apollo is rarely found in any other type of scene until the late period, although Shapiro mentions that the two gods are paired on a red-figure cup attributed to the Ambrosios Painter from about 510 BC.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ Berlin (lost) F1699; *ABV* 136.53; *Para.* 55; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310313*; see **fig.252**. Vollkommer (2000: 375-376 [fig.2]) uses this rendition of the birth of Athena in his discussion of the representation of children in the archaic period.

³⁰¹ Their relationship changes over time, however, as on the east frieze of the Parthenon Apollo and Poseidon appear to be conversing. Simon (1996: 17, 22) provides an explanation for this friendliness: Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, and Aphrodite are the deities commonly associated with Theseus. Thus when the hero grew in popularity, their relationship became more acceptable and more fashionable, and therefore they were shown together more frequently than in the previous century.

³⁰² Berlin F1827; *Para.* 170.5; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 351260*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2884*; see **fig.253**.

³⁰³ See also the calyx-krater in the manner of Exekias in the Agora: Agora AP1044; *ABV* 145.19; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 40; BAPD 310401*; see **fig.254**. On the obverse of this vase Apollo plays his kithara and Poseidon looks back at him (although Artemis is placed between the two).

³⁰⁴ On the interpretation of the scenes of the Delian Triad as showing the Delia, see section 2.2, esp. subsection 2.2.4, p.76).

³⁰⁵ Shapiro (1989a: 104).

³⁰⁶ Florence 73127; *ARV*² 173.4, 1631; BAPD 201568*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 172*; see **fig.255**. Shapiro (1989a: 104) sees this cup as one of the examples of the two Ionian gods paired to highlight this relationship on vases.

The restriction of Poseidon's presence alongside Apollo to scenes of the Delian Triad suggests that Poseidon was associated very closely to the Apollo of the island of Delos,³⁰⁷ rather than with Apollo in any other of his guises (playing the kithara at celebrations for instance). Delos was host to the festival Poseidaia, and Poseidon was worshipped there under the names Poseidon Asphaleios (Securer) and Poseidon Orthosios (Uprighter), perhaps in reference to keeping the island safe from earthquakes.³⁰⁸ Poseidon's role on the island of Delos no doubt had a focus on sea activities and later inscriptions place a boat-race at the head of the list of *agones* for the festival.³⁰⁹ It is even possible to see an increase in the sea aspects of the god reflected in the art. For instance, in some of the images of Poseidon, the god has a little quiff,³¹⁰ and it is more frequently shown in scenes of the Delian Triad than anywhere else.³¹¹ It may be the case that the quiff is perhaps a little signal of his wind-flicked wet hair, which would serve as a reminder of Poseidon's control over the sea. Its frequency in the scenes of the Delian Triad may be because of Poseidon's appropriateness to this particular scene as a marine deity. In the same way, Poseidon is shown holding a fish in four of the examples of the Triad illustrated in the BAPD,³¹² perhaps an extra emphasis on Poseidon's marine aspect. Delos is, after all, an island and, as stressed above on p.261, the Athenians would have had to traverse the Aegean for the choral contests at the Delia.

³⁰⁷ For example, a fragment of a Siana cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter depicting Poseidon with his trident was found on Delos and is now in the Delos Museum (*ABV* 65.30; BAPD 300574*; see **fig.256**), which suggests that there were offerings of pottery or trade with Delos and Poseidon was an acceptable decoration.

³⁰⁸ Arnold (1933: 456). See Dürrbach (1910: 141) for the inscription, dated to c.200-190 BC (1910: 123).

³⁰⁹ Arnold (1933: 456). For the inscription, see Dürrbach (1905: 524, pl.XXI, l.10; for commentary on l.10, see 528).

³¹⁰ For the purposes of this argument, a quiff is defined as a flick of hair that is sticking up over Poseidon's forehead, but more importantly, the quiff must be exclusive to Poseidon in the scene, rather than the way in which the vase-painter represents male hair.

³¹¹ Deciding whether a quiff is shown on Poseidon's forehead can only be assessed by looking at an image of the vase itself, so the following statistics are taken only from the vases that are illustrated in the BAPD. Of the 16 instances of Poseidon in scenes of the Delian Triad, 8 show him with a quiff (50%). In contrast, when Poseidon is with other gods in different situations, such as a gathering of gods he is shown with a quiff in only five scenes out of 29 (17.2%). A good example of Poseidon with a quiff can be seen on an unattributed hydria in Charlecote, Fairfax-Lucy; BAPD 24353*; see **fig.257**. In this example the god also holds a fish, which may accentuate his link with the ocean. See also a neck-amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter: Munich 1576; BAPD 1158*; see **fig.249** and above, p.261n292.

³¹² Poseidon holds a fish as well as his trident on the following vases: an unattributed hydria in Charlecote, Fairfax-Lucy; BAPD 24353*; see **fig.257** (here Poseidon also has a pronounced quiff); the reverse of a Type A amphora in the manner of the Lysippides Painter, c.530 BC: Boston 68.46; BAPD 753*; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1154*; see **fig.41**; a hydria attributed to the Painter of London B343: Leiden PC1 (prev. Canino Coll. 767); *Para.* 154.1*bis*; BAPD 351144*; see **fig.214**; and a hydria attributed to the Leagros Group: Switzerland, private; *Para.* 164.45*bis*; BAPD 351202*; see **fig.203**.

Poseidon is depicted in these scenes as often as Dionysos and almost as often as Hermes. The Delians did celebrate a Dionysia, but the evidence we have for that is from the fourth century and it may have been modelled on the Dionysia at Athens.³¹³ Therefore, the presence of Dionysos in scenes of the Delian Triad, while it may be a reference to some early form of drama held on the island, is perhaps best understood as a marker for celebration and perhaps a signifier for ‘festival’ with his sphere of influence including wine. Hermes, too, has little reason for appearing in Delian Triad scenes, unless he is seen in terms of his role as leader of the procession or as god of journeys. Thus, if the other gods can be interpreted as adding an evocation of their sphere by their presence, then Poseidon’s appearance in these scenes may represent his sea-guise and his Ionian connection. With this kind of interpretation it seems that Poseidon’s Ionian aspect is flourishing and highlighted under Peisistratos.³¹⁴

However, Connor, while he agrees that Poseidon is an important god of the Ionians, does not see Apollo as a particularly Ionian god.³¹⁵ Nevertheless, it is the Athenians who are painting the vases, so if Apollo is Ionian to them, then the argument that the two gods present in the Delian Triad scenes are reinforcing the Ionian connections between Delos and Athens is valid. And indeed it does seem that the island of Delos was the centre of Peisistratos’ and, by extension Athens’, Ionian focus.³¹⁶ Connor has compiled evidence in order to show ‘that there was indeed a period in which Ionian ways deeply influenced Attic practices’³¹⁷ and that the end of this preference for Ionian culture was the end of the archaic period.³¹⁸ The poet(s) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, too, has been associated with Aisa Minor and so the favour these particular poems received in Athens may be a part of the Ionianising of the city.³¹⁹ According to Plutarch, in the purported time of Theseus, Attica

³¹³ Arnold (1933: 455) describes the Dionysia on Delos as ‘clearly not one of the older festivities’.

³¹⁴ Shapiro (1989a: 103-104) describes the Ionians worshipping Poseidon above all other deities. On Poseidon as Ionian and this relationship with Apollo see Simon (1998: 65-66).

³¹⁵ Connor (1993: 198) writes,

The league of the Ionians of the Dodecapolis in Asia Minor centered not on the worship of Apollo, but on the cult of Poseidon Helikonios. To be sure, Apollo was also worshipped by the Ionians at various cult places, as he was by other Greeks elsewhere. He is not, however, a distinctively Ionian divinity.

³¹⁶ Shapiro (1989a: 49); Connor (1993: 198, 201).

³¹⁷ Connor (1993: 194).

³¹⁸ Connor (1993: 197) notes that ‘Commentators [on Thucydides 1.6.3] suggest 480-470 for this change.’

³¹⁹ Many scholars have in the past regarded ‘Homer’ as from the eastern side of the Aegean; see for example Huxley (1977), since the dialect used in the poems is more often than not Ionian. However, the identity of the poet as one figure, ‘Homer’, is now widely discredited, and the epic tradition itself rather than one poet seen as responsible for this utilisation of the Ionian dialect.

was identified as Ionia.³²⁰ So the two gods in the scenes of the Delian Triad have a dual purpose: Apollo is the central figure in the Delian festival and he stands for the cultural ties that the Athenians believed they had with the Ionians. Poseidon represents the sea journey and island aspect of Delos, and as a secondary protector of the Athenian polis and the most important Ionian deity, he is placed here to strengthen the Ionian connection.

Despite the important associations that Poseidon has and may bring to the scenes of the Delian Triad, one must take into account the bias of these vases towards the Antimenes Painter and his circle; many of the scenes of the Delian Triad can be attributed to this group of painters, as Shapiro points out.³²¹ Of the 23 scenes of the Delian Triad in the BAPD which contain Poseidon, the Antimenes Painter and his circle painted twelve. It is possible that the Antimenes Painter simply liked to paint Poseidon; he certainly appears more often in the extant vase scenes by this painter than the other less-represented deities.³²² It pays to bear in mind, though, that while a vase-painter may have preferred one subject or deity over another, they can still be viewed as a barometer for the likes and trends of the city and their clientele.

4.5.3 Poseidon and other deities

Occasionally, Poseidon will also be shown in the presence of other gods or goddesses in scenes which do not seem to depict a recognisable narrative. The deities include Ares, Hermes, Dionysos, Amphitrite, and Nereus. Scenes of Poseidon depicted with these divinities were analysed in order to ensure that no clues of a shared mythological relationship (which may hint at a cultic connection) were overlooked, but overall no association of importance came to light. Surprisingly, Demeter extremely rarely appears in the same scene as Poseidon in black-figure, despite their connection in terms of cult

³²⁰ Plutarch, *Theseus* 25.3. The hero purportedly set up a pillar on the isthmus to the Peloponnese which said on the east side, 'Here is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia', and on the west, 'Here is the Peloponnesus, not Ionia' (trans. Perrin [1959: 56-57]). See Valavanis (2004: 269).

³²¹ Shapiro (1989a: 104).

³²² In the BAPD out of the 522 examples attributed to the Antimenes Painter or his circle, Poseidon is depicted 23 times (4.4%); Zeus is shown in thirteen scenes (2.5%); Ares is identifiable in seven examples (1.3%); and Hephaistos in six (1.1%). Compared with the more commonly represented deities, however, Poseidon is rare in the scenes of the Antimenes Painter: Athena is depicted in 173 scenes (33.1%); Hermes in 141 (27%); and Dionysos in 134 (25.7%).

and sustenance (grain and fish).³²³ Rather when a female figure appears alongside the god she is identified as Amphitrite based on earlier inscriptions.³²⁴ This reveals that perhaps the Athenians saw Poseidon more as a god of the sea with a consort appropriately associated with the sea rather than as a deity of fishing connected with the goddess of grain.³²⁵

³²³ For instance at the Skira festival in Eleusis: Simon (1983: 23-24). See also Shapiro (1989a: 102-103) and Simon (1998: 61), who points out that Poseidon and Demeter are paired, especially in the Peloponnese where the crops are not so easily farmed; see also Deubner (1966: 62) on this connection.

³²⁴ As on Sophilos' dinos: London 1971.11-1.1; *Para.* 19.16bis; *Add.*² 10; BAPD 350099*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 182*. Another dinos fragment by Sophilos names a male and a female in a chariot as Poseidon and Amphitrite: Athens 15165 (prev. Akr. Coll. 1.587); *ABV* 39.15, 681; *Add.*² 10; BAPD 305074*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 182a*; **see fig.258.**

³²⁵ In the *Odyssey* (3.91, 5.422-423) Amphitrite is associated with the sea and sea monsters. Kerényi (1951: 181, 187) sees Poseidon's marriage to Amphitrite as the beginning of his mastery of the sea.

4.6 The Affecter and his depictions of Poseidon

The scenes of the Affecter are some of the more peculiar in the black-figure tradition.³²⁶ In his early period, he sometimes painted draped male figures holding fish, an aspect that must be touched on in this chapter because of its association with Poseidon. Of all the extant works of the Affecter, twelve scenes show a male figure holding a fish,³²⁷ eleven of which are in the earliest three of the Affecter's groups.³²⁸ These draped figures almost always carry a spear as well as the fish and only rarely carry a trident, prompting Mommsen to advise interpreters of the vases of the Affecter to avoid calling any male figure with a fish, but without a trident, Poseidon.³²⁹ Commenting on their prevalence in the early period of the Affecter's work, Mommsen argues that the men holding the fish are quirky, playful touches prompted by the Affecter's rebellion against the strict black-figure traditions.³³⁰ This may well be the case, but the Affecter does paint Poseidon, clearly identified with his trident, in some scenes, and chooses to depict a figure with a spear and a fish at other times. Sometimes the two are, in fact, in the same scene. In the following section the idea that the fish might be more than a playful detail is discussed.

In the BAPD, there are four examples of Poseidon (or figures likely to be the sea god) attributed to the Affecter, but two of these instances show the Poseidon figure with a spear and not a trident. One of the earliest to show Poseidon with a trident is a Type B amphora in Cambridge.³³¹ The obverse shows Zeus seated in the centre of the scene with Hermes, Poseidon (trident), a draped male figure, and a youth (Ganymede) standing around him.

³²⁶ Shapiro (1989b: 35), for instance, describes the Affecter's work: 'In his choice of subject matter and in the handling of his chosen themes the Affecter stands as far from the mainstream as does his mannered style.'

³²⁷ The vases that show someone holding a fish are: BAPD 301358*, Mommsen (1975: no.1, pl.15); 301357*, Mommsen (1975: no.2, pl.16); 301379*, Mommsen (1975: no.6, pl.18); 301381*, Mommsen (1975: no.7, pl.19); 301364*, Mommsen (1975: no.11, pl.21); 301316*, Mommsen (1975: no.18, pl.26); 340426*, Mommsen (1975: no.26, pl.30); 301301*, Mommsen (1975: no.27, pl.32-33); 301317, Mommsen (1975: no.28, pl.35); 301295, Mommsen (1975: no.36, pl.42); 301384*, Mommsen (1975: no.68, pl.74); and Vienna IV4399 which does not appear to be in the BAPD: Mommsen (1975: no.32, pl.38). There is also one rather lovely (if fragmentary) scene which shows a swan looking at a fish that lies under the chair in the centre of the scene, but this has not been counted as one of the twelve: Turin 4654; *ABV* 246.74; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301367*; Mommsen (1975: no.12, pl.21 [note that Mommsen incorrectly labels it Turin 4653]).

³²⁸ One is placed in Group five, a Type C amphora: Binghamton, University Art Gallery 1968.124; *ABV* 247.91; *Add.*² 64; BAPD 301384*; Mommsen (1975: no.68, pl.74).

³²⁹ Mommsen (1975: 64).

³³⁰ Mommsen (1975: 70) calls the fish in the hands of the draped men 'verspielte Einzelheiten', concluding, 'Ich glaube, daß dies eine absichtliche Mißachtung der sehr strengen schwarzfigurigen Bildsprache ist.'

³³¹ Cambridge 2244; *ABV* 245.64; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301357*; see **fig.259**; Mommsen (1975: 69-71), in her discussion of chronology, places it in her Group 1, number 2 (1975: 85, pl.16).

Shapiro has argued strongly that this scene is a rendition of the Birth of Athena, or something very like it – possibly Zeus in labour,³³² and so can be added to support the argument of Poseidon’s frequent presence in the Birth of Athena scenes. The reverse is of even more interest for this chapter in that it depicts two figures holding a fish, one in the centre taken to be Poseidon because he also holds a trident and one at the left of the scene behind a nude youth.³³³ The other figures in the scene are another nude youth leaving to right and a draped male figure facing Poseidon holding a spear superimposed over the trident.³³⁴ This is taken as an encounter between Zeus and Poseidon, since Zeus on the obverse of the scene is also holding a spear. This then would be an example of Poseidon placed in a scene as brother of Zeus, defined by his relationship status, rather than his role. Certainly the overlapping of the trident and the spear seems fairly deliberate, suggesting a closeness between the two. However, the presence of another draped figure holding a fish is a curious touch. To be sure the fish held by the male figure on the left is much smaller and less obtrusive than Poseidon’s, but it is still clearly visible.

The other characters in black-figure that hold fish are all closely connected to the sea. Nereus, for instance, is occasionally shown holding a fish or dolphin,³³⁵ as is Triton.³³⁶ So too are Nereids.³³⁷ None of these characters fits well with the example presented to us by the Affecter. Nereus is the only possibility here,³³⁸ but even when he is shown as a mature draped man, rather than as an old man, he is overwhelmingly represented in scenes to do with the sea, involving Triton or Thetis. He is once listed in the BAPD in a scene with

³³² Shapiro (1989b).

³³³ Here the trident makes it clear that Poseidon is depicted; one must be cautious with the Affecter, however, as Mommsen (1975: 64) points out.

³³⁴ It is unclear from the photographs whose weapon is in front, but it appears that the spearholder’s wrist passes in front of the other’s trident.

³³⁵ An early representation of Nereus (still in half-fish form) shows him holding a fish on a kyathos attributed to the Boeotian Dancers Group: Louvre CA577; *ABV* 30.13; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300345; *LIMC* 6 Nereus 3*; Kilinski (1978: fig.14); **see fig.215**. In the BAPD, the monster is labelled Triton, but it is more likely to be Nereus as Triton seems to have been a later replacement for Nereus: Glynn (1981: 132). An unattributed little master band cup shows Nereus holding a dolphin: Como 19; BAPD 1789*; **see fig.223**.

³³⁶ When Triton is fighting Herakles he is not often shown holding a fish as he is usually grappling with the hero, but on an unattributed Type B amphora he manages to grasp a fish by its tail and engage with Herakles: Jena, Friedrich-Schiller University 183 (prev. Campana Coll.); BAPD 15515*; **see fig.260**. A much later depiction of Triton holding a fish can be found on an unattributed lekythos in the Kerameikos: Athens, Kerameikos III2; BAPD 9022941.

³³⁷ A Nereid, holding a fish, flees from the fight between Herakles and Triton on a lekythos attributed to the Sappho Painter, c.500 BC. Nereus is also depicted in this scene, and he holds a sceptre and a dolphin: Karlsruhe B1815 (184); *ABL* 226.12; *ABV* 507.12; BAPD 305501*; **see fig.261**. See also the Nereids on a neck-amphora attributed to the Diosphos Painter, c.490 BC: Louvre F234 (N3211, MN42); *ABL* 240.160; BAPD 2693*; *LIMC* 6 Nereus 122*; **see fig.262**.

³³⁸ As Chase and Pease (1942: 26) suggest.

only draped figures, on a Siana cup attributed to the Adolph Painter.³³⁹ Nereus, holding a fish, is placed between a draped male and a female figure, but because of the early date of this piece, he still has his fishy tail rather than being shown as fully human, a change that occurred around 560 BC.³⁴⁰ It seems, then, that Nereus is an unlikely candidate for the draped male figure holding a fish in the works of the Affecter. Perhaps the fish-holding figure is intended as a fisherman or a sailor? Fish are depicted in vase-painting in the sea, and there are one or two middle black-figure scenes that might be illustrations of fishermen.³⁴¹ On a Type B amphora attributed to the Hypobibazon Class is shown a youth carrying baskets of fish on a pole, while a draped man sits on a stone holding a fish.³⁴² The youth is almost naked and the fish are stowed neatly in baskets, a very different scene from that by the Affecter.

There is one more example of Poseidon holding his trident in the works of the Affecter. On a neck-amphora in the Louvre, the Affecter has painted both Poseidon and draped men with fish on three of the four picture fields.³⁴³ On the shoulder of the obverse two warriors run to right led by Hermes. Poseidon stands with his trident and fish facing Hermes. A draped male figure holding a spear and a fish is placed between the two warriors. Behind Poseidon is a youthful warrior running to left while a small man looks back at the action but walks to right towards a small inset panel (showing a horseman) under the lower handle-root. Various stools are placed in the gaps between the warriors' legs, but Hermes appears to be stepping over a flaming altar. Beyond the handle, perhaps in continuity, the scene on the reverse shoulder depicts a draped male standing to right (with fish), another running warrior, Poseidon (trident and fish), two overlapping horses, the front one with a rider, then Hermes, a draped man with two spears and a man running to left holding a spear. The obverse neck shows a warrior running to right with a Boiotian shield, framed by men, some draped, one holding a wreath. The reverse shows three almost naked men dancing (probably at a komos) with a draped male with a spear and fish at the right of the

³³⁹ Amsterdam 9599; BAPD 8743*; **see fig.263.**

³⁴⁰ See Glynn (1981: esp. 126) for a discussion of this change in detail.

³⁴¹ On an oinochoe of the Keyside Class, for instance, there is a small boat manned by two youths and a man, sailing over a sea dotted with fish: London 1867.5-8.964 (B508); *ABV* 426.10; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 303254*; **see fig.264.** Sweet (1987: 166 [167, pl.53]) on his discussion of this vase describes the men as 'either beaching their boat or preparing to dive'. However, the shape of this boat resembles a two-level pentekontor, in which case the men are executing an enemy sailor by forcing him into the sea from the front of the ship. On swimming and boating more generally, with primary sources, see Sweet (1987: chapter 23).

³⁴² Berlin (lost) 4860; *Para.* 150.4; *Add.*² 92; BAPD 351108*; **see fig.265.**

³⁴³ Louvre F19; *ABV* 241.28; *Add.*² 61; BAPD 301316*; **see fig.213;** Mommsen (1975: no.18, pl.26) places this vase as the first in her second group; it is still relatively early therefore.

scene to left. Under each handle is a small inset panel showing a horseman; on one side, the horse is winged. Beneath each inset panel another horse and rider is shown, and again only one of the horses is winged, thus creating a combination on each side of winged horse and normal horse. The description in the BAPD identifies the obverse shoulder and neck scenes as warrior departure scenes, but there is a great deal more excitement and movement evident in these scenes which suggests the urgency and immediacy of war itself.³⁴⁴ Poseidon's presence in these scenes is puzzling, unless he is a marker for the Athenian presence at Troy; this interpretation is not really convincing, however.

Poseidon is, at times, in the work of the Affecter, clearly indicated through the inclusion of the trident. There are some scenes, however, where a draped male figure with a fish and spear seems to fit into the mould of Poseidon in every other way. The obverse on another of the Affecter's early Type B amphorae shows Dionysos to right holding a branch of grapevine and his kantharos facing a draped male figure to left holding a fish and a spear.³⁴⁵ Behind Dionysos stands another draped man to right holding a spear while behind the figure with the fish two men stand, one facing left and nude, one facing right and draped with a himation and holding a spear. The spear, instead of the customary trident, in the hands of 'Poseidon' is certainly puzzling, since Dionysos is obviously intended in the figure facing him. If 'Poseidon' were holding a trident, the scene would be accepted readily as a meeting between Poseidon and Dionysos. On the reverse a deity, this time female, is shown seated centrally and performing the veil-gesture while holding a wreath and flower. Hermes stands in the same position that he occupied on the obverse of the Type B amphora in Cambridge discussed above although his gesture appears more restrained. Behind the throne two figures stand, a nude man and at the far left a draped figure holding a fish and a spear. At the right of the scene stands a female figure holding a spear. If the male figure holding the fish is identified as Poseidon, then it seems likely that the two female figures are goddesses; perhaps Hera is seated and Athena stands at the right. In her description of the amphora, Mommsen does not identify the draped figure with the fish as Poseidon on either side.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁴ These scenes contain quite a number of running men if indeed this is a departure scene.

³⁴⁵ Tarquinia 625; *ABV* 245.65; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301358*; Mommsen (1975: no.1, pl.15); see **fig.225** and above p.233.

³⁴⁶ Cambridge 2244; *ABV* 245.64; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301357*; see **fig.259**; Mommsen (1975: 85, no.2, pl.16).

Another early depiction of a male figure holding a spear and a fish attributed to the Affecter occurs on a Type C amphora in the Louvre.³⁴⁷ He appears on the right hand side of the obverse. Approaching him are two warriors looking back over their shoulders, and between them a female figure who holds her himation away from her face and clasps a wreath in the same hand. There are nonsense inscriptions scattered over the picture field. This composition is reminiscent of the Recovery of Helen or the rescue of Aithra,³⁴⁸ but the presence of the figure with a fish is curious. This character of the draped male with the fish and spear also occurs in other warrior scenes, such as on a Type C amphora in the Louvre.³⁴⁹ On the obverse is the one example of a female figure holding a fish in the works of the Affecter; she is taken to be Thetis helping Achilles with his armour. On the reverse a warrior departs, and a female figure holding her himation out from her face follows after him. On the right stands a draped male figure holding a spear and a fish and on the left a youth walks to right but looks back left.

However, it is more common to find the figure holding a fish in scenes in which the other characters include draped male and female figures, and Hermes. A good example can be found on a Type B amphora in Geneva.³⁵⁰ In the BAPD the figures are named as Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, and Hermes, but the only identifiable figure beyond doubt is Hermes as he is wearing his characteristic hat and boots and carries his kerykeion. On both the obverse and the reverse, the draped male figure with a fish and a spear stands on the right of Hermes facing the draped male usually taken to be Zeus. Hermes, as in most of these scenes attributed to the Affecter, gestures expansively while moving to the right. The obverse of a neck-amphora in Munich shows a draped male figure with a staff (none of the characters in this scene hold spears) seated in the centre with Hermes and a male figure with a fish on the right and draped men on the left.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ Louvre F24; *ABV* 247.88; *Para.* 111; *Add.*² 64; BAPD 301381*; Mommsen (1975: no.7, pl.19); see **fig.266**.

³⁴⁸ See Bissett (2007: 160-164).

³⁴⁹ Louvre F23; *ABV* 247.86; *Para.* 110; *Add.*² 64; BAPD 301379*; Mommsen (1975: no.6, pl.18); see **fig.267**.

³⁵⁰ Geneva I499; *ABV* 246.71; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301364*; *LIMC* Supplementum Zeus add.191*; Mommsen (1975: no.11, pl.21); see **fig.268**. Wassiliki Felten in *LIMC* Supplementum, p.531 [Zeus add. 191*] suggests the figures are Zeus (?), Poseidon, Hermes, and Hera (?).

³⁵¹ Munich 8772; *Para.* 111.5bis; *Add.*² 60; BAPD 340426*; *LIMC* Supplementum Zeus add. 181*; Mommsen (1975: no.26, pl.30); see **fig.269**.

With the range of scenes which include Poseidon and/or a draped male figure holding a fish, not many conclusions can be made except to underline the strangeness of the Affecter's subject matter.³⁵² However, some tentative suggestions for interpretation may be raised, hypotheses for how to approach the Affecter's work. The male figures holding fish in the scenes by the Affecter are all draped, which associates them closely with Poseidon. If they were intended as fishermen, surely they would be appropriately attired,³⁵³ as warriors are for battle. We could perhaps connect the draped figures to some cultic activity, but again there is little evidence to support this theory. Fish were not often used as offerings in the archaic period,³⁵⁴ although there are some black-figure scenes that may show fish being sacrificed.³⁵⁵ However, in the scenes of the Affecter, while a draped male figure holds a fish that could be interpreted as an offering, the context of the scene is not readily supportive of this theory. For instance, while there is an altar shown in some of the same scenes as Poseidon and the draped figures with fish, the altar is not usually the centre of the action as it is in sacrifice scenes.³⁵⁶ Nevertheless, on a neck-amphora attributed to the Affecter in Munich that shows a procession of men leading a goat to

³⁵² As Fellmann (1990: 168) states, 'Häufig sind Thema und Inhalt der Bilder nicht oder nur schwer zu bestimmen, tritt vielmehr das Streben des Malers nach präziöser Dekoration in den Vordergrund'.

³⁵³ An archaic red-figure psykter attributed to Smikros shows men and youths seated next to piles of nets, although they appear to be playing some kind of game. They are dressed for activity, bare-chested with short garments, albeit with crowns in added red (see Frel [1983: 147, fig.10.1a-c]): Malibu 83.AE.285; BAPD 13369; Walsh (1984: 243, no.59); see **fig.270**.

³⁵⁴ The most popular animals for sacrifice were oxen, followed by sheep, pigs, goats, and birds: Pedley (2005: 80-81). This preference is reflected in the vase-painting with bulls being more frequently depicted than any other sacrificial animal. The fish is not *labelled* as a sacrificial animal in the BAPD in black-figure, although there are some scenes that may show a fish sacrifice; see above, p.230 and below, p.273n355.

³⁵⁵ There are some instances of fish being prepared, possibly for sacrifice. On an olpe attributed to the Leagros Group, a man holds a very large fish over a bell-krater while a youth brings back a knife to cut into the fish: Berlin F1915; *ABV* 377.247; *Para.* 163; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 302328*; see **fig.211**; for more discussion on this scene, see above, p.230n106. On a lekythos attributed to the Athena Painter draped men stand around a table cutting up a fish which may suggest some form of sacrifice: Limenas Museum; *Para.* 262; BAPD 351625. A similar scene of draped men, one of whom has a fish on a table, can be found on a fragmentary lekythos, c.500-480 BC: Thasos 199; BAPD 9024324; Gebauer (2002: 744, fig.194); see **fig.271**. The use of the table is relatively rare in sacrifice scenes, although there is one example of a ram being cut up on a table on an unattributed pelike which may show a sacrifice, c.500 BC: Paris, Dutch Institute (Fondation Custodia) 3650; BAPD 7509; Gebauer (2002: 737, fig.170); see **fig.272**. Certainly tables feature in the general paraphernalia of sacrifice scenes as can be seen on an unattributed column-krater from c.520-500 BC, which shows a youth roasting the entrails of the sacrifice alongside an altar at a herm, and a sacrificial basket. Another wreathed youth cuts food up on the table: London B362; BAPD 30320; Shapiro (1989a: pl.59a); see **fig.273**. Pedley (2005: 81) also points out that after the blood from the cut throat had flowed into the basin, for practical reasons alone the animal had to be cut up on a table.

³⁵⁶ See for instance the altar on the name vase of the Painter of Berlin 1686 which is large and the endpoint of the mortal worshippers, keeping them separated from Athena who stands to the right of the altar: Berlin F1686; *ABV* 296.4; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 77; BAPD 320383*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 106*; see **fig.156**. The same can be said of the altar on the fragments of a lekythos in Athens. The altar is large, and in this case flaming, and again it is the endpoint of the procession; Athena and a priest are separated off from the other mortal worshippers: Athens NM Akr. Coll. 1.2298; *ABL* 216.8; BAPD 32454; Shapiro (1989a: pl.10a); see **fig.3**.

sacrifice the altar is placed rather inconspicuously beneath the handle.³⁵⁷ A woman stands behind the altar, rather smaller than the other figures because of her position under the handle. For the Affecter, then, perhaps the altar was sometimes placed in a position that was not such a focus of the scene despite its significance for the interpretation of the scene. This may mean that on the neck-amphora in the Louvre, for instance, even though Hermes appears to be running over the flaming altar, it might still be a signifier for sacrifice.³⁵⁸ So it seems possible that the draped male figure with a spear and fish may stand in for a fisherman or a sacrifice, perhaps in gratitude for the bounty of the sea. The altar does not appear in many of the scenes which include a draped figure with a fish, however, so while a sacrifice (perhaps an interrupted sacrifice) may have been a part of the scene on the Louvre amphora, there is not necessarily any further clarification on the purpose of the fish-holding male figures in other scenes by the Affecter.

It is very tempting to associate the draped figures holding a fish with Peisistratos, as it might reflect both his link to Poseidon and the fulfilment of the oracle concerning the Athenians as tunny fish. Peisistratos and his interest in seafaring is another piece of evidence that might help to flesh out this argument.³⁵⁹ In addition, it does seem clear that Peisistratos aligned himself with certain figures or heroes to attain his end of tyranny and popularity; he associated himself with Herakles for instance.³⁶⁰ Glynn discusses how it is possible that the change from Herakles wrestling Nereus to Herakles wrestling Triton came about because of Peisistratos' influence.³⁶¹ The combination of the spear and the fish as attributes of the male figures may prove of importance, perhaps in their indication

³⁵⁷ Munich 1441; *ABV* 238, 242, 243.44; *Add.*² 62; BAPD 301332*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 452*; **see fig.4.**

³⁵⁸ Louvre F19; *ABV* 241.28; *Add.*² 61; BAPD 301316*; Mommsen (1975: Nr. 18, pl.26); **see fig.213.**

³⁵⁹ Glynn (1981: 131) writes, 'The tyrant augmented Athenian interest in the area, perhaps to make profitable use of the commercial relations which Miletos had established with the Black Sea colonies, and also to ensure a safe passage for Athenian goods'; see also p.234n135 above.

³⁶⁰ As Glynn (1981: 130) explains

It is now accepted that Herakles was the hero of Peisistratean Athens, and that once the tyrant family had been driven out, it was Theseus who became the hero of the new democracy. Boardman suggested that the Herakles-Triton motif may have had something to do with the Athenian amphibious success against Megara for the possession of the island of Salamis.

³⁶¹ Glynn (1981: 132) discusses the appropriateness of Herakles wrestling a sea monster as a propagandistic tool to promote Athens' glory on the sea, particularly up in the North of the Aegean. She concludes that Triton was created as a more formidable opponent for Herakles than Nereus (who was an old man after all) to reflect Peisistratos' glorious exploits on the sea. See also Ahlberg-Cornell (1984: 17-18) and Boardman (1972: 59) for further discussion of the use of this scene by the leaders of the sixth century. Hesiod, in his *Theogony* (233-237), describes Nereus as truthful and just, making it more difficult to see him as a worthy adversary for Herakles. Schefold (1992: 138) explains the change from Nereus to Triton by way of vase-painting preferences: the painters liked to show Herakles pitted against formidable and youthful enemies, not the dignified old Nereus.

of the citizen status of the figures. What does seem clear, however, is that the Affecter was aware and capable of depicting Poseidon if he chose to do so, using the traditional attributes of the god – trident and fish. So the draped male figures holding a fish and a spear are emphatically *not* the god. Their connection to him does seem obvious, though, and this brings the interpretation back to the men as followers of the god or somehow related to him. Peisistratos' tie to the Neleids may have been of more importance at the beginning of his rise to power than subsequently, which may explain why the earlier works of the Affecter contain the god, or one like him (as on the reverse of the amphora in Cambridge). To show this connection between the tyrant and the god, maybe the Affecter allowed Poseidon to hold a spear instead of a trident as an indicator for a warrior citizen, one like Peisistratos, who nonetheless has an association to the god through ancestry. His holding of the spear might suggest that he is not to be taken as Poseidon (it is definitely not a trident), but perhaps rather a warrior descendant like Peisistratos, whose prowess equals those who fought in the Trojan War, and completed pious acts, like the rescuing of their grandmother. The reverse of this vase shows Hermes (named) leading a female figure performing the veil-gesture and holding a wreath to right in a closely paralleled stance to the warrior on the obverse. However, these figures are framed by two draped men holding spears, with no fish in evidence. An obvious candidate for this would be Peisistratos, but for the moment the representation of Peisistratos, or more likely, his influence, will have to remain merely a hypothesis.

4.7 Conclusions

Poseidon's position in Athens in terms of cult and status is less than clear. While there are many conclusions that seem logical, the evidence to support these conclusions is patchy or equivocal. One or two points can be made with some certainty, however. Firstly, Poseidon was considered a protector of Athens, albeit much less often than Athena. The prominence of the god of the sea in group Gigantomachies, and in scenes which depict him fighting a giant individually, supports the suggestion that the Athenians saw him as one of the protectors of the city, or at least their (idealised) way of life. The gods' triumph over the giants does rather seem to have been embraced by the Athenians, particularly during the Peisistratid period, and therefore might be taken as a reflection of their desire for the gods to be seen as protectors of their Greek, and particularly Athenian, way of life. Equally, while one deity's protection is good, that of two is even better, especially since the Athenians would therefore have success in war and power over the sea and horses.³⁶²

Secondly, Poseidon's relationship to other deities as shown in vase-painting points to two connections of importance: Athena and Apollo. The placement of Poseidon in scenes that include these two deities is more common than any of the others, apart from Hermes.³⁶³ Poseidon and Athena seem to be on good terms throughout the archaic period, despite the myth of their argument over the land of Attica. His association with the goddess does lend itself to an interpretation of the vases in which they appear together as an evocation of the dual gods in charge of the polis. Their relationship in cult is also strong as can be seen in the celebration of both gods at the Skira festival and the sharing of the cult space on the site of the later Erechtheion on the Akropolis. However, the Athenians never embraced Poseidon as they did Athena; that is one reason for suggesting the myth of their fight for the land of Athens was known in the sixth century. Another explanation for this lack of visible interest in Poseidon is because of his identity as a nature god, a complete contrast to the civilised and wise goddess, Athena. In the fifth century, this triumph of civilised goddess over nature god is illustrated in the story telling of Athena's invention of the bridle to tame the horse, the animal associated with Poseidon.

³⁶² Athena is credited with the invention of the saddle or chariot, so here the two gods are combined in their power over all the aspects to do with horse-riding and the success thereof.

³⁶³ Hermes tends to be depicted in many scenes simply as an extra figure. Perhaps his frequent and ubiquitous presence can be explained through his role among gods and mortals as a messenger, one who would therefore connect the two spheres or mortal life and immortality.

When Apollo is playing his kithara in scenes of the Delian Triad, Poseidon is a frequent visitor. This is the only type of scene where the two appear together when one, in this case Apollo, is the major character of the scene. This association of the two in scenes set on Delos or evoking the festival of the Delia can be explained in two ways: both Apollo and Poseidon were for the Athenians major Ionian deities, and Poseidon, as a marine deity, was at hand as a key deity of the island Delos and also as a reminder of the sea passage required to get to the festivities. Peisistratos' policy regarding making ties with the Ionians seems to lie behind the representation of the Delian Triad and therefore the inclusion of Poseidon in some of these images. The tyrant encouraged participation in the celebration of the Delia, and therefore the increased awareness of the festival probably led to the creation and rise of the Delian Triad scenes.

The placement of other gods alongside Poseidon, on the other hand, seems to have very little meaning, as far as can be ascertained. Poseidon is sometimes shown with Zeus or Amphitrite, both of which can be explained through the god's familial connection to these figures, but beyond these perhaps the only way we can reconcile the other sometimes rather odd combinations is through the role of the gods. It is more likely, however, that the painter, or his client, preferred certain deities and so their preferences are reflected in some of the groupings of gods.³⁶⁴

Another aspect highlighted by Poseidon's infrequent appearances in vase-painting is that of the role of the gods as represented by vase-painters. Poseidon is often categorised as the god of the sea, earthquakes, and horses. In vase-painting, however, his association with horses seems to be rather obscure and as for earthquakes, it would be very difficult to paint such a connection; that leaves his sphere as god of the sea. Nevertheless, in vase-painting, Poseidon does not seem to stand for 'sea'; that is left mostly to the dolphin.³⁶⁵ While Poseidon is sometimes present in scenes where the setting is obviously in or near the sea, the god usually has another, perhaps more obvious, role. In the scenes which show Herakles battling with Triton, Poseidon is sometimes represented as a bystander.

³⁶⁴ See above, p.236n145.

³⁶⁵ That the dolphin is associated with the sea is clear, for instance from Archilochus when he writes about the solar eclipse, 'Let not one of you marvel, nay, though he see the beasts of the field exchange pasture with the dolphins of the deep'. Archilochus, fr. 74, trans Edmonds (1993: 134-135).

However, he is also the father of Triton and so his presence may have more to do with his relationship to Triton than to the fact that the battle is occurring between Herakles and a sea-monster, presumably in or near the sea. He cannot be seen as a 'symbol' for the sea; his character and relationships provide much more than that. Poseidon is not so much a god of the sea, as a god whose power is reflected in the sea and the earthquakes and whose mastery over water, over horses and the earth are the basis for his relationships with mortals and other deities.

When we compare what we have found (or have not found as is mostly the case) about Poseidon to what has been discussed in the chapters on Apollo and Dionysos, Poseidon's lack of a strong presence in vase-painting serves to reinforce the ideas discussed in the previous two chapters. What is apparent is that if there is a strong presence of the cult in Athens which is *highly visible*, in processions for instance, then the aspects showcased in the festival will be taken up by the vase-painters in their black-figure scenes. The growth of the City Dionysia and the other highly visible festivals of Dionysos led to a very strong presence of the god and his followers in black-figure. The Anthesteria, for instance, have the ship-cart procession, the City Dionysia have masks and a goat for prize or sacrifice: all of these aspects show up in scenes of Dionysos. To be sure, the god Dionysos has the added benefit of being the substance that was poured in and out of some of the vessels on which he was depicted, but the cult ties are clear.

Apollo, too, becomes more common in vase-painting, and his attributes change to reflect what the vase-painters and their clientele would see most often around them. The kithara became the god's most frequent attribute, and he began to appear in gatherings of gods, processions, weddings, and of course, the scenes of the Delian Triad. The growth of the festivals at home in Athens, and the popularity of the choral contest at Delos, undoubtedly encouraged by Peisistratos, led to the Delia (or aspects of it) being reflected in vase-paintings showing the god. In a roundabout way, too, the growth of the musical contests at the Panathenaia also influenced the frequency of depictions of the kithara, with mortal kitharists showing up as well as Apollo.

In contrast, Poseidon, whose festival and cult activity is not strong in Athens (as far as can be ascertained from literary and archaeological sources) is rather rare in black-figure vase-painting; not as rare as Hades, but rarer than Zeus. Despite the god's sphere of influence

covering Athenian warships and fishing exploits, as well as trade, he remains relatively uncommon in depictions. What this suggests is that the vase-painters painted more often from festival or cult experience than from mythological seniority or sphere of influence.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

This study was undertaken in order to assess how often festival practice may have been evoked in black-figure vase-painting; in order to provide enough evidence to test such a claim, three deities were analysed. This broad approach led to three quite separate chapters connected with a common theme, rather than a more unified work. In this conclusion, then, the common findings across all three gods will be presented in the first section (5.1), followed by summaries of the specific results from each of the three deities which support these findings (Apollo, section 5.2; Dionysos, section 5.3; Poseidon, section 5.4). Finally, some promising areas for further research will be outlined, based on the questions that arose from this research (section 5.5).

5.1 Overall Findings

The depictions of each of the divinities supported several common hypotheses, including the primary theory – that black-figure vase-painting evokes the visual aspects of festival practice in more scene-types and more often than has so far been argued. This research is indebted to Shapiro's work on cult in the archaic period,¹ and in using his findings as a sound starting point, it attempts to extend such exploration of cult representations on vases. The results of this thesis provide further support for some of Shapiro's conclusions, and also offer some evidence for the evocations of other festivals found in different

¹ Shapiro (1989a).

scenes. Such an investigation presents valuable information about how the Athenians viewed their gods and how much influence cult practice might have had on those painting or buying the ceramics. This study supports the theory that in fact a large number of the renditions of deities on vases are influenced by festival practice, from the procession through to the contests, both physical and musical, held during these religious celebrations. This can be seen in the painter's choice of mythological narrative or setting on the vases, the reflections of performance and procession, and also the frequency of one god compared with another.

The finding that festivals are evoked on some vases leads to a further conclusion with regard to vase-painting: the painters, although working within the relatively conservative black-figure tradition, sometimes gained their inspiration from the events happening in the city around them. These events were usually the large-scale, impressive, visual spectacles associated with festivals like the Anthesteria or the Panathenaia. Furthermore, the way the vase-painters chose to represent the deities was influenced by these festival processions, re-enactments, and performances. This is not to undermine the importance of oral poetry in the work of the vase-painters, which was performed frequently during a festival. The people listening to the performer were situated in a specific context celebrating a particular god in a specific way and all of these aspects contributed to the representation of that deity found on vases.

Finally, the influence of the leading citizen(s) must not go unnoticed. While there is no indication that any powerful person in the polis deliberately used vase-painting as a form of propaganda, or even to portray a political message, the decisions of the important figures in the political life of the city had an impact on the paintings. This is especially clear when the effect of festivals on vases is taken into account. The dominant citizen's favour of one deity and their festival would lead to the rising significance of that festival, conveyed mostly through the lavish visual features of that celebration: the procession, performances, sacrifice, contests, or prizes. Then the vase-painters, observing such an increase in that deity's profile through the festival may well have taken such a change through to their painting, by, for example, choosing the favoured deity or evoking a particular festival performance more often than previously. Thus the social and historical context cannot be ignored.

5.2 Apollo

The most surprising and striking aspect of the representations of Apollo is the large number of scenes of the god as kitharist compared with the many earlier depictions of the god as an archer. This change from archer to kitharist as portrayed on vases occurs around the middle of the sixth century BC and suggests the growing significance of the musical god over the archer god for the Athenian population at the time. This can be traced back to festival practice if Athens' growing interest in Delos and the Delia is considered; an interest led by Peisistratos' desire to recreate Athens as the head of an Ionian group. Even though this festival was not held on Athenian soil, its status ensured that it was highly regarded. The vase-paintings of Apollo as a kithara-player in scenes with Artemis and Leto or pairs of framing female figures reflect the key facets of the Delia festival as is recorded in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (the island, the music, the Delian Maidens, the family group of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis). The lack of variation in the depictions of Apollo with the kithara may further support an interpretation of the scenes as evocations of the Delia, since reports of the festival may have been distilled through retellings of the most important and memorable aspects of the celebration, and so one key image combining these would most probably have been chosen to represent it. Thus the scenes can be used as evidence for the festival itself and of course in support of the overall theory of this thesis: that vase-painting evokes festival practice relatively frequently. Furthermore the focus on the musical Apollo suggests the growing importance of the kithara and its role as an instrument for musical contests (as at the Panathenaia as examined in section 2.4), during performances, and as an accompaniment to processions. Apollo's presence alongside wedding chariots and in scenes of Herakles' apotheosis or Athena in her chariot may be a reflection of the kitharists during procession spectacles in Athens, although any connection to a *specific* event or *pompe* is very difficult to prove.

While the focus of the latter part of the sixth century is on Apollo the kithara player, he is still sometimes shown as a bowman; most of these depictions are of the Struggle for the Tripod. This particular mythological narrative is connected directly with Delphi and while some political explanations have been suggested (see p.95) none are completely convincing. Rather it is the focus on the *physical* fighting over the Tripod that may be a reflection of the contests held during festivals, and it is these festival competitions that

emphasise the physical prowess of the man; the epitome of such strength and power is of course Herakles. The tripod itself works as a symbol for success as it was awarded as a prize in some competitions and so this myth may have been chosen for its similarity to the competitive spirit of the contests held during festivals. The centrality of Herakles provides a role model for the athletes and may also be explained through the hero's general popularity in the sixth century BC (perhaps because of Peisistratos).

The study on Apollo thereby supports the hypothesis that more festivals are evoked in vase-painting in the archaic period and that the vase-painters tended to visualise their deities through the filter of a festival like the Delia. In addition, the impact of the tyrant Peisistratos' relations with Delos does seem to be reflected in the choice of deity and the representation of that deity on vases.

5.3 Dionysos

Dionysos is much more frequently shown on vases, and in contrast to Apollo, there is also a great deal more variation in the types of scene in which he appears. This variation can be explained through the large number of very visual and popular Athenian festivals and rituals in honour of the god from the City Dionysia to the symposion. Furthermore, it seems that the Peisistratids did encourage a flourishing of Dionysian festivals, so the frequent depictions of the god may be a reflection of that. However, depictions of the wine god are usually only loosely tied to festivals, unlike the scenes of the Delian Triad. Many of the Dionysian scenes include festival paraphernalia, such as sacrificial animals, processions, musical instruments, performances, and branches, but identifying specific festivals is difficult. The ship cart is one example where a festival can be identified, but others of this kind are rare.

Despite these issues, the study of Dionysos provided much support for the hypothesis that vases evoke festivals more frequently than previously argued. The similarity between komasts and satyrs provided some evidence for the representation of cult practice in scenes of komasts as well as satyrs, since the followers of the god, both human and mythological, are depicted performing the same activities as those engaged in cult

practice. The two most significant of these are performance and humour (frequently, of course, these overlap). Performance (particularly choral songs) and humour were both major aspects of the Dionysian festivals. The satyrs and maenads are often represented in a manner indicative of a choral performance, perhaps even of dithyramb, it can be argued, in the case of the satyrs. The humour is an aspect of the god that is sometimes overlooked, but the often undignified and lewd behaviour of the satyrs and komasts encourages the viewer to laugh at their antics. In addition, processions and the goat (as prize or sacrificial animal) were key facets for celebrations in honour of the god, and of course, the paraphernalia associated with wine, all of which can be found in scenes of the god. The vase-painters therefore took examples of activities and items from festivals and rituals held for Dionysos and transferred them into scenes of the god and his followers. More importantly, the vase-painters chose the *common and repeated* features of festivals to put onto their vases: the dancing, drinking, humour, and performance. This kind of information learned from the vases is a good indicator of what in the festivals had the biggest (and most memorable) impact on the ancient Athenians which therefore ended up on their vases.

The issue of the satyrs and maenads as a chorus is one of import since it relates to the rise of tragedy and comedy. Exactly how these fully fledged genres evolved from the performances of satyrs (or men dressed as satyrs or other creatures) is not a question that can be answered in this thesis (if at all), but a basis for drama can certainly be found in the satyrs and komasts of the sixth century; the focus on humour, dance, and collective performance is key to the later drama of the fifth century.

5.4 Poseidon

Poseidon was chosen because of his difference from Apollo and Dionysos; he is much rarer in vase-painting and, if we judge just from the remaining literary sources and archaeological sites, festivals held solely in his honour were not held in Athens. Thus studying Poseidon was useful for this thesis because he served as a contrast to the frequently depicted gods Apollo and Dionysos. Poseidon's festivals, judging from the lack of a cult site in Athens (so far) and the rare mentions of his cult in Athens, were not

as visual, spectacular, or emphasised as those of Apollo and Dionysos (and others, like Athena). Therefore, despite his importance as a deity in the pantheon and in terms of his areas of control, the sea and seismic activity, he remains a rare figure on vases, since vase-painters seemed to construct images of the gods at least in part from visual processions and re-enactments held during festivals.

Beyond this rather negative view of Poseidon, the study of this god did in fact provide some insight into the way the Athenians understood him. It seems the Athenians viewed him as a protector of Athens and more in charge of the sea than of horses. These conclusions were identified mainly through analysing the placement of Poseidon in scenes alongside other deities and studying what such groupings might mean. Firstly his relationship with Athena was investigated and his prominence in the Gigantomachy reveals that he was viewed as a protector of Athens: Athena was the primary deity and Poseidon was her second in battle. This pairing of the two gods may reflect an acknowledgement of the desire of both Poseidon and Athena to claim Attica, but the vase-painters focused not on the antagonism but rather the tutelary desirability of Athens, and the protective power of two major deities.

Poseidon is also closely associated with Apollo, but only in scenes of the Delian Triad; this connection between Poseidon and Delian Apollo suggests that the god of the sea was placed in these scenes to emphasise his importance in relation to the sea journey and the island itself (he was a central deity on the island of Delos). In addition, both Poseidon and Apollo were considered the great Ionian gods, and with the island of Delos a crucial member of the Ionian group, perhaps Poseidon was seen as an appropriate choice in these scenes. If this is the case, then the policy of Peisistratos in relation to the island of Delos and his focus on Athens as an Ionian city would also be of relevance.

The deities with whom he is not associated in vase-painting are also significant in assessing the Athenians' view of the god. He is not shown with Demeter, or very rarely in the extant vases, and so the food-production relationship of agriculture and fishing is not one that is emphasised by the Athenian vase-painters, despite the evidence we have in literature and archaeology for their communal cults (admittedly mostly in the Peloponnese). This suggests that in Athens Poseidon's connection with Athena has in some way superseded his tie to Demeter. In the case of the Athenians, this is to be

expected since it is Athena who claims influence over the sacred olive so significant to the people of Attica. This close relationship with Athena rather than Demeter also strengthens the claim that the Athenians knew of the contest over Attica in the sixth century: Athena, protectress of the olive (her gift), has a close association with Poseidon, most often shown as god of the sea (his gift), and the sacred olive and the power on the sea provide the Athenians with much pride in their polis.

5.5 Future Directions

This type of investigation would benefit from a wider analysis of gods, using database searches to bring up trends which may reveal further connections to festival practice. The goddess Athena, already so closely linked with the Panathenaia on vases, may provide further evidence for the evocation of festivals on vases, and Zeus, Hermes, and Artemis may also prove to be significant areas for this kind of study. This thesis focused on Athenian views of the deities, since the largest number of extant vases is Athenian. To establish which views were Athenian, and which Panhellenic, an exploration of the images from other cities would be extremely beneficial. Certainly a comparison with Lakonian and Corinthian ware would be of interest and may help to reveal how each city state viewed their deities, at least as far as can be ascertained from the vase-paintings. Furthermore, analysing the origins of the gods may prove fruitful; Apollo's 'split' persona of archer and musician may provide further evidence for interpreting the god as a deity 'constructed' from a musical god from the East and a warrior god from the northern regions. Poseidon's Ionian association also encourages future research into his connection with the Near East and what aspects of the god were stressed in the earlier periods. In addition, looking into the representation of heroes, particularly Herakles, and their role in festivals as reflected on vases would help to further our understanding of festivals and how the Athenians viewed their gods and heroes, and possibly also the functional differences between these two.

The method developed for this thesis has provided some useful tools with which to expand on these conclusions. The utilisation of a database enables searches and cross-searches, bringing up trends from the results quickly to reveal how often and in what

context each element has been used. This kind of analysis allows for an overview which can show how significant or widespread some elements are. Musical instruments, for instance, are particularly prevalent in scenes associated with, or evoking, festival practice. Perhaps such a method can find other items or features in vase-painting that can be identified as signifiers for festivals (or other contexts).

Furthermore, taking account of the context of use and provenance of specific vases may also provide further evidence for this research. This thesis focused on trends and so did not analyse the complete framework of contexts of each example unless it was of particular interest. In future investigations, seeing how the findspot or utilisation of some of the individual vases verifies or adds to the conclusions found here would be a worthwhile study. In addition, a fuller exploration of the pairing of the picture fields on vases may provide further support, although the analysis of the kinds of scenes found elsewhere on the vessel has only revealed that mythological narratives or scenes of deities are more likely to be paired, while scenes of mortals ('everyday' scenes) often decorate both sides of a vessel.

Final Conclusion

From the research presented in this thesis, it is possible to augment and advance the analysis of festival practice on vases. This study shows that the vase-painters were influenced by the world around them, even if they represented that through a mythological filter; we can therefore use black-figure vase-paintings (albeit with caution) as one way of beginning to understand what the ancient Athenians viewed as important from the festivals and 'daily life' around them. The events that had the most influence on the vase-painters were the festivals, which in turn shaped the way the gods and goddesses were imagined and therefore represented on the vases.

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CHECKLIST OF VASES ILLUSTRATED IN THE THESIS

This list is a full catalogue of all of the vases illustrated in this thesis; for copyright reasons these cannot be reproduced here. Instead, a list of the vases in order is provided with a reference to guide the reader to the illustration in a published work or online which was used in the thesis (the reference to the exact picture used is preceded by the word 'after'). Most vases also include a reference to the BAPD and those BAPD numbers which are followed by an asterisk (*) are illustrated in the online database. In addition, *LIMC* references are also given if a useful illustration is provided there.

Useful websites:

BAPD	http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/
<i>LIMC</i>	http://www.iconiclimc.ch
British Museum	http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection
New York Metropolitan Museum	http://www.metmuseum.org
Boston Museum of Fine Arts	http://www.mfa.org/collections
Berlin Antikensammlung	http://www.smb-digital.de

- Fig.1:** Hannover 1965.30; *Para.* 119.27^{ter}; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 340472*; after Burow (1989: pl.91b-c).
- Fig.2:** Basel LU20; *Para.* 65; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 350465*; after Bothmer (1985: 89, no.8).
- Fig.3:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2298; BAPD 32454; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.10a).
- Fig.4:** Munich 1441; *ABV* 243.44, 238, 242; *Add.*² 62; BAPD 301332*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.43c-e).
- Fig.5:** Paris, Stavros S. Niarchos A031; BAPD 11106; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.9a-b).
- Fig.6:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.1281; *ABL* 250.29; BAPD 465*; after Hedreen (1992: pl.2).
- Fig.7:** Munich 8729; *ABV* 146.21; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 41; BAPD 310403*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.104).
- Fig.8:** Villa Giulia 50626 (M487); *ABV* 270.63; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320073*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 749*.
- Fig.9:** Louvre F58; *ABV* 312.1; BAPD 301610*; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1317*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.30e).
- Fig.10:** Lost; BAPD 9804; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1116•.
- Fig.11:** Narbonne 04.1.1.1-8; *ABV* 144.2; BAPD 310384*; photo EAM (04.1.1.3 illustrated).
- Fig.12:** Berlin F1717; *ABV* 141.7, 686; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 310367*; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 27b*.
- Fig.13:** Vienna 1001; BAPD 4430; *LIMC* 4 Herakles 1445*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>.
- Fig.14:** Louvre CP10619; *ABV* 685.8; *Para.* 53; *Add.*² 35; BAPD 306550*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 381* and Shapiro (1989a: pl.29a).
- Fig.15:** Hannover 753; BAPD 3254*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.28a) and *LIMC* 2 Apollon 634b*.
- Fig.16:** Berkeley 8.3376; *ABV* 391.2, *Para.* 172, *Add.*² 103, BAPD 302910*; after Smith (1936: pl.21.2c).
- Fig.17:** London 1836.2-24.174 (B169); *ABV* 306.37; *Add.*² 81; BAPD 301517*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 1046*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.

- Fig.18:** Munich 1473 (J1153); BAPD 743*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.27d).
- Fig.19:** Louvre F252; BAPD 7860*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 640*.
- Fig.20:** London 1873.8-20.299 (B548); *ABL* pl.6.1a-c; *ABV* 154.58; *Add.*² 45; BAPD 310486*; after Bothmer (1985: 188, no.49).
- Fig.21:** Orvieto, Duomo 333; BAPD 43331; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.27c).
- Fig.22:** Basel, A. Wilhelm; *Para.* 119.27bis; BAPD 340471*; after Burow (1989: pl.72).
- Fig.23:** Würzburg L220; *ABV* 328.1, 672; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301758*; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1107*.
- Fig.24:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.825; *ABV* 330.1; *Add.*² 89; BAPD 301775*; after Graef and Langlotz (1925-1933: pl.55.825).
- Fig.25:** Malibu 86.AE.120; BAPD 30531*; after Clark (1988: pl.56.2).
- Fig.26:** London B680; BAPD 20510; *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1117*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.27:** Switzerland, private; *Para.* 120.92ter; BAPD 340482*; after Burow (1989: pl.6).
- Fig.28:** New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Coll.; BAPD 43277; after Bothmer (1990: 143, no.109).
- Fig.29:** London 1848.6-19.3 (B261); *ABV* 373.176; *Para.* 163; *Add.*² 99; BAPD 302171*; after *LIMC* Mousa, Mousai 28b*.
- Fig.30:** Paris, Cab. Méd. 231; BAPD 7840*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 779*.
- Fig.31:** St Petersburg 4498; *Para.* 257; BAPD 351547; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 702*.
- Fig.32:** Berlin F1905; *ABV* 332.23; *Para.* 146; *Add.*² 90; BAPD 301801*; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1102*.
- Fig.33:** Madrid 10930; *ABL* 252.73; BAPD 7832*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 700*.
- Fig.34:** Naples SA10; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 124*.
- Fig.35:** Geneva Loan 14648; BAPD 14648; after Queyrel (1985: pl.38.1-2).
- Fig.36:** Karlsruhe 61.24; *Para.* 171.8; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 351263*; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1114*.
- Fig.37:** Würzburg L218; *ABV* 316.2; *Add.*² 85; BAPD 301643*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 631d*.
- Fig.38:** Würzburg L212; *ABV* 371.150; BAPD 302145*; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 30c*.
- Fig.39:** Louvre F218; *ABV* 139.9, 665; *Para.* 57; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310341*; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 630b*.
- Fig.40:** New York 06.1021.47; *ABV* 667; *Add.*² 148; BAPD 306435; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 31b*; after <http://www.metmuseum.org>.
- Fig.41:** Boston 68.46; BAPD 753*; after *LIMC* 2 Artemis 1154*.
- Fig.42:** London B262; *ABV* 321.3; *Add.*² 87; BAPD 301684*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.43:** London 1867.5-8.952 (B255); *ABV* 331.14; *Add.*² 90; BAPD 301792*; after Walters (1929: pl.36.1a).
- Fig.44:** Texas, McCoy (once Castle Ashby 7); BAPD 29*; after Boardman and Robertson (1979: pl.13.1).
- Fig.45:** Louvre MNB910; *ABL* 226.7, pl. 32.2A-B; BAPD 7974; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 701a*.
- Fig.46:** Copenhagen 3241; BAPD 8570*; *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 137*; after <http://www.iconic-limc.ch>.
- Fig.47:** Berlin F1697; *ABV* 297.17; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 78; BAPD 320396*; after Hedreen (1992: pl.39).
- Fig.48:** Amsterdam 3356; *ABV* 66.57; *Para.* 27; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300600*; after Brijder (1996: 28, fig.13).
- Fig.49:** New York 1988.11.3; BAPD 12278; after Moore (2006: pl.2).
- Fig.50:** Rome, Museo Artistico; BAPD 11358; after Bieber (1961: 43, fig.182).
- Fig.51:** Louvre CA1924; *Para.* 259; *Add.*² 130; BAPD 351585*; after Green (1985: fig.19a-c).
- Fig.52:** Taranto 6250; *ABL* 208.56; *Para.* 215; BAPD 340818*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 125*; Trendall and Webster (1971: 25-26, fig.1.18).
- Fig.53:** Bologna 16516 (130); *ABL* 253.15; BAPD 4321*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 829*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 81*; after Roccas (1995: fig.10) and Schone (1987: pl.30.1 drawing).

- Fig.54:** Agrigento R138; BAPD 15752*; after Calderone (1985: pl.23.1).
- Fig.55:** Villa Giulia 760; *ABV* 372.156; BAPD 302151*; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 28a* and Giglioli (1925: pl.7.5).
- Fig.56:** Orvieto, Faina Coll.; *ABV* 372.162; BAPD 302157*; after Wójcik (1989: 217, fig.103.2).
- Fig.57:** Louvre F256; *ABV* 371.152, BAPD 302147*; after Pottier (1926: pl.52.7).
- Fig.58:** Geneva 12048; *ABV* 475; *Para.* 214.9; *Add.*² 120; BAPD 303363*; after Dunant and Kahil (1980: pl.73.14-16).
- Fig.59:** Dublin 1917.36; BAPD 7839; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 779b*.
- Fig.60:** Basel BS435 (previously Arlesheim, S. Schweizer); *ABV* 269.41; *Para.* 118; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320051*; after Burow (1985: pl.129c, 130b).
- Fig.61:** Compiègne, Musée Vivienel 974; BAPD 7611*; after Kunze-Götte (1992a: pl.45.1).
- Fig.62:** Boston 01.8027; *ABV* 152.27, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310454*; *LIMC* 5 Hermes 538*; after <http://www.mfa.org/collections>.
- Fig.63:** Oxford 1948.236; *ABV* 360.9; *Para.* 161; *Add.*² 95; BAPD 302004*; *LIMC* 5 Hermes 539b*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>.
- Fig.64:** London 1836.2-24.108 (B316); *ABV* 268.24, 666; *Add.*² 70; BAPD 320034*; after Burow (1989: pl.146).
- Fig.65:** Brussels A1903; *ABL* 214.182; *ABV* 473; BAPD 330553*; after *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2977*.
- Fig.66:** Berlin F1853; BAPD 6095*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2964*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>.
- Fig.67:** Lucerne, Market, Ars Antiqua; after BAPD 24051*.
- Fig.68:** Munich 1395; *ABV* 305.24; *Add.*² 80; BAPD 301504*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.29e).
- Fig.69:** Louvre MNE1005 (prev. Texas, Hunt Coll. 10); BAPD 8798; Shapiro (1992a: fig.37).
- Fig.70:** St Petersburg 17295 (17794); *ABV* 410.2; *Add.*² 107; BAPD 303118*; after Bentz (1998: pl.81).
- Fig.71:** London 1849.11-22.2 (B139); *ABV* 139.12; *Para.* 57; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310344*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.72:** Louvre F282 (Campana Collection 176); BAPD 10730*; after Pottier (1928: pl.2.4-5).
- Fig.73:** Baltimore 48.2107; BAPD 15205; after Hill (1959: pl.47.3-4).
- Fig.74:** Berlin F1873; *ABV* 407; *Add.*² 106; BAPD 303074*; after Mommsen (1980: pl.344, 38.1).
- Fig.75:** Malibu 81.AE.204.2; after BAPD 23877*.
- Fig.76:** Toronto 919X25.2; BAPD 23118*; after Hayes (1981: pl.16.1).
- Fig.77:** Vienna 3607; *ABV* 319.10; *Para.* 140; *ARV.*² 11, 1618; *Add.*² 86; BAPD 200049*; after Kurtz (1975: pl.55.2).
- Fig.78:** Würzburg L222; *ABV* 405.20; *Add.*² 105; BAPD 303061*; after Kunze-Götte (1992a: Cat. I 21, pl.11.1).
- Fig.79:** Boulogne-sur-Mer, Chateau Mus. 9; BAPD 43388; after Kunze-Götte (1992a: Cat. III 5, pl.50.1).
- Fig.80:** Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale; BAPD 30408; after Fiammenghi (1985: fig.8).
- Fig.81:** London 1926.6-28.7; *ABV* 375.211; BAPD 302206*; after Maas and Snyder (1989: 75 fig.11).
- Fig.82:** Bologna 1431 (PU199); *ABV* 393.13; BAPD 302930*; after Laurinsich (1931: pl.25.4).
- Fig.83:** Samothrace 57.565; *ARV.*² 232.1; *Para.* 174.23bis; BAPD 202274*; after Price (1971: pl.94.6-7).
- Fig.84:** New York 07.286.72; BAPD 4093; Shapiro (1992a: 52, 71, no.19); after <http://www.met-museum.org>.
- Fig.85:** Philadelphia 4841; *ABV* 148.1; after BAPD 310421*.
- Fig.86:** London B460; *ABV* 212.1; *Add.*² 57; BAPD 302683*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.87:** Bristol H802; BAPD 14549; after Vermeule and Bothmer (1956: pl.113.36).
- Fig.88:** Orvieto, Museo Civico; after BAPD 24089*.

- Fig.89:** Kassel T675; *Para.* 167.233bis; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 351233*; after Maas and Snyder (1989: 73, fig.5).
- Fig.90:** Louvre F389; *ABL* 239.134; after BAPD 390402*.
- Fig.91:** Malibu 86.AE.184; BAPD 44511*; after Clark (1990: pl.119.2).
- Fig.92:** Louvre F264 (S1268); *ABV* 401.2; BAPD 303023*; after Pottier (1928: pl.55.3, 55.6).
- Fig.93:** Geneva HR84; BAPD 7475 (repeated in the BAPD as 31865); after Chamay and Bothmer (1987: pl.7.2, 8.2).
- Fig.94:** Como 23; BAPD 1792*; after Palange (1970: pl.1.2).
- Fig.95:** Rouen 9820032; BAPD 7597; after *LIMC* 2 Apollon 723*.
- Fig.96:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2456; BAPD 7946; after Callipolitis-Feytmans (1974: pl.89.14).
- Fig.97:** Vatican 366; *ABV* 224.3, 318.5; after BAPD 302820*.
- Fig.98:** London B260; BAPD 7848*; *LIMC* 2 Apollon 668a*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.99:** San Antonio 86.134.40; BAPD 45350; after Shapiro (1992a: 65, no.20).
- Fig.100:** Munich SL459; *ABV* 369.121; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302116*; after Kunze-Götte (1982: pl.19.1-2).
- Fig.101:** Würzburg L265; *ABV* 151.22; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310451*; after *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 415* and 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 38*.
- Fig.102:** Florence 3897; BAPD 547; after *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 120*.
- Fig.103:** Oxford 1974.344; BAPD 396*; after True (2006: 258-259, fig.74.1-74.3).
- Fig.104:** Berlin 3366; *ABV* 680; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 306501 and 1005032*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.26).
- Fig.105:** Cleveland 1974.10; *ABV* 219.24; *ARV*² 122.4; *Para.* 104; *Add.*² 58; BAPD 201945*; after Neils and Walberg (2000: pl.60.2, 62.1).
- Fig.106:** Athens, Agora P334; *ABV* 23; *Add.*² 7; BAPD 300278*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.33-34).
- Fig.107:** Göttingen 549A (previously J11); *ABV* 35.4; BAPD 305023*; after Isler-Kerényi (1999: fig.6-7).
- Fig.108:** Munich 1431; *ABV* 102.99; *Add.*² 27; BAPD 310098*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.86-87).
- Fig.109:** Louvre E865; *ABV* 100.66; *Para.* 35, 38; BAPD 310065*; after Smith (2010: pl.15a).
- Fig.110:** Berkeley 8.3379; *ABV* 436.2, 445.11; *Para.* 188; *Add.*² 112; BAPD 320471*; after Smith (1936: pl.25.1a).
- Fig.111:** Louvre E742; *ABV* 32.9, 680; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300356*; after Smith (2010: 308, fig.8a-b).
- Fig.112:** Athens 498 (CC1001); *ABL* 251.44, 142; BAPD 4318*; photo MLB.
- Fig.113:** Louvre F131; *ABV* 206.3; *Para.* 94; *Add.*² 55; BAPD 302636*; after Villard (1929: pl.99.7-8, 100.3).
- Fig.114:** London B266; *ABV* 273.118, 275.1; BAPD 320129*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.115:** Berlin F3997; *ABV* 275.8; *Para.* 121; *Add.*² 72; BAPD 320154*; after Mommsen (1980: pl.23.1, 24.3-4).
- Fig.116:** Louvre S1257; BAPD 11294*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 119*; after Gebauer (2002: 683, fig.2).
- Fig.117:** Thebes R50.265; *ABV* 30.8; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300340; after Kilinski (1978: figs.16-17).
- Fig.118:** Berlin 1966.17; BAPD 4637*; after <http://www.smb-digital.de>.
- Fig.119:** Athens 640 (CC631); *ABV* 26.21; *Add.*² 7; BAPD 300299*; after Kaltsas (2006: 112, no.36).
- Fig.120:** Rhodes; *ABV* 90.1; *Add.*² 54; BAPD 350968; Brijder (1988: fig.6).
- Fig.121:** London 1842.7-28.787 (B509); *ABL* 214.187; *ABV* 473; *Para.* 214; BAPD 330555; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.122:** Berlin F1830; BAPD 2698*; Green (1985: 105, cat.11, fig.14); after <http://www.smb-digital.de>.

- Fig.123:** Boston 20.18; BAPD 4090; Green (1985: cat.17, fig. 20a-b); after <http://www.mfa.org/collections>.
- Fig.124:** Villa Giulia 64608; BAPD 505; after *LIMC Supplementum Monstra* 89*.
- Fig.125:** London, Hamilton-Smith; *Para.* 185.23.5; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 351345*; after Pickard-Cambridge (1968: 187, fig.37).
- Fig.126:** Christchurch Univ. 41/57; *Para.* 134.31bis; BAPD 340567*; after Green (2009: 61).
- Fig.127:** Pulsano, Dr. Guarini; BAPD 15467; after Castaldo (2009: fig.9).
- Fig.128:** Los Angeles A5933.50.10; BAPD 4644*; after *LIMC* 6 Mousa, Mousai 32*.
- Fig.129:** London B206; *ABV* 369.120; *Para.* 162; BAPD 302115*; after <http://www.british-museum.org/collection>.
- Fig.130:** Oxford 1965.116; *ABV* 273.111; *Para.* 119; *Add.*² 71; BAPD 320122*; after Burow (1989: pl.41).
- Fig.131:** Geneva MF236; *ABL* 201; BAPD 5694*; after Dunant and Kahil (1980: pl.51.2-3).
- Fig.132:** Bologna 288; *ABV* 400.1; *ARV*² 1056.86, 1680; *Add.*² 104; BAPD 303016*; after Laurinsich (1931: pl.8.5).
- Fig.133:** Louvre F220; BAPD 10773*; after Pottier (1926: pl.40.7).
- Fig.134:** Malibu 86.AE.84; *Para.* 166.189bis; BAPD 351229*; after Clark (1988: pl.31.3).
- Fig.135:** Athens 664; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.13).
- Fig.136:** Louvre F29; *ABV* 109.21, 685; *Para.* 44; *Add.*² 30; BAPD 310167*; after Mangold (2000: 20, fig.9).
- Fig.137:** Munich 2309; *ARV*² 27.4, 1620; *Para.* 323; *Add.*² 156; BAPD 200157*; after Lullies (1956: pl.162.1).
- Fig.138:** Leipzig T3324; *ABV* 98.36; *Para.* 37; *Add.*² 26; BAPD 310035*; after Paul (1982: fig.25).
- Fig.139:** Malibu 86.AE.122; BAPD 16778*; after *LIMC* 7 Peleus 80*.
- Fig.140:** London B310; *ABV* 361.12, 355, 695; *Add.*² 95; BAPD 302007*; *LIMC* 4 Helene 30*; after Walters (1931: pl.80.2).
- Fig.141:** Boston 76.40; *Para.* 144.1; *Add.*² 88; BAPD 351068*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.58).
- Fig.142:** Philadelphia 2462; *Para.* 147; after BAPD 351086*.
- Fig.143:** Basel BS409; *Para.* 149.16bis; *Add.*² 92; BAPD 351098*; after Descoedres (1981: pl.41.5, 45.1).
- Fig.144:** Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Mus. 31; *ABV* 422.4; BAPD 303214*; after Melander (1999: pl.35.24).
- Fig.145:** London B265; *Para.* 142.1; BAPD 351052*; after Walters (1929: pl.66.1a-1b).
- Fig.146:** Athens 1037; *ABL* 92, 106, 145, 163; *ABV* 393.18; *ARV*² 1598.5; *Para.* 507; *Add.*² 390; BAPD 302934*; after Rhomaios and Papaspyridi (1930: pl.14.1-2).
- Fig.147:** Wellington 1957.1; *Para.* 221; *Add.*² 122; BAPD 360902*; after Green (1979: pl.12.5, 12.7).
- Fig.148:** Athens 15372; BAPD 15285*; photo MLB.
- Fig.149:** Tarquinia 670; BAPD 13825*; after Drago (1942: pl.35.1).
- Fig.150:** Munich 1547; *ABV* 385.3; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 302880*; after Kunze-Götte (1982: pl.16.2).
- Fig.151:** New York, Royal Athena 1997, 21 no.91; *ABV* 383.10; *Para.* 168; *Add.*² 101; BAPD 302403*; after Kunze-Götte (1992b: pl.28.1).
- Fig.152:** Villa Giulia 50619; *ABV* 374.193; after BAPD 302188* (obverse only).
- Fig.153:** New York, Market; after BAPD 24084*.
- Fig.154:** Malibu 85.AE.462; BAPD 41328*; after Clark (1990: pl.115.4).
- Fig.155:** Louvre E861; *Para.* 33.1; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 350214*; after Maas and Snyder (1989: 51, fig.15c) and Pottier (1923: pl.6.5).
- Fig.156:** Berlin F1686; *ABV* 296.4; *Para.* 128; *Add.*² 77; BAPD 320383*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 106*; after <http://www.smb-digital.de> and BAPD 320383*.
- Fig.157:** London B347; *ABV* 334.3; BAPD 301813*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.

- Fig.158:** Munich 1416; *ABV* 367.90, 391; *Para.* 162; *Add.*² 98; BAPD 302085*; after Maas and Snyder (1989: 156, fig.2).
- Fig.159:** New York 96.18.51; *ABV* 388.5; *Para.* 170; BAPD 302904*; after Philippaki (1967: pl.6.1).
- Fig.160:** Louvre CP10513; *Para.* 42; after BAPD 350332*.
- Fig.161:** Vatican 424; *ABV* 359, 363.43; after BAPD 302038*.
- Fig.162:** Athens 559; *ABV* 85.1; *Add.*² 23; BAPD 300788*; after Shapiro (1992a: 64, fig.41).
- Fig.163:** Paris, Cab. Méd. 243; BAPD 1047*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.12c-d).
- Fig.164:** Athens, Kerameikos 5671; *ABV* 518.2; *Add.*² 129; BAPD 330667; after Förtsch (1997: 63, fig.20).
- Fig.165:** Louvre CA1778; *ABV* 201, 689; *Add.*² 54; BAPD 302599*; after Villard (1929: pl.97.12).
- Fig.166:** London, Market, Sotheby's 12.6.1967, p.60; *Para.* 257; after BAPD 351534*.
- Fig.167:** London 1836.2-24.62 (B79); *ABL* 250.30; BAPD 4319*; *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 828*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Sacrifices, Greek 149a*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.168:** Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Mus. 76; BAPD 9933*; after Smith (2010: pl.19b).
- Fig.169:** Berlin (lost) 3210; *ABV* 151.21, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310449*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.69).
- Fig.170:** Louvre E876; *ABV* 90.1, 683; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300837*; *ThesCRA* vol.1 Processions, Greek 44*; after Korshak (1987: ill.17) and BAPD 300837*.
- Fig.171:** Paris, Market; *ABV* 374.199; after BAPD 302194*.
- Fig.172:** Villa Giulia 773; *ABV* 381.298, 381, 696; *Para.* 164; *Add.*² 101; BAPD 302379*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.114-115).
- Fig.173:** Oxford 511 (G271); *ABV* 282.20; *Para.* 123; *Add.*² 73; BAPD 320240*; *LIMC* 4 Hephaistos 174*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>.
- Fig.174:** Los Angeles A5933.50.26; BAPD 4643*; after Packard and Clement (1977: pl.10.2-3).
- Fig.175:** Uppsala 352; *ABV* 519.15; *Add.*² 129; BAPD 330696*; *LIMC* 2 Athena 581*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>.
- Fig.176:** London 1836.2-24.42 (B168); *ABV* 142.3; *Add.*² 38; after BAPD 310371* and <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.177:** Basel, Cahn HC986; BAPD 22969; Kreuzer (1992: 97-98).
- Fig.178:** Copenhagen VIII457 (106); *ABL* 252.77; *ABV* 207; *Para.* 98; *Add.*² 56; BAPD 302650*; after Blinkenberg and Friis Johansen (1924: pl.115.1a-b).
- Fig.179:** Würzburg L194 (HA146); BAPD 405 and 41014; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 160*; illustrated here is the obverse: after Cremer (1988: pl.19.2); for the reverse: after Simon (1998: 74, fig.82); **see fig.235**.
- Fig.180:** Princeton 2007.39 (once Buffalo G600); *ABL* 1 note 4; *ABV* 12.22; *Para.* 8; *Add.*² 3; BAPD 300105*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.35-36).
- Fig.181:** Oxford 1965.122; *ABV* 154.45, 687; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310472*; after Bothmer (1985: 160).
- Fig.182:** Würzburg 333; *ABV* 153.36, 687; *Para.* 64; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310463*; after Bothmer (1985: 153).
- Fig.183:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.607; *ABV* 107.1, 684; *Add.*² 29; BAPD 310147*; after Moore (1979: ill.2) and Gebauer (2002: 684, fig.4).
- Fig.184:** St Petersburg 1403 (ST151); *ABV* 98.34; *Para.* 37; *Add.*² 26; BAPD 310034; after Oakley and Sinos (1993: fig.99).
- Fig.185:** Brussels R278; BAPD 4246*; after *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 419*.
- Fig.186:** Boston 01.8052; *ABV* 242.35, 257, 259.26; *Para.* 110, 114; *Add.*² 67; BAPD 302258*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.85) and <http://www.mfa.org/collections>.
- Fig.187:** Paris, Cab. Méd. 1785; *ABV* 389; *Para.* 171; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 302907*; after Lissarrague (2001: 203-205).
- Fig.188:** Athens; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.9).
- Fig.189:** Munich 1383; *ABV* 150.7, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 42; BAPD 310434*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.41e).

- Fig.190:** Louvre F36; *ABV* 150.6, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 42; BAPD 310433*; after *LIMC* 3 Dionysos 811*.
- Fig.191:** Villa Giulia 3550; *ABV* 375.201; *Add.*² 99; BAPD 302196*; after Giglioli (1925: pl.8.5).
- Fig.192:** Hildesheim PM4681; *ABV* 289.24; *Para.* 126; after BAPD 320327*.
- Fig.193:** London B250; *ABV* 341.2; BAPD 301884*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.194:** Munich J692, on loan to Erlangen (M31); BAPD 1268*; after Kunze-Götte (1973: pl.384.2).
- Fig.195:** Tarquinia 638; BAPD 13850*; after Iacopi (1955: pl.2.1).
- Fig.196:** Madrid 10903; BAPD 14472*; after Mérida (1930: pl.15.2).
- Fig.197:** Boston 80.621; BAPD 597*; *LIMC* 8 (Supplementum) Silenoi 118*; after <http://www.mfa.org/collections>.
- Fig.198:** Louvre F227; *ABV* 309.86; *Add.*² 83; BAPD 301565*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.78-79).
- Fig.199:** Barcelona 1484; *ABV* 428.4; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 303283*; after Bosch i Gimpera and Serra i Ràfols (1951-1957: pl.11.1).
- Fig.200:** Tarquinia 637; *Para.* 259; BAPD 351583*; after Iacopi (1955: pl.18.1, 18.3).
- Fig.201:** Heidelberg S5 (VI29A, 55A); *ABV* 63.1; *Add.*² 17; BAPD 300545*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 264*; after Brijder (1991: pl.120a).
- Fig.202:** London 1867.5-8.1007 (B425); *ABV* 184; *Para.* 76; *Add.*² 51; BAPD 302436*; *LIMC* 4 Hades 14*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.203:** Switzerland, private; *Para.* 164.45bis; after BAPD 351202*.
- Fig.204:** Boston 34.212; *ABV* 87.18; *Add.*² 24; BAPD 300807*; *LIMC* 6 Meleagros 12*; after True (1978: pl.64.1).
- Fig.205:** Malibu: 86.AE.156.1-2 and S80.AE.17.1-2; BAPD 9018036; and New York and Taranto: *ABV* 227.13; *Para.* 107; BAPD 302850*; after Clark (1990: pl.85).
- Fig.206:** Germany, private, 11 (prev. Basel, Market; Helgoland, Kropatscheck); BAPD 6359; after Hornbostel (1980: 69).
- Fig.207:** Paris, Cab. Méd. 314; *ABV* 65.41; *Add.*² 17; BAPD 300584*; after Shapiro (1989a: pl.52a).
- Fig.208:** Syracuse 7.268; *Para.* 27.10bis; BAPD 350188; after Brijder (1991: pl.127d).
- Fig.209:** Berlin 4774; BAPD 41337; *LIMC* 5 Hippalektryon 45*; after <http://www.iconic-limc.ch>.
- Fig.210:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2575; BAPD 32207; after Graef and Langlotz (1925: pl.108.2575).
- Fig.211:** Berlin F1915; *ABV* 377.247; *Para.* 163; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 302328*; after Mommsen (1991: pl.36.2).
- Fig.212:** Louvre F257 (MN36, N3197); BAPD 4802*; after Pottier (1928: pl.53.4, 53.7).
- Fig.213:** Louvre F19; *ABV* 241.28; *Add.*² 61; BAPD 301316*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.26).
- Fig.214:** Leiden PC1 (prev. Canino Coll. 767); *Para.* 154.1bis; BAPD 351144*; after Jongkees-Vox (1972: pl.9).
- Fig.215:** Louvre CA577; *ABV* 30.13; *Add.*² 8; BAPD 300345; *LIMC* 6 Nereus 3*; after Kilinski (1978: fig.14).
- Fig.216:** Bloomington 74.10.1; *Para.* 10; *Add.*² 6; after BAPD 350026*.
- Fig.217:** Kassel T663; *Para.* 25; *Add.*² 16; BAPD 350180*; after Lullies (1972: pl.30.2).
- Fig.218:** Cologne, Univ. 306; *Para.* 25.109bis; *Add.*² 15; BAPD 350176*; after Brijder (1983: pl.36l, 37b).
- Fig.219:** Louvre CA2988; BAPD 8656*; after Villard (1958: pl.193.1).
- Fig.220:** New York 25.78.6; *ABV* 116.9, 685; *Add.*² 32; BAPD 310242*; after Richter (1953: pl.38c-e).
- Fig.221:** Louvre F145 (S1259); BAPD 4390*; after Isler-Kerényi (2007a: fig.111-112).
- Fig.222:** Würzburg L263; *ABV* 142.6; *Add.*² 38; BAPD 310374*; after Ahlberg-Cornell (1984: 121 no.V 1).
- Fig.223:** Como 19; BAPD 1789*; after Palange (1970: pl.3.2b-2c).

- Fig.224:** Berlin F1869; BAPD 6094*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 225a*; after Mommsen (1980: pl.36.1).
- Fig.225:** Tarquinia 625; *ABV* 245.65; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301358*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.15).
- Fig.226:** New York 1989.281.62 (prev. Kings Point, Schimmel 24); *Para.* 67; *Add.*² 46; BAPD 350483*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 261*; after <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections>.
- Fig.227:** Princeton 1992.1; BAPD 61; after “Acquisitions of the Art Museum 1992” (1993: 70).
- Fig.228:** Syracuse 49635; BAPD 8204; after Brijder (1983: pl.18d).
- Fig.229:** Oxford 1889.1011; *ABL* 255.19; BAPD 519*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch>.
- Fig.230:** New York 17.230.9; *ABL* 250.22; *ABV* 703; BAPD 306783*; after *LIMC* Nereus 15*.
- Fig.231:** Lugano, Private; *MuM Auktion* 18, 1958, no.101, pl.31; BAPD 11675; after *LIMC* 5 Hippalektryon 44*.
- Fig.232:** Athens 357 (CC1108); *ABV* 561.541; *Add.*² 136; BAPD 331635; after *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 163*.
- Fig.233:** Bucharest 03327; *Para.* 279; BAPD 351907*; after Dimitriu and Alexandrescu (1965: pl.29.5-6).
- Fig.234:** Cambridge GR28.1864 (G49); *ABV* 316.1; *Add.*² 85; BAPD 301642*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 175*; after Lamb (1930: pl.11.1a).
- Fig.235:** Würzburg L194 (HA146); BAPD 405 and 41014; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 160*; illustrated here is the reverse after Simon (1998: 74, fig.82); for the obverse: after Cremer (1988: pl.19.2); **see fig.179**.
- Fig.236:** Boston 99.519; *ABV* 69.1; *Add.*² 18; BAPD 300620*; after <http://www.mfa.org/collections>.
- Fig.237:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.585A; *ABV* 40.17; *Para.* 18; *Add.*² 11; BAPD 305076*; *LIMC* 1 Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos 4*; after Sourvinou-Inwood (2008: pl.8a).
- Fig.238:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.585B; *ABV* 40.18; *Para.* 18; *Add.*² 11; BAPD 305077*; after Sourvinou-Inwood (2008: pl.8b).
- Fig.239:** Paris, Cab. Méd. 222; *ABV* 152.25, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 43; BAPD 310452*; after Arias et al (1962: pl.56).
- Fig.240:** Boston 01.8026; *ABV* 152.26, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310453*; after <http://www.mfa.org/collections> and BAPD 310453*.
- Fig.241:** Malibu 86.AE.67 (86.AE.113); BAPD 79*; after Clark (1988: pl.52.1).
- Fig.242:** Louvre MNB2056 (F30); *ABV* 152.29, 687; *Para.* 63; *Add.*² 44; BAPD 310456*; after Bothmer (1985: 140-141).
- Fig.243:** Malibu 86.AE.143 and 86.AE.46 (L.88.AE.46 in the BAPD); BAPD 10148*; after Clark (1990: pl.72.1).
- Fig.244:** Rome, American Academy; BAPD 41650; after *LIMC* 4 Gigantes 185*.
- Fig.245:** Leipzig T368; *ABV* 376.222; *Add.*² 100; BAPD 302303*; after <http://www.iconiclimc.ch> and BAPD 302303*.
- Fig.246:** Copenhagen 3672; *ABV* 307.58; *Add.*² 82; BAPD 301538*; after *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 174*.
- Fig.247:** Athens, NM Akr. Coll. 1.2211; BAPD 3363; after Moore (1979a: pl.15).
- Fig.248:** New York, Daniel Abraham; *ABV* 265.1; *Para.* 117; *Add.*² 69; BAPD 320002*; after Malagardis (2009: 284, pl.8.1-2).
- Fig.249:** Munich 1576; BAPD 1158*; after Kunze-Götte (1973: pl.390.2).
- Fig.250:** Capua, Campano 145; *ABV* 694.3; *Para.* 153; BAPD 306612*; after Mingazzini (1954: pl.2.1).
- Fig.251:** Vatican 386; *ABV* 694; *Para.* 153; after BAPD 306614*.
- Fig.252:** Berlin (lost) F1699; *ABV* 136.53; *Para.* 55; *Add.*² 37; BAPD 310313*; after Vollkommer (2000: fig.2).
- Fig.253:** Berlin F1827; *Para.* 170.5; *Add.*² 102; BAPD 351260*; *LIMC* 5 Herakles 2884*; after Mommsen (1980: pl.8.1).
- Fig.254:** Agora AP1044; *ABV* 145.19; *Para.* 60; *Add.*² 40; BAPD 310401*; photo EAM.
- Fig.255:** Florence 73127; *ARV*² 173.4, 1631; BAPD 201568*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 172*; after Magi (1959: pl.75.3).
- Fig.256:** Delos Museum; *ABV* 65.30; BAPD 300574*; after Brijder (1991: pl.129f).
- Fig.257:** Charlecote, Fairfax-Lucy; after BAPD 24353*.

- Fig.258:** Athens 15165 (prev. Akr. Coll. 1.587); *ABV* 39.15, 681; *Add.*² 10; BAPD 305074*; *LIMC* 7 Poseidon 182a*; after Graef and Langlotz (1925-1933: pl.26c).
- Fig.259:** Cambridge 2244; *ABV* 245.64; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301357*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.16).
- Fig.260:** Jena, Friedrich-Schiller University 183 (prev. Campana Coll.); BAPD 15515*; after Ahlberg-Cornell (1984: 114, no.III 6).
- Fig.261:** Karlsruhe B1815 (184); *ABL* 226.12; *ABV* 507.12; BAPD 305501*; after Hafner (1951: pl.13.3-4).
- Fig.262:** Louvre F234 (N3211, MN42); *ABL* 240.160; BAPD 2693*; *LIMC* 6 Nereus 122*; after Ahlberg-Cornell (1984: 152, no.XI 6).
- Fig.263:** Amsterdam 9599; BAPD 8743*; after Brijder (1996: pl.76.4, pl.77.1).
- Fig.264:** London 1867.5-8.964 (B508); *ABV* 426.10; *Add.*² 110; BAPD 303254*; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.
- Fig.265:** Berlin (lost) 4860; *Para.* 150.4; *Add.*² 92; after BAPD 351108*.
- Fig.266:** Louvre F24; *ABV* 247.88; *Para.* 111; *Add.*² 64; BAPD 301381*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.19).
- Fig.267:** Louvre F23; *ABV* 247.86; *Para.* 110; *Add.*² 64; BAPD 301379*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.18, no.6).
- Fig.268:** Geneva I499; *ABV* 246.71; *Add.*² 63; BAPD 301364*; *LIMC* Supplementum Zeus add.191*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.21, no.11).
- Fig.269:** Munich 8772; *Para.* 111.5bis; *Add.*² 60; BAPD 340426*; *LIMC* Supplementum Zeus add. 181*; after Mommsen (1975: pl.30).
- Fig.270:** Malibu 83.AE.285; BAPD 13369; after Frel (1983: 148, fig.10.1a-c).
- Fig.271:** Thasos 199; BAPD 9024324; after Gebauer (2002: 744, fig.194).
- Fig.272:** Paris, Dutch Institute (Fondation Custodia) 3650; BAPD 7509; after Gebauer (2002: 737, fig.170).
- Fig.273:** London B362; BAPD 30320; after <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection>.