

NEW LIGHT ON OLD WALLS

THE MURALS OF THE THESEION

(PLATES I–VII)

LESS than two years after the brilliant victories of Plataiai and Mykale, the Athenians and their Ionian kinsfolk, grown weary of the arrogance of Pausanias the king, declined to serve further under Spartan command and in effect withdrew from the Grand Alliance. Instead, they formed an association of their own, centred upon the shrine of all Ionians at Delos, and swore to fight the Mede till iron should float.¹ The date, 478/7 B.C., is contained in the Aristotelian *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, and it is to be trusted.² The first military action of the new alliance was to besiege and take Eion upon the Strymon, a Persian fort, its second the capture and resettlement of the island of Skyros, a nest of Dolopian pirates.³ In both campaigns the allied commander was Kimon. The siege of Eion is dated to the archonship of Phaidon, that is to the year 476/5;⁴ and the capture of Skyros followed an oracle which the Athenians had received in this same archonship.⁵ The god had commanded them to recover the bones of Theseus and to watch over them in honour among themselves. Driven from Athens by Menestheus the Erechtheid pretender, Theseus had gone to Skyros and there met his death at the hands of King Lykomedes. Somewhere upon that island his bones lay. Kimon took the island, and a friendly eagle disclosed the burial place. There was found a tomb containing the bones of a man of extraordinary height, and beside them a bronze spear and a sword. Kimon took the remains upon his ship and sailed home, where the people welcomed Theseus with glittering processions and sacrifices, *ᾧσπερ αὐτὸν ἐπαπερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ*, and laid him in a shrine in the midst of their city.⁶ It is likely

This paper is a somewhat expanded version of one read to the Society on November 12, 1970, and subsequently delivered in Oxford and Swansea. It could not have been written without the constant encouragement of Professors P. E. Corbett and C. M. Robertson, with each of whom I have discussed nearly every step in the argument on more than one occasion; they must not, however, be taken necessarily to agree with all my conclusions. To Professor Robertson I am additionally grateful for allowing me to use the incomparable store of material which is the late Sir John Beazley's photographic archive, now in the Ashmolean Museum. I am glad to acknowledge the help which I have at various stages received from Professor B. Ashmole, Dr H. A. Cahn, Mr B. B. Shefton, Professor Homer A. Thompson and Professor T. B. L. Webster.

PLATES Ia, IIIc, Vc, VIa–c, are reproduced from A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*. PLATE IIIa is reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. I am grateful to the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and to Yale University Press, for permission to reproduce PLATES IIa–b, IIIb, IVa–b and VIIf—all Rogers Fund, 1906–8. I am indebted to Phaidon Press Ltd. for PLATE VIIc, reproduced from B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia*. PLATE VIIe is taken from J. D. Beazley, *Athenian Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*.

¹ Thuc. i 94–6; Plut., *Arist.* 23–5.1, interpreted in the light of Hdt. i 165.3.

² *Ath.* 23.5. See B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* iii (Princeton, 1950) 191–3, and n. 33, 'This date is a cornerstone of the early history of the Confederacy.'

³ Thuc. i 98.1–2; Plut., *Kimon* 8.3–4.

⁴ Schol. Aischin. ii 31 (34 Dindorf). For the date of Phaidon's archonship, see D.S. xi 48.1; D.H., *Rh.* ix 18.1. Mr J. D. Smart has sought to bring down the dates of the campaigns at Eion and Skyros from 476/5 to 470/69–469/8, accepting from D.S. xi 63.1 that the archon in the latter year was a second Phaidon or Phaion and not, as other sources have it, Apsephion: *JHS* lxxxvii (1967) 136 f. In support, Diodoros himself dates the capture of Eion and Skyros to the previous year, 470/69, xi 60.2. The difficulty is that according to Thuc. i 98.1–2 these campaigns were the first undertaken by the Delian League; and it is hard to suppose that a newly founded military alliance could have remained inactive for almost a decade since 478/7.

⁵ Plut., *Thes.* 36.1–4; cf. *id.*, *Kimon* 8.5–7. The occasion of the oracle was perhaps a plague: cf. schol. Aristoph., *Pl.* 627. See H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford, 1956) i 181, ii 51 no. 113.

⁶ Plut., *Thes.*, *loc. cit.*

that the date given applies not merely to the oracular response but to the campaign and the foundation of the shrine also. The 'Theseion', then, as it became known, dated from the year 476/5, and the work was no doubt already in hand when Kimon sailed for Skyros.⁷

The Theseion lay *ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον*, Plutarch says.⁸ According to Pausanias it was *πρὸς τῷ γυμνασίῳ*, which is more specifically the Gymnasion of Ptolemy, standing a short distance from the Agora.⁹ Though it is hard to follow this part of Pausanias' route in detail, it seems clear that the Theseion stood 'at a point where Pausanias was leaving the Agora in a south-easterly direction'.¹⁰ It is not, therefore, the temple commonly so-called, overlooking the Agora from its west side. Despite recent attempts to revive the identification, it is almost certain that that is the temple of Hephaistos.¹¹ In any case, that building was not erected until the middle of the fifth century, a generation later than the Theseion. The Theseion itself still awaits discovery.¹²

No detailed description of the shrine survives. Its nature is to be deduced first from the words in which writers choose to refer to it, and secondly from accounts of what took place within it. No source earlier than the Christian era uses any word but *temenos*: so first Philochoros at the end of the fourth century, followed by four inscriptions of the mid-second century and by Diodoros.¹³ The definition of a *temenos* is embarrassingly wide: it is any parcel of land the property of a cult, whether large or small.¹⁴ At any rate the Theseion extended to more than merely a tomb or a temple. When Pausanias visited the shrine in the second century A.D. it still bore at least part of its original painted decoration, and will therefore have retained at least its basic original form. He calls it *hieron* and *sekos*.¹⁵ The former word may of course denote a temple-building, or it may be applied to the sanctuary area about and including a temple.¹⁶ A *sekos* may be a simple tomb, but it may also be something grander. In the new papyrus fragment of his *Erechtheus* Euripides appears to call the Erechtheion a *sekos*, and Dionysios of Halikarnassos repeats the word of the same building—which is elsewhere *neos* and *hieron*.¹⁷ The *hieron* which Pausanias saw moreover contained *toichoi* with mural paintings.¹⁸ The Theseion is first called a temple, *neos*, by Hesychios;¹⁹ and it is reserved to the Byzantines of the ninth century and later to call it an *heroon*.²⁰ So far, then, a building with walls capable of taking mural paintings, and a *temenos*. Evidence of the uses of the shrine tell us a little more of it. It was large enough to

⁷ A. J. Podlecki, *JHS* xci (1971) 141–3, rightly emphasizes that the date given is that of the oracle only, and suggests that the capture of Skyros may have taken a few years to achieve. See also Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III i (Gotha, 1897) 105 f. n. 2, suggesting 474/3 or 473/2 as the date. Nevertheless it is more likely that the oracle was dated from a record of the capture than that its own date was preserved independently.

⁸ Plut., *Thes.* 36.4.

⁹ Paus. i 17.2.

¹⁰ Cf. R. E. Wycherley, *JHS* lxxix (1959) 155; H. Plommer, *Gnomon* xxix (1957) 33.

¹¹ Cf. Wycherley, *op. cit.* 153–6.

¹² Some years ago Professor Homer Thompson believed that he had identified the Gymnasion of Ptolemy and the Theseion in the so-called South Square of the Agora: 'The Sanctuary of Theseus in Athens', paper read to the Archaeological Institute of America, December 29, 1964, and circulated privately; cf. *id.*, *Hesp.* xxxv (1966) 40–8. However attractive this suggestion, Professor Thompson has since withdrawn it, and once more regards the proposed Theseion as the Heliaia. I am most grateful

to Professor Thompson for discussing the identification of this structure with me by letter.

¹³ *FGrH* 328 F18 (Plut., *Thes.* 35.2). *IG* ii² 956.16–17; 957.11; 958.13 (these three all found north-east of the Akropolis, near the church of Demetrios Katephores); 1035.48. D.S. iv 62.4. The ancient references to the Theseion are conveniently assembled by R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* iii, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton, 1957) 113–19.

¹⁴ See the brief discussion by K. Latte, *RE* 'Temenos' no. 1.

¹⁵ Paus. i 17.2, 6.

¹⁶ For *hieron* as an area to be fenced, only obscurely distinguished from a *temenos*, see *IG* i² 94 of 418/7 B.C.; R. E. Wycherley, 'Neleion', *BSA* lv (1960) 60–6, referring to previous discussions.

¹⁷ Eur., *Erechth.* fr. 65 line 90 Austin; D.H., *Rh. exc.* xiv 2. See C. A. Austin, *Rech. de Pap.* iv (1969) 58 f. *νηός*, Hdt. viii 55; *ἱερόν*, Hesych., s.v. *οἰκουρὸν ὄφρων*.

¹⁸ Paus. i 17.3.

¹⁹ Hesych, s.v. *Θήσειον*; cf. *Et. Mag.*, s.v. *Θήσειον*.

²⁰ Photios, s.v. *Θήσειον*; cf. Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* i 264.21.

serve as a garrison post in an emergency, such as that which followed the mutilation of the Hermai in 415, when the Boule ordered a substantial number of troops to occupy the Theseion, while the Knights were directed to the nearby Anakeion.²¹ In the fourth century the Thesmothetai drew lots in the Theseion for the filling of various functions, and deme offices also were allocated there.²² In the first century B.C. the Boule itself met there occasionally;²³ and the shrine formed an appropriate site for the display of lists of victors in the Theseia.²⁴ The *temenos* also, according to Philochoros, afforded asylum to runaway slaves and suppliants.²⁵ The encyclopaedists of late antiquity add that certain law-suits were tried there;²⁶ and they record that the Theseion served also as a prison.²⁷ Even without their evidence, it is clear that the *temenos* must have been of at least moderate size. The *hieron* or *sekos*, however, need not have occupied its whole area.

In general, Greek buildings were either round or rectangular. Since Pausanias describes the third mural painting in the Theseion as being 'on the third wall',²⁸ we may be confident that the building was in fact rectangular. It may have been similar to a temple or treasury.²⁹ It may have been a stoa, closed on three sides but with open access between columns on the fourth. It may have been a court of four sides, perhaps cloistered to protect the paintings. A hint of its form may be contained in a hero-shrine of unidentified dedication at Gjölbaschi in Lykia, the ancient Trysa.³⁰ It consists of a walled courtyard, roughly rectangular, surrounding the actual tomb, a two-tiered sarcophagus. The courtyard was entered through a ceremonial gateway, and on its walls was a wealth of sculptured decoration, friezes once brightly painted. The date, to judge from the style of the sculpture, is c. 400. As Professor Homer Thompson has emphasized, the plan of the shrine is not one otherwise followed in Lykia; and the subjects of the friezes, their composition and something of their style are derived from Athenian art, especially the great murals of the Early Classical period in the Theseion, the Anakeion, the Stoa Poikile.³¹ It seems possible that the plan, alien to Lykia, may have been borrowed from the same source, and that the Theseion was likewise a courtyard surrounding the tomb of the hero.

From the topographical and architectural uncertainties, we turn to the paintings. Pausanias lists them:³² *γραφαὶ δὲ εἰσι πρὸς Ἀμαζόνων Ἀθηναῖοι μαχόμενοι. . . γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησεύως ἱερῷ καὶ ἡ Κενταύρων καὶ ἡ Λαπιθῶν μάχη· Θησεὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονόως ἐστὶν ἡδὴ Κένταυρον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μάχη· τοῦ δὲ τρίτου τῶν τοίχων ἡ γραφὴ μὴ πυθομένους ἃ λέγουσιν οὐ σαφῆς ἐστὶν, τὰ μὲν πού διὰ τὸν χρόνον, τὰ δὲ Μίκων οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λόγον.* We shall return to Pausanias' comments later: for the moment it is enough to

²¹ And., *de Myst.* 45; Thuc. vi 61.2, ἐν Θησείῳ τῷ ἐν πόλει. Thucydides' phrase distinguishes this sanctuary of Theseus from others. According to Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F 18 (Plut., *Thes.* 35.2), there were four *temene* of Theseus. Cf. Eur., *HF* 1328 f.; schol. Aischin. iii 13, δυνὸ Ἱήσεια ἐν τῇ πόλει; *IG* ii² 2498, a Theseion at Peiraieus; Paus. i 30.4, a shrine shared with Peirithoos at Kolonos Hippios. Cf. Wycherley, *JHS* lxxix (1959) 156. According to *Ath.* 15.4, Peisistratos held an armed muster in the Theseion, which was, from the context, situated near the Propylon to the Akropolis. Polyainos, however, tells the same story but names the Anakeion instead of the Theseion, *Strat.* i 21.2.

²² Aischin., in *Ctes.* 13; *Ath.* 62.2.

²³ *IG* ii² 1039.2-3.

²⁴ *IG* ii² 956.16-17; etc.

²⁵ *FGrH* 328 F 177 (*Et. Mag.*, s.v. *Θήσειον*); cf. Aristoph., *Eq.* 1312 and schol.; D.S. iv 62.4; Plut., *Thes.* 36.4.

²⁶ Photios, s.v. *Θήσειον*; *Et. Mag.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁷ Hesych., s.v. *Θήσειον*; *Et. Mag.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Paus. i 17.3.

²⁹ It is worthwhile to recall the whole context of Euripides' reference to the Erechtheion. Athena speaks to the king's widow (*Erechth. fr.* 65, lines 90 f. Austin): *πόσει δὲ τῷ σῶ σηκὸν ἐν μέσῃ πόλει/ τεῦξαι κελεύω περιβάλοισι λαίνοισ.* We have seen that Pausanias called the Theseion a *sekos*, and that Plutarch described it as ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει. Is it possible that Euripides' words echo the oracle which enjoined the foundation of the Theseion? (On Euripides and the Erechtheion, seen now M. Treu, *Chiron* i [1971] 124 ff.)

³⁰ O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (Vienna, 1890), esp. drawings, pls. i-v; see also F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (Vienna, 1950).

³¹ Cf. *Hesp.* xxxv (1966) 42 n. 8.

³² Paus. i 17.2-3.

say that the third painting concerned Theseus' visit to Poseidon and Amphitrite on the sea-bed, which convinced Minos that his adversary was truly Poseidon's son. Pausanias, then, mentions three paintings, and Mikon is named as the artist of the third. The traveller does not name an artist for the first two; and so far as his evidence goes, all three may have been the work of Mikon. But from a plausible emendation to the text of Harpokration, if it were accepted, we should learn that at least one painting in the shrine was attributed to Polygnotos.³³ The Theseion in that case will have been decorated by Mikon and Polygnotos working together, as they did in the Anakeion and in the Stoa Poikile.³⁴ Two of the paintings depicted two of Theseus' greatest exploits, endlessly popular in Athens and beyond, his triumph over the oriental invaders, his aid to a friend and ally in the restoration of order in place of barbarism and chaos. The third picture carried the recognition of Theseus' divine descent. Together, the paintings inevitably recall the parallel career of Herakles: he had his Amazon and Centaur foes, his father received him into Olympus.³⁵ This parallelism with Herakles had been increasingly emphasized since the late sixth century; and from it a proverb passed into common currency, ἄλλος οὐτός 'Ηρακλής.³⁶ It seemed natural for the two heroes to decorate the Athenian treasury at Delphoi with their exploits to celebrate Miltiades' victory at Marathon;³⁷ natural too for Miltiades' son to choose for his Theseion the exploits in which Theseus came closest to his greater cousin.

Scholars have often tried to reconstruct the murals of the Theseion from their supposed influence on subsequent vase-paintings, and nearly all the vases with which we shall be chiefly concerned have been brought into association with the Theseion and other buildings decorated with the murals of Mikon and his colleague Polygnotos.³⁸ For the most part, but not entirely, they belong to a restricted group of artists of the mid-fifth century, the school of the Niobid Painter. However, the argumentation has not always been very precise, and I shall hope to give it in some points a greater precision. Moreover, towards the identification of the vases influenced by the Theseion I shall advance a train of argument not yet exploited.

We begin with the great calyx-krater in the Louvre, name-vase of the Niobid Painter, though it cannot be proved to be derived from any of the paintings in the Theseion (PLATE I).³⁹ From its style and from its relationship to the artist's other works we judge it to have been painted about 460: not earlier, nor more than a decade later. The subject of the main scene is obscure: for the moment, let us call it the Herakles scene, since Herakles and Athena are the only figures to be identified beyond cavil. On the back Apollo and Artemis shoot down the miserable children of Niobe. Our concern is with the detailed anatomical drawing, specifically the drawing of the abdominal muscle in all these nude figures. In the Niobid scene two horizontal lines divide the muscle into three sections; and that is anatomically correct. In the Herakles scene all the figures are endowed with an additional line, making not three sections but four.⁴⁰ This is a deformity unknown to

³³ Harpokr., s.v. Πολύγνωτος: . . . ἔγραψε . . . τὰς ἐν τῷ θησαύρῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀνακειῷ γραφάς. θησαύρῳ codd.: Θησεῖως ἱερῷ Reinesius.

³⁴ Anakeion, Paus. i 18.1; Poikile, *ibid.* 15. On the Poikile, see L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* lx (1965) 41-57.

³⁵ Cf. P. Jacobsthal, *Theseus auf dem Meeresgrunde* (Leipzig, 1911) 6 ff.; K. Schefold, *Mus. Helv.* iii (1946) 66 f.

³⁶ Plut., *Thes.* 29.3.

³⁷ Paus. x 11.5; P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Sculptures du Trésor des Athéniens, Fouilles de Delphes* IV iv (Paris, 1957), with discussion of the date 259 ff.

³⁸ Cf., among many, E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* xli (1883) 347 ff.; C. Robert, *Die Marathonschlacht und weiteres über Polygnot, 18. Hall. Winkelmannsprog.*

(Halle, 1895) 45; F. Hauser, *FR* ii (1909) 244 ff., 312 ff.; E. Buschor, *ibid.* iii (1932) 288 ff.; J. Six, *JHS* xxxix (1919) 130-43; H. Schrader, *Phidias* (Frankfurt, 1924) 169; E. Löwy, *Polygnot* (Vienna, 1929); A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung, Handb. d. Arch.* III i (Munich, 1953) 91 ff.; M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* (Geneva, 1959) 111-35.

³⁹ Louvre MNC 511 (G 341): *ARV*² 601.22; *FR* ii pl. 108, iii pl. 165; T. B. L. Webster, *Der Niobidenmaler, Bilder gr. Vasen* viii (Leipzig, 1935) pls. 2-5; P. Arias, M. Hirmer and B. B. Shefton, *History of Greek Vase Painting* (London, 1962) pls. 173-5.

⁴⁰ This is not noticed in the careful description of the technique by Reichhold, *FR* ii 253, or by Webster, *op. cit.* 9.

nature. It is, so far as I can discover, not otherwise to be found on nude figures by the Niobid Painter: I have been able to examine, in photographs or in the original, 83 of the 122 vases attributed by Beazley. Now an artist may make a mistake. But he may not make the same mistake six times on one side of a vase, and not at all on the other. Those lines are meant to be there. If we ask why they are there, there is only one answer. They are there because the artist copied them from a work by somebody else. From this a further deduction may be made. One can imagine one artist copying the work of another in such a way as to follow the composition, but in the smaller details of anatomy to introduce his own idiosyncratic vision. One cannot contemplate an artist who will take the trouble to copy such details but who is unconcerned to reproduce the general scheme at the same time. If the details are copied from an original, then *a fortiori* the whole scene is copied too—a direct copy, not a free adaptation.

Then what was the original? That the scenes on this vase reflect something of what we are told of mural painting in the literary tradition has long been agreed.⁴¹ The most striking feature is the way in which perspective is achieved by the device of placing the figures on a number of different ground-lines at several levels. Certainly this was not a common practice of the Niobid Painter. In his work only three further instances can be quoted, in a fragmentary Centaurography in Berlin, to which we shall return, in an even more fragmentary battle scene in Rimini and Ancona, which has been thought to be part of a slaughter of the Niobids, and in an equally fragmentary battle scene in Reggio, still unpublished.⁴² But the device was an important feature of the murals of Polygnotos the Thasian, the most famous artist of this generation. Pausanias' extremely detailed descriptions of two works of Polygnotos in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphoi are full of such phrases as 'In the lower part of the picture is Hektor, seated'; 'Beyond Sarpedon and Memnon is Paris'; 'Above these women are the daughters of Lykaon'—and so on.⁴³ As well as Polygnotos, his frequent colleague Mikon must have used variation of the ground-line, since one of his pictures is said to have portrayed a man hidden behind a hill, all but his helmet and one eye.⁴⁴ A less extreme case of concealment, but parallel, is the saluting soldier on the left of the Herakles scene. One of the figures here exactly recalls a pose described by Pausanias in Polygnotos' 'Nekyia' at Delphoi: Hektor seated and clasping his left knee in both hands, the picture of misery.⁴⁵ Two further figures on the vase in part recall others in Polygnotos' painting: Antilochos with one foot raised upon a rock—but with his head in his hands; Kallisto, daughter of Lykaon, reclining—not sitting—with her feet resting on the knees of her sister Nomia.⁴⁶ Finally Herakles, the armed soldier on his right and the youth clasping his knee all have their mouths slightly open to disclose their teeth—and this not through any agony, as earlier artists had thought to express it, but relaxed.⁴⁷ Pliny commented on Polygnotos, 'institutus adaperire, dentes ostendere, uultum ab antiquo rigore uariare'.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Cf. C. Robert, *Annali dell' Inst.* liv (1882) 273–89.

⁴² Berlin 2403: *ARV*² 598.9; PLATE VIIc–d; Webster, *op. cit.*, pl. 24b–c; B. Ashmole and N. Yalouris, *Olympia* (London, 1967) fig. 21 opp. p. 180. (The drawing in Löwy, *op. cit.* pl. 4, is not accurate.) Rimini, Mus. Missionario, and Ancona, from S. Marina di Pesaro: J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena to ABV and ARV* (Oxford, 1971): hereafter cited as *Para.* 395.4 bis; M. Zuffa, *Atti del I Convegno di Studi etruschi* (*Stud. etr.* xxv suppl., Florence, 1959) 137 ff. and pls. xviii 6, xx 1a–d; C. W. Clairmont, *Antike Kunst* vi (1963) 26 and pl. ix 3. Reggio: *Para.* 396; PLATE VIIb. I owe my knowledge of this fragment, as well as the attribution of it, to the generosity of Mr Brian Shefton.

⁴³ Paus. x 25–31; see Robertson, *op. cit.* 122 f.

⁴⁴ Zenob., *Prov.* iv 28; cf. *Souda*, s.v. θάρρον ἢ Βούρης.

⁴⁵ Paus. x 31.5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 30.3, 31.10.

⁴⁷ For the archaic convention, cf. Antaios on the calyx-krater by Euphronios, Louvre G 103: *ARV*² 14.2; Arias, Hirmer and Shefton, *op. cit.* pl. 109. Cf. also singers, as the Kleophrades Painter's Mainad on the pointed amphora in Munich, Mus. Ant. Kleinkunst 2344: *ARV*² 182.8; Arias etc. pl. 124.

⁴⁸ Pliny, *NH* xxxv 58; cf. Webster, *op. cit.* 15.

It is plain that the Niobid Painter's model was a wall painting, and one which had features known to have been present in works of Polygnotos and Mikon. On the evidence so far, its artist was not necessarily either of these two, but surely he belonged, as they did, to the Early Classical period. In the erroneous treatment of the abdominal muscle we have isolated an easily recognizable feature of his style. Professor Webster had already pointed out a number of details in the treatment of both scenes on the Louvre krater which appear not to belong to the style of the Niobid Painter himself but to original works upon which he drew.⁴⁹ Now that we can regard the Herakles scene as a direct copy of such an original, the details observed therein by Professor Webster may confidently be regarded as characteristic of the individual artist responsible. First, faces in three-quarter view. Only three more of the Niobid Painter's scenes show three-quarter faces, the slaughter of the Niobids on the Louvre krater itself, the Amazonomachy in Palermo and the Gigantomachy in Ferrara.⁵⁰ Secondly, the transparent tunics of two figures in the Herakles scene are found again only on a dead daughter of Niobe on the same vase and on three Greeks in the Amazonomachy in Naples.⁵¹ Finally, the marking of folds of skin beneath the eye is altogether confined to the Louvre krater, and then only occurs in the Herakles scene: like the abdominal muscle, it is unique and personal.

To sum up: the Herakles scene is copied from a mural painting in the manner of Mikon and Polygnotos. The original artist composed on many levels. He liked the comfort of a shield seen from the inside; he liked to portray diaphanous garments and heads in three-quarter view. He wrinkled the hollow below his subjects' eyes. But his most recognizable characteristic, which serves to isolate him as a personality, is that he repeatedly introduced into his nude figures a fundamental error of anatomy. Can we find other traces of his work?

We turn to a volute-krater in New York decorated about the middle of the fifth century, not later, by an artist to whom Beazley gave the endearing and memorable name Painter of the Woolly Satyrs.⁵² He belongs to the school of the Niobid Painter, and no doubt worked under his guidance, for the same market of Italian grandees. The main scene is the battle of Greeks and Amazons. For the moment we are concerned with the subsidiary decoration on the neck, a Centauromachy (PLATE IIa-b).

This Centauromachy is, to art, a new version of the second quarter of the fifth century: a version in which the fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs began as a drunken brawl at the very wedding-feast of Peirithoos and Hippodameia, in which the Centaurs assaulted the bride, the other women and the boys.⁵³ From allusions in archaic literature, we should piece together a rather different story. Wine inflamed the Centaur Eurytion in the house of Peirithoos, and he did wrong; the heroes leapt up, dragged him out, and cut off his ears and nose, and he went off miserably—from which arose a feud between men and Centaurs.⁵⁴ The *Odyssey* does not explicitly state that the occasion of this 'wrong' was the wedding-feast—though that is likely enough. There is no hint that other Centaurs were present, or that any further fighting took place on that occasion: quite the reverse, in fact, for, nose and ears cut off, *ἦϊεν ἦν ἄτην ὀχέων ἀεσίφρονι θυμῷ*. The *Iliad* alludes to a formal battle in the 'Catalogue of Ships': the Lapiths came to Troy under the leadership of Polypoites,

⁴⁹ Webster, *op. cit.* 9.

⁵⁰ Palermo G 1283, volute-krater: *ARV*² 599.2; PLATE Vb; Arias etc. pl. 179. Ferrara T 313, calyx-krater: *ARV*² 602.24; Webster, *op. cit.* pl. 16; N. Alfieri, P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Spina* (Munich, 1958) pl. 35.

⁵¹ Naples 2421, volute-krater: *ARV*² 600.13; PLATE VIb-c; FR i pls. 26-8; Löwy, *op. cit.* pl. 10a-b. See Pliny's comment on Polygnotos, xxxv 58, 'primus mulieres tralucida ueste pinxit'.

⁵² New York 07.286.84: *ARV*² 613.1; PLATES IIa-b, IVa; G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum* (New Haven, 1936) ii pls. 97-8; Löwy, *op. cit.* pls. 6-7; *Hesp.* xxxi (1962) pl. 110; for the whole vase, G. Becatti, *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome* (London, 1968) 149.

⁵³ B. B. Shefton, *Hesp.* xxxi (1962) 338-44, 353-67, with list of representations.

⁵⁴ *Odyss.* xxi 295 ff.

τόν ῥ' ὑπὸ Πειριθῶ τέκετο κλυτὸς Ἴπποδάμεια
ἥματι τῷ ὅτε Φῆρας ἐτείσατο λαχρήεντας.⁵⁵

If Peirithoos' son was born on the day of the battle, an interval of at least nine months must be presumed to have elapsed since the wedding. It is no doubt to the same engagement that Nestor of Pylos alludes, when he describes the crucial help he gave Peirithoos and his men in battle against the Centaurs, *Φηρσὶν ὄρεσκόοισι*.⁵⁶ *καλέσαντο γὰρ αὐτοί*, he adds, thereby indicating that the battle was not unforeseen. The early epic, then, knew of two episodes, doubtless connected: Eurytion alone was invited to the wedding-feast and misbehaved, was punished, and went off to raise a force of Centaurs who attacked Peirithoos at least nine months later and were destroyed. The marks of the formal, outdoor, battle are the use of proper weapons and especially armour by the Greeks, the use of rocks and pine trees by the Centaurs. The pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* describes such a battle,⁵⁷ and c. 570 it was illustrated at Athens on the François vase.⁵⁸ At the beginning of the fifth century this version is still universal. But in the Early Classical period the scene changes, and a column-krater in Florence of the 460s introduces to vase-painting the new version which the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs adopted.⁵⁹ No doubt about this time, the brawl was recalled by Pindar—a fragment only survives, the Pheres became drunk on wine, pushing aside the bowls of milk⁶⁰—and the fullest account is to be found in Ovid.⁶¹

We have spoken of vases. In sculpture the new version appears for the first time in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (PLATE IIc-e).⁶² In the centre stands Apollo, extending a protective arm over Peirithoos' head. With his sword Peirithoos attacks the Centaur Eurytion, who has seized Hippodameia. On the other side of Apollo Theseus with an axe raised in both hands—Pausanias identifies him—moves to the right to strike at a second Centaur who has laid hold of a Lapith girl. Outside these symmetrically placed groups, on either side a Centaur attempts to make off with a Lapith boy. Beyond them again, further incidents in the general mêlée. The haste in which all have risen from the table is vividly conveyed in the cascade of garments about their ankles. Two of these figures are especially relevant to our argument, and must be considered more closely. On the left, Peirithoos' himation is still caught on his left shoulder; the main part of it, though, is draped diagonally across his back and the other free end has fallen about his right ankle. Theseus raises both arms with the axe, so even the end of the himation draped over the left shoulder has fallen, and the whole garment cascades about his legs.

We return to the New York scene in detail. It is set in the banqueting hall, and the couches of the diners extend for its whole length. At one end, a krater stands ready on its tripod frame. Another, overturned and spilled, lies on the ground under a Centaur. Centaurs and Lapiths, some garlanded for the feast, attack one another with roasting-spits, table-legs and pillows. The group, towards the left, of a Centaur trying to make off with a Lapith boy bears one of the hall-marks of our mural artist, the three-quarter view of the Lapith's head. Moreover it recalls a similar pair at Olympia.⁶³ But this is merely a reminiscence: we are not here concerned with an identity of pose. With the axe-man in the

⁵⁵ *Iliad* ii 742 f. For the Pheres, see also *ibid.* i 268.

⁵⁶ *Iliad* i 262 ff. Line 265, adding Theseus to the Lapiths, is to be regarded as an interpolation: see F. Jacoby, *FGrH* III B Suppl. ii 342 n. 7.

⁵⁷ *Scut.* 178 ff.

⁵⁸ Florence, Mus. Arch. 4209: *ABV* 77.1; Arias, etc. pls. 41, 43; A. Minto, *Il Vaso François* (Florence, 1960) pls. vi, xxvi.

⁵⁹ Florence, Mus. Arch. 3997: *ARV*² 541.1, by the Florence Painter; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 489; C. Dugas and R. Flacelière, *Thésée, Images et Recits* (Paris, 1958) pl. 11.

⁶⁰ Pindar *fr.* 166 Snell (150 Bowra, 203 Turyn: Athen. 476b); cf. *fr.* 167 (150, 204: *P. Oxy.* 2447 fr. 15; cf. Plut., *Mor.* 1057D), the death of Kaineus. Cf. also the brief account given by Plut., *Thes.* 30.3-4, which is there said to have been known to, and rejected by, Herodotos who fl. c. 400 B.C. (*FGrH* 31 F 27).

⁶¹ Ovid, *Met.* xii 182-535. See below, p. 30.

⁶² Paus. v 10.8; Ashmole and Yalouris, *op. cit.* 17-22 and pls. 62-142, and folding pl. at end.

⁶³ *Ibid.* pl. 86.

centre of the scene, however, the case is quite the reverse. His pose is identical with that of the Theseus at Olympia, and their cloaks cascade about their knees and thighs in just the same way (PLATE IIa, e). So striking, so precise a similarity drives one to believe either that one figure is copied from the other or that both are copied from a single original. The former alternative does not commend itself, and a second glance at the vase confirms the latter.⁶⁴ The axe-man is the only figure who precisely corresponds to a figure at Olympia. He has an extra division in his abdominal muscle. He is the only figure in the scene to be so endowed, and the feature is not to be found as a persistent foible of the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs.⁶⁵ The axe-man on the vase and Theseus at Olympia evidently share a common original, in a mural painting at Athens by the same artist whose Herakles mural was copied by the Niobid Painter on his calyx-krater with which we began.

Here is an opportunity to date the originals. The composition, poses and detailed treatment of the figures in the Herakles scene, a direct copy, prove that we are dealing with an artist of the Early Classical period, roughly 480 to 450.⁶⁶ An upper limit for the date of the originals of both the Herakles scene and the Centauromachy is provided by the Persian sack of Athens. No mural painting could have survived that desolation. The upper limit, then, is the year 479/8, when the Athenians returned from their refugee camps to face the daunting task of reconstruction. For the Centauromachy, the designing of the Early Classical pediment at Olympia marks the lower limit. The temple was built from spoils of the war which Elis fought against Pisa and those of the *perioikoi* who had joined in her revolt.⁶⁷ This war would seem to be part of the sequence of events which Diodoros characterises as the *synoikismos* of the city of Elis from the small and scattered townships in which the Eleans had lived, dating the foundation in 471/0.⁶⁸ After the battle of Tanagra in 458/7, the Spartans and their allies celebrated their victory over the Athenian alliance by hanging a golden *phiale* from the pediment of the Olympian temple, which was therefore complete by that date.⁶⁹ The temple, then, was built between 470 and 458, in a period of not more than thirteen years. Professor Ashmole has calculated the length of time it would have taken to carve the marble sculpture of the temple as not much less than one

⁶⁴ Cf. Hauser, FR ii 311.

⁶⁵ The only other vase by this painter to show a figure with the extra division is a hydria in the Vatican: ARV² 614.11; *Mus. Etr. Greg.* (Rome, 1842) ii pl. 19.2; P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1931) 194 fig. 71. Between two sceptred women, one of them accompanied by a dog, is a wide platform on which a nude warrior with spear and shield stands beside an altar. To the left is a building, to the right a tree drawn in the manner of the Niobid Painter, and beyond it a third woman swathed in a large himation covering her head, turned three-quarters to her right, seated on the ground in a pose reminiscent of the 'Penelope' type. For all its 'mural' features, the subject is hard to identify. It has some affinity with Polygnotos' portrayal of Aias in the *Sack of Troy* at Delphi: *Aïas δὲ ὁ Ὀϊλέως ἔχων ἄσπιδα βωμῷ προσέστηκεν ὀνύμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐς Κασσάνδραν τολμήματος*. But it is not easy to see who the sceptred women might then be. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs was inspired by Polygnotos' other rendering of the same subject in the Stoa Poikile (Paus. i 15.2), in which Aias' trial was the central motif. One more vase by this painter, though it shows no anatomical oddities, may be mentioned for its plainly mural subject: Louvre CA 3482: ARV² 613.3; P. Devambez,

'Un cratère à volutes attique du milieu du V^e siècle avant notre ère', *Mon. Piot* lv (1967) 77-104, pls. iii-iv. The subject is the death of Aktaion, set in an extensive landscape with undulating ground-lines; and three-quarter views are favoured, both for Aktaion himself and for Artemis' chariot.

⁶⁶ Only the anatomical eccentricity itself, separately considered, would indicate an earlier date. For it disappears from sculpture by c. 520 (cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi*³ [London, 1970] 131, 133), and from vase-painting c. 500-490. One of the latest archaic vase-paintings to show the quadripartite muscle is the Kleophrades Painter's calyx-krater, Tarquinia RC 4196: ARV² 185.35; Arias, etc., pls. 119-21. Elsewhere this artist shows the correct triple division: cf. the athletes on the neck of the pointed amphora, Munich 2344: ARV² 182.6; Arias, etc., pls. 122-3.

⁶⁷ Paus. v 10.2; cf. Hdt. iv 148.4.

⁶⁸ D.S. xi 54.1. See A. Andrewes, *Phoenix* vi (1952) 2 f.; cf. W. G. Forrest, *CQ* n.s. x (1960) 229.

⁶⁹ Paus. v 10.4. A contemporary copy of the dedicatory inscription he quotes has survived, apparently in the alphabet of Corinth, to whom an additional couplet refers: *Olymp.* v 253; R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969) no. 36; L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford, 1961) 129 f., 132 no. 38, pl. 21.

hundred and fifty man-years; and this must be regarded as a very cautious estimate.⁷⁰ The uniformity of style of the sculpture implies that the team of workmen must in fact have been small. The conclusion is inescapable that work on the sculpture must have begun at once, as soon as work on the temple itself, and occupied virtually all the available thirteen years. The designs, then, were made in about 470, probably in that very year. If so, that is the latest possible date for the completion of the Athenian mural from which the west pediment was derived. The Centauromachy at Athens was painted between 478 and 470.

Only one Athenian building decorated with murals is known to have been constructed during the 470s. It is the Theseion. Only one Athenian building of the Early Classical period is known to have contained a mural of the Centauromachy. It is the Theseion. It is extremely likely, then, that the New York krater and the Olympian pediment derive their Centauromachies from a mural in the Theseion. We can add that the original Centauromachy was depicted in the new version, was no doubt the fountain-head of the new version, where the brawl took place at the feast. We can add that it certainly included an axe-man among the Lapiths and their friends. We can add that it was painted by the artist who liked strong stomachs in his figures, and who at least sometimes composed his scenes on many levels.

In a characteristically brilliant and thorough study of a red-figured louterion of *c.* 440 from the Agora at Athens, Mr Brian Shefton has examined the iconography of its subjects, one of which is the Centauromachy at the wedding-feast.⁷¹ In this latter scene he identifies two motifs, apart from that of the axe-man, which appear and reappear in the main figures of Centauromachies on vases, and he argues persuasively that both are derived from a work of major art representing the same struggle. These two motifs are the back-to-back pair, whom he takes to be Theseus and Peirithoos, and the slipping himation draped diagonally.⁷² On the vases the right-hand member of the pair usually seizes the Centaur's hair as he carries off a woman, and prepares to deal the knock-out blow, while the Centaur vainly seizes the Lapith's extended forearm. At least once the hero is identified as Theseus by an inscription.⁷³ The motif is, in fact, borrowed almost without change from the traditional representation of Herakles, the Centaur Nessos and Deianeira.⁷⁴ The left-hand figure lifts his sword, prepared to slash at a second Centaur. Together, the Lapiths and the Centaurs they attack form a more or less symmetrical group. On the Agora louterion, both Lapiths show in addition the second motif, the diagonal slipping himation. Both motifs recur on fragments in New York of a rather later volute-krater: the heroes stand back to back, their inner legs crossing, their himatia slipping (PLATE III*b*).⁷⁵ The right-hand figure saves a girl from a Centaur. The fragmentary inscription *Ευρυ*[above suggests that the Centaur is Eurytion, and the Lapith who attacks him Peirithoos.

Having identified the back-to-back pair as Theseus and Peirithoos, Mr Shefton goes on to argue that their original must be different from that of the Olympia pediment and the scene by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, since in them, if we follow Pausanias, Theseus is the axe-man. *Prima facie* Mr Shefton's case is a strong one: two different types for Theseus, he cannot be both.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, both motifs are plainly reflected at Olympia. Apollo in the centre is invisible to the combatants. If he were invisible to us also, a back-to-back composition would remain. Moreover Peirithoos, as Mr Shefton himself says, has the diagonal cloak; he is, in fact, one half of the normal back-to-back pair, and Theseus is the

⁷⁰ B. Ashmole, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xlvi (1962) 217 f.

⁷¹ B. B. Shefton, 'Herakles and Theseus on a Red-figured Louterion', *Hesp.* xxxi (1962) 330-68, fig. 2 facing p. 335 and pls. 105-6. Athens, Agora P 12641: *ARV*² 1043; *Para.* 444, Group of Polygnotos.

⁷² *Op. cit.* 338 ff., 356 ff.

⁷³ Oinochoe, Florence, Mus. Arch. PD 376 and

Breitbrunn, Buschor: *ARV*² 874.6; Shefton, *op. cit.* pl. 109d.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 353 ff.

⁷⁵ New York 06.1021.140: *ARV*² 1408.2, Painter of the New York Centauromachy; Shefton, *op. cit.* pl. 107a.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 360 f., *cf.* 341 ff.

other half with a different weapon and consequent change in the position of his drapery. We have seen that the mural source of the Olympian pediment must have been painted before 470. It is hard to believe in two separate original murals of the years 478–470, both of them serving as models for the pediment. And we are not bound to do so. A pair of virtually identical cups in Boston decorated *c.* 420 by the painter Aristophanes, and consigned to the same Italian grave, provide a means of escape.⁷⁷ On each side are three duels of Lapiths and Centaurs. On the front the first two duels contain the essence of the back-to-back pair: the right-hand figure, named Peirithoos, seizes the Centaur by his hair, his comrade crosses to plunge his sword into another's belly. True, they are altogether nude. But the slipping himation finds its place on the back of the cup, on the central figure. And there too is an axe-man, but facing to our left. Aristophanes' cup shows that all these motifs can coexist. On both cups the figures are identified by inscriptions. The central figure of the front, we have seen, is Peirithoos on both; but his adversary, named on one cup only, is Hypsipylos, not (as we might expect from the New York fragments) Eurytion. On both, the axe-man is Asmetos, not Theseus. Theseus himself is the third figure constantly identified: he is the wrestler in the right-hand group of the front—not part of the back-to-back pair. But there is no consistency in the naming of the other figures. Peirithoos' companion in the back-to-back pair is Aiolos on one cup, Kretheus on the other; and he fights Skirtos and Eurybotos respectively. The axe man's opponent is now Egretos, now Antinomos. Theseus wrestles now with Nykteus, now with Neon. The figure with the slipping himation is Eurypylos and Polyainos, his opponent Antibates and Aithon. The last group, to the right of the back, is on one cup Maineus and Antithe-, on the other Teles and Neseus.⁷⁸ One can only conclude that for the vase-painters the identification of the figures was flexible. Of course, in terms of the original, axe-man and hair-puller cannot both at once be Theseus; and perhaps neither was.⁷⁹ But the derivative artists reproduce a figure or a group which takes their fancy, and feel themselves under no obligation to maintain the same identification as in the original. At Olympia what has happened is that the axe-man, originally independent as the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs depicted him, has displaced the hair-puller from the composition of the back-to-back pair with slipping garments. In the Theseion, all three figures will have been included.

We have used the axe-man to identify the mural artist as the painter of the exaggerated abdominal muscle. Can we show that either of Mr Shefton's motifs had a place in this artist's work? There may be two hints. We have seen that the hair-puller repeats the traditional iconography of Herakles with Nessos and Deianeira. The latter subject is to be seen on a hydria in the British Museum by the Oreithyia Painter (PLATE III*a*).⁸⁰ Here both club and lion's skin identify the Centaur's assailant. Herakles has him by the beard, and Deianeira is about to step free. Our eye is caught by the anatomical drawing, the quadripartite abdominal muscle. Here again is a copy of a scene by our mural painter, and it is proved that the traditional iconography of this group is one which he favoured. In the interior of Aristophanes' cups in Boston, the repeated iconography is made explicit. For a youthful hero, himation slipping off him diagonally, grasps the hair of a Centaur who carries off a girl. But for the club he wields we should have called him Theseus; but he is named as Herakles. Such a group the artist felt to be an appropriate companion to his

⁷⁷ Boston 00.344 and 00.345: *ARV*² 1319.2–3; FR iii pls. 128–9; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* iii (Boston, 1963) pls. 103–5; *Hesp.* xxxi (1962) pls. 107b, 108.

⁷⁸ For authoritative readings of all these names, different in several respects from those given, e.g. in FR, see Caskey and Beazley, *op. cit.* 86.

⁷⁹ He may, for instance, have been shown as a wrestler, as on Aristophanes' cups. Cf. the wrestler on the early krater in Florence (above, n. 59).

⁸⁰ London E 176: *ARV*² 497.10. Professor Robertson kindly drew my attention to this vase.

Centaumomachy on the exterior, itself inspired by the mural in the Theseion. Moreover, as Beazley noted, the closest parallel to Aristophanes' group is to be found in a Centauro-machy at the wedding of Peirithoos on a volute-krater in Ferrara.⁸¹

The original mural Centauro-machy, then, included both a back-to-back pair, partly based upon the traditional motif of Herakles and Nessos, and an axe-man. What else is to be added? The general similarity already noticed between the group of a Centaur with a Lapith boy on the Olympian pediment and the corresponding group by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs argues that such a group, or more than one such group, appeared in the mural.⁸² Another striking motif on the same vase is a sharply foreshortened back view of a Centaur, twice repeated. Similar representations occur on a number of later vases, and here too the influence of the mural is apparent.⁸³ An amphora in Florence, to be dated c. 470-460, carries the earliest painting of the Centauro-machy at the feast.⁸⁴ A Lapith seizes a Centaur by his beard and prepares to land a heavy blow with his fist. The Centaur has snatched up a wine-jar and prepares to hurl it. On the ground between the two adversaries is a Lapith woman, her dress disarranged, throwing up one arm in terror. At the left a Lapith wrestles with a Centaur who wields a side-table against him. The two duels may well be excerpts from the mural, more or less modified. A second vase by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, a volute-krater in the Louvre, preserves a single episode of the battle.⁸⁵ To the left, a Lapith woman makes her escape. Behind her, a triumphant Centaur aims a roasting-spit at a Lapith who advances, seen in three-quarter view from the rear, wreathed for the feast: over the Centaur's left arm, the shaggy pelt of a panther, and in his hand a side-table for a shield. Behind him, a krater stands on a tripod frame, just as in this artist's picture in New York. Further episodes are shown on other and later vases which may be, but are not necessarily, derived from the mural.⁸⁶

So far we have detected in the Theseion only the indoor battle at the feast. Apart from the archaic tradition of the outdoor battle fought at least nine months after the wedding, to which Eurytion alone of the Centaurs had been invited, and apart from the version known to Herodotos of Herakleia c. 400 B.C. in which a number of Centaurs caused a fight at the wedding followed by a further battle after an interval,⁸⁷ there was in antiquity a combined version in which the brawl at the feast led *at once* into the pitched battle outside. This version is to be found very fully reproduced in the twelfth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 182-535, the story of Kaineus. The feast took place at tables laid in a cave (210-12) where Eurytos assaulted the bride. The early weapons are those of the feast: *crater, pocula, fragilesque cadi curuique lebetes* (236-43). A candelabrum is torn from a shrine and made to serve as a club for a Centaur (245-51). Later the weapons become more formal—for the Lapiths spears and swords (*cf.* 321-4, 442), for the Centaurs similar arms (443, 485) as well as rocks and branches (*cf.* 327-8, 341-2). Kaineus at last is buried beneath a pile of timber (510-29). Certain details show that Ovid's immediate source was Hellenistic; but, as Professor Corbett has recently emphasised, it does not follow that this version was a Hellenistic invention.⁸⁸ In fact, a story in which the outdoor fight followed at once was certainly known in the late

⁸¹ Ferrara T 136 A VP: *Riv. Ist.* n.s. iv (1955) 117 fig. 23, 119 fig. 26. *Cf.* Caskey and Beazley, *op. cit.* 85.

⁸² See above, p. 26.

⁸³ *Cf.* Shefton, *op. cit.* 361 n. 119. Column-kraters: Harrow 50 (*ARV*² 516.5, Cleveland Painter); Louvre G 367 and Tarquinia RC 1960 (*ARV*² 1088.1-2, Painter of the Louvre Centauro-machy). See also the neo-Attic puteal in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 284: *Billedtavler* (1907) pl. 20.

⁸⁴ See above, n. 59.

⁸⁵ Louvre Camp. 10749, to which Tübingen E 97

has been added, having been recognised by Mr Shefton: *ARV*² 613.2, *Para.* 397; *Arch. Anz.* 1965, 154; *Mon. Piot* lv (1967) 94-5, figs. 7-10; Shefton, *op. cit.* pl. 109a-b (photomontage, not quite accurate).

⁸⁶ For a list of representations of the Centauro-machy at the feast, see Shefton, *op. cit.* 365-7.

⁸⁷ *FGrH* 31 F 27: Plut., *Thes.* 30.3. See also above, p. 26 and n. 60.

⁸⁸ The Makedonian *sarisa* (466), for instance, is not likely to have come from a pre-Hellenistic source; the word is first found in Theophr. *HP* iii 12.2. See, in general, P. E. Corbett, *Gnomon* xliii (1971) 65 f.

fifth century, when it appears unequivocally on three works of sculpture. On the frieze of Apollo's temple at Bassai in Arkadia, Lapiths and Centaurs struggle in uneven terrain, boys and women seek refuge—two of them at a statue which recalls the shrine from which Ovid's Centaur seized his candelabrum—and Kaineus is overwhelmed with rocks.^{88a} One end of the Lycian sarcophagus from Sidon shows Kaineus battered into the ground with a jar.^{88b} At the heroon of Gjölbaschi-Trysa one of his attackers wields a jar while the other plies a branch; and women are involved in a struggle fought with branches, jars and formal weapons.^{88c} The south metopes of the Parthenon may well depict this continuous battle, even though Kaineus is omitted.⁸⁹ The struggle at the feast is certainly included, since women are present (metopes X, XII, XXII, XXV, XXIX) and wine-jars serve as weapons or lie on the ground (IV, IX, XXIII). But Lapiths carry shields (IV, XI), appropriate rather to the fight in armour, and others wear the outdoor chlamys (II, VII, VIII, IX, XXIII). Rough ground is indicated (VIII, XXIX, XXX). On one metope which almost certainly belongs to this subject—the need for symmetrical arrangement virtually guarantees that it does so—two women take refuge at a statue, as in the combined version at Bassai (XXI). This evidence suggests that the combined version of the struggle can be traced at least as far back as the middle of the fifth century.⁹⁰ Is it likely to have been depicted in the Theseion?

The fragmentary volute-krater in New York, we have seen, depicts the mural motif of the two heroes standing back to back, inner legs crossing, himatia slipping; and the right-hand figure saves a girl from a Centaur. These figures are part of a composition on more than one level: below, a Lapith prepares to slash with his sword at a Centaur who has grasped him by the hair; and to the right, beyond a volute-krater, another Lapith moves to the attack (PLATE IIIb).⁹¹ The different levels are marked by hilly ground-lines, hardly suggestive of a banqueting-hall. Considerably earlier, *c.* 460, undulating ground-lines are to be seen in the Niobid Painter's Centauromachy on a fragmentary volute-krater in Berlin (PLATE VIIc-d).⁹² They are, as we have seen, a rare feature of the painter's work, and certainly indicate an adaptation from a mural context.⁹³ One group of fragments preserves almost the full height of the frieze. On it, a well-dressed man carrying a staff follows a nude Lapith armed with a roasting-spit, hastening off to the right.⁹⁴ Facing in the opposite direction is an axe-man, nude as on Aristophanes' Boston cups. If the painter's variation of the ground-line indicates adaptation from a mural, then the inclusion of the axe-man suggests for his source the same mural as that by which Aristophanes was inspired, the

^{88a} British Museum: H. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia* (Vienna, 1946) pls. 1–11 (Kaineus, pl. 11).

^{88b} O. Hamdy Bey and Th. Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon* (Paris, 1892) pl. 15; A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture* (London, 1929) pl. 73.

^{88c} F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (Vienna, 1950) pls. 4–5, B 3.

⁸⁹ F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon* (Mainz, 1967) pls. 149–239; the Centauromachy in Carrey's drawings, pls. 149–52. Brommer, *ibid.* 230–40, argues that the Centauromachy reproduced is an otherwise unrecorded local tale. Corbett, however, *op. cit.* 63–6, successfully defends the usual interpretation as the Thessalian Centauromachy.

⁹⁰ H. A. Thompson, *AJA* lxvi (1962) 346, suggests that in the Hephaisteion there is continuity between the struggle at the feast in the west pediment (identified by E. B. Harrison, *ibid.* lx [1956] 178) and the outdoor Centauromachy shown on the west frieze. This is, however, a matter of illustrating both

episodes, and does not imply a narrative of a single continuous battle. (Notice the axe-man as a participant in the *outdoor* scene here: see B. Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion* [Leipzig, 1899] pl. 4, no. 9.)

⁹¹ See n. 75.

⁹² Berlin F 2403: *ARV*² 599.9; see n. 42 above.

⁹³ Cf. above, p. 24. This scene was not, however, composed on several *distinct* levels, as on both sides of the artist's krater in the Louvre. In composition it resembled rather the two Amazonomachies in New York (PLATE IVa-b), scenes arranged on a similarly undulating drawn ground-line rather than on the straight line of the lower border of the frieze.

⁹⁴ The man carrying a staff has been thought to be the bride's father: Löwy, *Polygnot* 21. He is, however, beardless—though Löwy's fig. 4 adds a beard in the drawing. The bride's father is to be recognised at the extreme right of the scene on the krater in New York by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs (PLATE IIb).

Centauromachy in the Theseion. The axe-man bestrides the rump and tail of a Centaur facing left, already fallen to the ground, and swings his weapon against the other's shield, a side-table held on end.⁹⁵ All the weapons on this group of fragments—table, axe, spit—belong to the banqueting-hall. But the uneven ground recalls Ovid's cave. Another piece of the krater, from the level of the handles, preserves the head and shoulders of a woman; behind her, a pine-bough and a Centaur's hand to grasp it. The Centaur can have had no occasion to take his pine-bough to the table. We are out of doors, with weapons of the forest as in the archaic pictures. But, unlike the archaic artists, the Niobid Painter has shown a woman present. This fragment settles the matter. For the Niobid Painter, the outdoor battle here followed upon the brawl at the feast. His model, which the ground-lines show to have been a mural and the axe-man to have been that in the Theseion, included both episodes of the continuous version. In Ovid's account of the continuous struggle, Theseus is the first to kill an opponent.⁹⁶ It is perhaps worthwhile to repeat Pausanias' brief summary of the action depicted in the mural of the Theseion: *Θησεὺς μὲν οὖν ἀπεκτονῶς ἐστὶν ἤδη Κένταυρον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου καθέστηκεν ἔτι ἡ μάχη.*⁹⁷

If the mural painting included not only the brawl at the feast but also the outdoor battle which followed, we are faced with an enormously extended range of representations in both painting and sculpture which may owe their conception to the Theseion. However, in the absence of either women or weapons snatched from the table it is impossible to distinguish between such adaptations from the mural and mere renewals of the archaic tradition of the exclusively outdoor event. Nevertheless two neck-friezes on volute-kraters may briefly claim our attention, if only because both were painted by the Niobid Painter and come from an early stage in his career, early in the 460s. One, in Bologna, includes the overwhelming of Kaineus.⁹⁸ The other, on a vase in Palermo, contains no individually identifiable episode, but forms the subsidiary decoration accompanying an Amazonomachy to be associated with the Theseion.⁹⁹ In both these scenes are figures of Lapiths and Centaurs in poses similar to some which we have already traced to the Theseion, and others of Lapiths which are best paralleled in Amazonomachies to be connected with the mural of that subject in the same shrine. Finally we may glance at an unattributed but very fine psykter in the Villa Giulia, which carries in its draughtsmanship unmistakable traces of an original mural (PLATE IIIc).¹⁰⁰ These are the prevalence of three-quarter heads among the centaurs—three out of six—and the extensive use of dilute glaze for shading, not only as a flat wash on armour and panthers' skins, but on a helmet and on the horse-bodies of the Centaurs to give an illusion of rotundity. This exceptionally vivid scene of violence attending the death of Kaineus was painted c. 470: not more than a very few years later,

⁹⁵ That is, the upper part of the Centaur must have been erect and twisted, creating a composition very much like the extreme left-hand group in the Niobid Painter's neck frieze of the Centauromachy on his volute-krater in Palermo, Mus. Naz. G 1283: *ARV*² 599.2; PLATE Va; Arias, etc., pl. 176. This is to be deduced from the fact that the table-legs point towards Theseus. For it is natural—and other illustrations agree—to grasp the table by its under-frame, not by its top, so that the legs point towards the holder. The Lapith swings the axe in both hands, and no one but the Centaur can therefore be holding the table. The table is, moreover, adjacent to the stump of one of the handles of the pot. The group therefore stood at the left of its composition—again like the version in Palermo. For a different reconstruction with the Centaur in three-quarter view from the rear, see H. Oelschig, *De Centauromachiae in*

Arte Graeca Figuris (Halle, 1911) 37, cited by Shefton, *op. cit.* 361 n. 119.

⁹⁶ Ovid., *Met.* xii 226–40: he killed Eurytos by throwing a krater at him.

⁹⁷ Paus. i 17.2. Professor F. J. Tritsch kindly pointed out to me the relevance of this to the Berlin fragment.

⁹⁸ Bologna 268: *ARV*² 598.1; *CVA* Bologna v (Italia xxxiii) pl. 98.3–5. The main scene is an Iliupersis.

⁹⁹ Palermo, Mus. Naz. G 1283: see above, n. 95. On the back of both this vase and Bologna 268 the neck-frieze is of Herakles with Pholos.

¹⁰⁰ Villa Giulia 3577: *CVA* Villa Giulia i (Italia i) pls. 3–4; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 491; FR i 72, pl. 15; ii 132, 317, 319; E. Buschor, *Gr. Vasenmalerei* (Munich, 1925) 185 f., fig. 135. Not attributed in *ARV*² nor in *Para.*

perhaps even earlier. If the artist drew upon an Athenian mural, then for reasons already stated the only likely model is the Centauromachy in the Theseion.

It is time to summarise what we have discerned of this mural. It was a composition on more than one level, showing both the brawl at the banquet and the pitched battle outside. It included, probably as its central group, the motif of the back-to-back pair, himatia slipping off them diagonally, each attacking a Centaur. The Centaur on the right of this group was carrying off a Lapith woman, perhaps the bride herself, until prevented by the right-hand hero of the pair, who seized him by the hair. At least one axe-man played his part. Lapith women and boys were not confined to the banquet scene. The indoor struggle was conducted with makeshift weapons snatched from the table, the battle outside fought by Greeks both armed and heroically nude, against Centaurs clad in panther skins and equipped with their immemorial rocks and pines. The artist was the painter of the exaggerated abdominal muscle; and many of the figures were seen with their heads in the three-quarter view which he favoured. That is all that we can legitimately infer about the content and composition of the Centauromachy.

We turn to the Amazonomachy. The first question is, which Amazonomachy is meant? For Theseus fought the Amazons twice—once when he went to Themiskyra to take an Amazon for his bride, and again when the Amazons invaded Attica to avenge that outrage.¹⁰¹ Pausanias seems to imply that it was the latter battle which was depicted.¹⁰² Moreover, to judge from late archaic vases and from the sculptured pediment of Apollo's temple in Eretria, the raid on Themiskyra is to be recognized in the appearance of Theseus carrying Antiope in his arms.¹⁰³ This episode disappears from Athenian vase-painting after the Persian Wars; and it would almost certainly not have done so if it had had the stimulus of an Early Classical mural painting to keep it alive. It is safe to assume that the Amazonomachy in the Theseion was the battle in Attica. There is a second difficulty to be faced in trying to recover this Amazonomachy from vases. For a second Amazonomachy decorated part of the Stoa Poikile which Peisianax built for Kimon.¹⁰⁴ This second treatment of the subject was the work of Mikon, who still has a strong claim to be considered the author of the mural in the Theseion. The Stoa Poikile still awaits discovery and excavation; conjectures of its date have ranged from the 470s to *c.* 460 or later.¹⁰⁵ Vases painted later than *c.* 470 might be supposed to reproduce elements of either mural painting; and all the vases which seem to reflect a mural Amazonomachy are indeed later than *c.* 470. However, a number of architectural fragments found built into a Roman wall of *c.* A.D. 400 or later in the Agora have been very plausibly identified as parts of the Stoa Poikile; and in the latest study of them Mrs Lucy Shoe Meritt appears to favour a date *c.* 460 rather than *c.* 470 for the building.¹⁰⁶ If that is right, then it may after all become possible to distinguish between vases influenced by the Stoa Poikile and those influenced by the Theseion.

¹⁰¹ The raid on Themiskyra, Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 151–2; the defence of Attica, A., *Eu.* 685 ff. See Plut., *Thes.* 26–8. Apollod., *Epit.* 1.16–17, speaks of two Amazon invasions of Attica of which the first is in question here.

¹⁰² Paus. i 17.2, stating that this was the same battle that was depicted on the shield of the Athena Parthenos and on the *bathron* of the statue of Zeus at Olympia. The latter is presumably to be identified with the *thranion* on which Zeus' feet rested, which bore an Amazonomachy described as τὸ Ἀθηναίων πρῶτον ἀνδραγάθημα ἐς οὐχ ὁμοφύλους (v 11.7). That this was in fact the attack on Attica is clear from Hdt. ix 27 and similar rhetorical commonplaces else-

where. Moreover, at Olympia the raid on Themiskyra is otherwise accounted for, having been represented on the *kanones* of the throne itself (Paus. v 11.4; cf. Plut., *Thes.* 26.1).

¹⁰³ See D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford, 1957) 124–30 and pls. 67–8.

¹⁰⁴ Plut., *Kimon* 4.6–7; Paus. i 15.1–3; Arrian, *Anab.* vii 13.5.

¹⁰⁵ On the Poikile, see the careful discussion by L. H. Jeffery, 'The *Battle of Oinoe* in the Stoa Poikile', *BSA* lx (1965) 41–57.

¹⁰⁶ Lucy Shoe Meritt, 'The Stoa Poikile', *Hesp.* xxxix (1970) 233–64; cf. H. A. Thompson, *ibid.* xix (1950) 327–9.

Among the vases there is one which merits our special attention, even though its date is little earlier than 450. We have seen that the neck-frieze of the krater in New York by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs is derived from the Centauromachy in the Theseion. The main scene on this vase is an Amazonomachy, and the very juxtaposition hints that here is an adaptation from the Theseion's mural of that scene (PLATE IVa). On the left, a Greek in chlamys and black socks seizes the forearm of an Amazon, who tries to stab him with her spear. Behind her an Amazon on horseback, booted and trousered and wearing a chequer-patterned tunic, thrusts her lance at a Greek who crouches behind his shield in three-quarter back view, one leg bent double, his weight leaning heavily on his right arm as he reels from the blow. These two figures form the main group.¹⁰⁷ A striding Greek on foot aims his spear at the second of a pair of Amazons wielding tomahawks; she turns in her flight, showing the inside of her shield, and her companion defends her. Under the handle, a wounded Amazon almost concealed behind a hillock reaches with her left hand to feel a wound in her back, while with her right she holds her breast. Next to her, from behind the same hillock, a Greek stabs an Amazon right through the shoulder and out above the breast. She tries to wrest the spear from him and collapses forward, over the ground-line. Her comrade looks on in fascinated horror, paralysed, for a moment even forgetting the wound in her own right leg. Behind her an Amazon wheels round to shoot an arrow into a Greek's back, while another Amazon races past in a chariot. Even so, she may be too late to save her comrade, who has collapsed on to one knee, prepared to slash with her sword, under the impact of one of the longest spears in Greek vase-painting. We notice particularly the Greek who directs it. He is the only frontally nude figure in the whole scene, and we are permitted to examine his abdominal muscle. It is in four parts. Again we conclude that he is copied from a mural painting, and again we recognize the artist.¹⁰⁸ Other familiar features of his work recur: the heads of two Amazons are seen in three-quarter view, and five shields out of nine are seen from within. The variable ground-line is here, even if in a somewhat compressed form; and here again are figures partly hidden behind rising ground. These landscapes evidently included not only trees but low plants also, here perhaps an asphodel in the foreground as well as a characteristically defoliated tree in the middle distance. Given that the same mural artist stands behind both of the scenes on this vase, and that its two subjects were both represented in the Theseion, it is natural to conclude that, if one scene was derived from a mural there, then the other was also.

The scene on the New York krater is one of a number which have been studied by Dr von Bothmer, many-figured representations of what he calls the 'Big Battles', together with a host of vases which confine their scope to individual episodes.¹⁰⁹ The Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, for instance, himself repeated a theme from his krater in New York, and combined it with others. On an oinochoe in Ferrara he painted an Amazon archer in similar wheeling pose, then a running Amazon wearing a diadem; in front of her, an Amazon on horseback attacking two Greeks, the first in retreat, the second rallying to his defence.¹¹⁰ On a hydria in Odessa, only the archer reappears, muscular, again wheeling to her left, with her head seen in three-quarter view, but differently equipped in belted chiton and cloak with a round shield on her back (PLATE VIIa).¹¹¹ Repetition of a theme

¹⁰⁷ Bothmer, *op. cit.* 161 no. 7, 167 f., pl. 75. For other vases with this motif, see *ibid.* 175; the list includes an oinochoe probably by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, Ferrara T 607 (*ARV*² 614.12; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 175 no. 18).

¹⁰⁸ On a fragment perhaps of an oinochoe from La Monedière (*ARV*² 614.13; *JHS* lxxix [1959] pl. 1) are the remains of an Amazonomachy by the same artist: escaping from a mounted Amazon, a nude Greek with shield held obliquely. He has two

divisions of the abdominal muscle above (and none at) the navel. This might be derived from an original in which the muscle was quadripartite, with one division at the navel and two above.

¹⁰⁹ Bothmer, *op. cit.* ch. x, 161–207.

¹¹⁰ Ferrara T 607; see above, n. 107.

¹¹¹ Odessa Univ.: *ARV*² 614.11; B. V. Farmakovskiy, *Vazovaya* (St Petersburg, 1902) pl. 17; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 201 no. 150.

by a single artist, however, does not of itself imply any external source of inspiration. Dr von Bothmer's group of vase-paintings is significant not only for the complexity of their interrelation in details of pose, composition, dress, shield devices, but also for the number of different artists involved, and over a considerable period of time. The only hypothesis which will account for the nature of these paintings is of their derivation from prototypes in major art. The Painter of the Woolly Satyrs apparently found inspiration in the Theseion. We ask now whether the same source may lie behind further episodes painted on vases.

A calyx-krater in New York by the Painter of the Berlin Hydria was found at Numana as was the volute-krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs which we have been examining (PLATE IVb).¹¹² These two vases, whether they come from a single burial or not, are certainly closer in spirit to one another than to any others of Dr von Bothmer's group. Greeks and Amazons battle fiercely in a landscape of wavy ground-lines with attractive small plants growing both upward and downward. In the centre an Amazon rides straight at us. Behind her, an Athenian with quite the longest spear in Greek art lunges at an Amazon who starts back, brandishing her tomahawk. She has an ally, who drives her spear at the Greek's head, but too high; too high, also, the arrow flying towards the crest of his helmet. To the left, an Amazon carrying a wicker pelta looks back as she hurries away from a duel: a Greek thrusts at an Amazon, but she parries the blow on her shield, starting back and aiming past the enemy's guard with her own spear. On the right, a Greek and an Amazon fight a duel across the hillock between them. On the back of the vase the composition is simpler. A mounted Amazon attacks a young Greek. He is accompanied by an Amazon on foot who seems to be friend rather than foe.¹¹³ Behind her an older Greek, bearded and wearing a petasos, strides across a hump of ground intending to plunge his sword into an Amazon he has seized by the shoulder.

The New York kraters are linked to one another by the same use of undulating countryside with plants, by their wicker peltae and wreathed hoplite shields, by Amazons in shoes. They are linked also by vases which reproduce or reflect some of the motifs of one combined with features of the other.¹¹⁴ In the same way a chain of vases can be assembled, each reproducing some features of the one before and adding others which will be reproduced in their turn, which leads to a calyx-krater in Bologna and two volute-kraters by the Niobid Painter, on each of which one of the 'Big Battles' is to be seen.¹¹⁵ These vases are important. For the calyx-krater and the volute-krater in Palermo were almost certainly painted before 460, and so may well prove to be earlier than the construction and decoration of the Stoa Poikile. Though the scenes on these three kraters have features which connect them with mural painting, they are all composed on the single ground-line of their lower border; to that extent they stand at one remove further from their originals than do the New York kraters with their landscapes.

The Bologna krater was painted probably *c.* 470-465 by an artist connected with the

¹¹² New York 07.286.86: *ARV*² 616.3; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 161 no. 2, 165 f., pl. 74.2; FR ii pls. 118-19; Richter and Hall, *op. cit.* pl. 99.

¹¹³ 'Antiope', Bothmer, *op. cit.* 166; *cf.* Plut., *Thes.* 27.6; Paus. i 2.1.

¹¹⁴ *Cf.* for instance the Nolan amphora, New York 41.162.16: *ARV*² 529.1, Alkimachos Painter; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 184 no. 74; *CVA* Gallatin (U.S.A. i) pl. 22. An Amazon brings her tomahawk down upon a Greek who has already collapsed on to his right knee. Her pose recalls an Amazon on the calyx-krater, her belted chiton with kolpos the hydria in Odessa, while her victim reminds us of the defeated Greek on the

volute-krater—and he, too, carries the same charge upon his shield, a horse.

¹¹⁵ The detailed relationships are brilliantly worked out by Bothmer, *op. cit.* ch. x. Clumsily drawn though it is, one may mention here the scene on a calyx-krater, Geneva MF 238 (*ARV*² 615.1, Geneva Painter; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 509), which gives a 'rear view' of the mounted Amazon on New York 07.286.86, a version of the central group on Bologna 289 and the Niobid Painter's kraters (see below), an Amazon with head in three-quarter view, and another with tomahawk raised in both hands as on New York 07.286.84. See Bothmer, *op. cit.* 161, no. 3, 160 f.

Penthesilea Painter (PLATE VI*a*).¹¹⁶ Its many-figured scene is distinguished by the free use of devices which our mural artist liked to employ. Four of the seven Amazons turn their heads in three-quarter view, seven of the eight shields are seen from the inside, all but one of them obliquely. In the centre of the obverse a Greek stabs an Amazon in the right breast: down on her knees, facing frontally, her forehead furrowed with pain, she raises her tomahawk for a final blow, while her left arm slackens, the hand grasping a bow. This central pair recalls the Niobid Painter's early volute-krater in Palermo, though not in detail (PLATE V*b*).¹¹⁷ Here too an Amazon falls to her knees, head and torso frontal, lower legs extended to the side. Already her eyes are closed as she dies on the spear of a magnificent warrior, armed to the teeth, with shield and apron extended before him. Her shield hangs limply on the nerveless left arm, her right arm flies up in an apparent gesture of supplication, the bird-handled cutlass flying from her grasp. Behind her, an Amazon dashes to the rescue brandishing her spear, but too late. The lively scene of which this forms the central episode has much in common with our other kraters. Landscape is indicated by a low shrub. Most of the combatants' shields are seen from within, and there is an intricate pattern of feet busily crossing one another upon the ground-line. One detail may be observed more closely. The great warrior who spears the fallen Amazon wears a new type of breastplate in a stylised anatomical form, which first achieved popularity in art in the generation of the Persian Wars.¹¹⁸ It follows the outline of the abdominal muscle between the fingered patterns of the *serratus magnus*, surmounted by a pair of volutes for the pectorals, between them a palmette. The abdominal muscle has three dividing-lines, one at the navel and two above, distinct from the lower boundary of the chest which forks from the base of the pectoral volutes. To argue from the anatomy of a breastplate may, admittedly, seem of doubtful validity. But if one compares other breastplates in the Niobid Painter's work, one sees nature reassert herself.¹¹⁹ On the striding warrior in Palermo we see once more the hall-mark of the Theseion mural painter, characteristically accompanied by the oblique inner view of the shields, the nearly frontal face of the dying Amazon. Perhaps a decade later, the Niobid Painter decorated a volute-krater in Naples with the same subject (PLATE VI*b-c*).¹²⁰ The composition is more crowded, the pattern of the crossing feet still more intricate upon the ground-line. Again the centre of the obverse is occupied by a Greek who spears an Amazon falling to her knees, and again she extends her right hand in a gesture of supplication, though this time her left hand holds not a shield but a bow, as on the Bologna krater. The centre of the reverse is of some interest. In front of a racing Amazon chariot, four figures move to the right: an Amazon following, apparently without hostility,¹²¹ a splendid nude Greek who levels his long spear at a fallen Amazon, seen from behind, already sure of death at the hands of a bearded Greek in petasos, chiton and chlamys. The grappling pose of the latter figure recalls the bearded Greek who wears a petasos on the New York calyx-krater by the Painter of the Berlin Hydria; and we recall

¹¹⁶ Bologna 289; *ARV*² 891; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 161 no. 1, 164 f., pl. 74.1; FR ii pls. 75-6. Bothmer argues for the identification of the artist with the Penthesilea Painter himself, following Furtwängler, FR ii 88; Beazley remained unconvinced. The scene on the painter's name-piece, Munich 2688 (*ARV*² 879.1; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 143 no. 30; Arias, etc., pls. 168-9), may well reflect the Athenian Amazonomachy rather than Achilles and Penthesilea: Bothmer, *op. cit.* 147 f.

¹¹⁷ Palermo G 1283; *ARV*² 598.2; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 161 no. 5, 166 f.; Arias, etc., pls. 176-81.

¹¹⁸ Cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (London, 1967) 92.

¹¹⁹ See, first, the corselet worn by the next Greek

to the left of the same scene, with one division at the navel, one above, and then the boundary; secondly, Naples 2421 (next note), PLATE VI*c*. Cf. Oxford 280; *ARV*² 604.56; *CVA* Oxford i (Gt Britain iii) pl. 16.3. Also Louvre G 343; *ARV*² 600.17; *CVA* Louvre iii (France iv) pl. 6.1, 3. Also Ferrara T 313; *ARV*² 602.24; *Spina* pls. 34-6; Webster, *op. cit.* pl. 16.

¹²⁰ Naples 2421; *ARV*² 600.13; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 161 no. 6, 167; FR i pls. 26-8; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 505; Webster, *op. cit.* pl. 23.

¹²¹ Bothmer, *op. cit.* 167, again recognises Antiope, and regards the Amazon charioteer as likewise pro-Athenian. It is to be noticed that neither wears a helmet.

that there too an Amazon took the Greek side. Again the country landscape is suggested by a single stunted tree, and littered with the debris of war—broken spears, a quiver. Three of the Greeks on this vase wear transparent chitons, and this detail, exceptionally rare in the work of the Niobid Painter, recalls the mural artist or artists who stand behind the Niobid Painter's name-vase in the Louvre.

Yet another volute-krater by the Niobid Painter may contribute something to the discussion.¹²² On it, several Amazons wear wreaths, and this detail links the vase with the artist's krater in Naples. The motifs are extremely repetitive, and the Amazon collapsed on to her knees appears twice, once with tomahawk raised, once with a sword raised in her right hand and a bow limply held in the left. Another motif twice repeated is the Greek kneeling in back view in front of a tree, in each case speared by an Amazon. One Amazon has a wicker pelta, the other is equipped with an anatomical corselet in a breasted model, a noteworthy piece of armour. The first victim has an ally, a Greek who runs up wearing a petasos: he is familiar from other versions of the subject. The battle evidently takes place at a city wall, for a pile of masonry at one handle marks the boundaries of the composition.

The three kraters we have examined, in Bologna, Palermo and Naples, which give pride of place to a duel between a Greek moving to the right and an Amazon beaten to her knees repeat an old motif, by no means confined to Amazonomachies but in them developed as early as the second quarter of the sixth century.¹²³ It recurs on a dinos in London, attributed to the Group of Polygnotos the vase-painter (PLATE Vc).¹²⁴ On her knees, facing right and turning back, the Amazon still holds a bow in her left hand and brandishes the tomahawk in her right, the very weapons she held on the Bologna krater. As there, her enemy comes upon her with a sword, nude but for a helmet. His name is inscribed, Theseus. The Amazon is Andromache. Hippolyte leads two other comrades riding abreast to her assistance, Peirithoos and another rush to Theseus' aid. Behind them, a miserable sight. A nude Greek on his knees, Megareus, is pierced through the right thigh by a broken spear, and finally dispatched by an Amazon who steps on his wounded thigh, seizes his hair in her left hand and plunges her sword down vertically behind his collar-bone. His plight recalls his counterpart, the Amazon collapsing forward similarly stabbed on the New York krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs. A fellow-Greek, Sthenelos, draws his sword to defend him, but he is too late. Further to the left, Akamas in three-quarter back view, left foot on a rock, levels his spear and follows a comrade prepared to slash at a frontal Amazon, whose ally rushes up from behind a tree, bow and tomahawk at the ready. The frontal Amazon turns her head three-quarters towards her enemy, a mural feature. Her whole body is visible under a short transparent chiton—in wall-painting an innovation attributed to Polygnotos (above, n. 51). 'Akamas' reappears on many vases, now with a companion, now alone. His enemy is usually a mounted Amazon approaching from the left with levelled spear.¹²⁵ On a stamnos in London this nude warrior with raised foot is again

¹²² Ferrara T.11 C VP: *ARV*² 600.14; N. Alfieri and P. E. Arias, *Spina, Guida al Museo* (Florence, 1960) pl. 60; Pelizzola, *Mostra grafica di Spina* (Bologna, 1967) pl. 7.

¹²³ E. Bielefeld, *Amazonomachia, Hallische Monogr.* xxi (1951) 13, 59 f., regards the motif as peculiarly 'mikonisches'. D. von Bothmer, *Gnomon* xxiv (1952) 199, emphasises its age; but this in no way entails that it was not an important element in at least one mural treatment of the subject.

¹²⁴ London 99.7–21.5: *ARV*² 1052.29; Bothmer, *Amazons* 162 no. 12, 170 f.; FR i pl. 58; *CVA* Brit. Mus. vi (Gt Britain viii) pl. 103; Löwy, *op. cit.* pl. 34.

¹²⁵ See, for instance, the pelike Syracuse 9317:

*ARV*² 1059.132, Group of Polygnotos; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 177 no. 31; Arias, etc., pl. 191. Pelike, Syracuse 23507: *ARV*² 1032.53, Polygnotos; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 179 no. 48; Löwy, *op. cit.* pl. 38; *CVA* Siracusa i (Italia xvii) pl. 4.1–2. Column-krater, Syracuse 37175: *ARV*² 1104.2, Orpheus Painter; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 177 no. 29, pl. 77.5; Arias, etc., pl. 192. (The fact that on this vase the Greek on the left attacks an enemy beyond the frame of the picture proves that we have to do with an excerpt.) Other instances of the motif are listed by Bothmer, *op. cit.* 177 ff., β , γ , δ . See also Bielefeld, *op. cit.* 13 f., 60 ff., 'zweites mikonisches Hauptmotiv'. Cf. B. Ashmole, *JHS* lxxxix (1969) 22–3.

named.¹²⁶ Surprisingly, he is Theseus. *Prima facie*, this might appear to be evidence of the conflation of more than one original in the derivative vase-paintings.¹²⁷ The matter is complicated still further by a squat lekythos in Boston by the Eretria Painter.¹²⁸ Here again is the common motif of the Amazon riding to the right against a pair of Greeks. She is Hippolyte; and, as on the London stamnos, the first Greek to oppose her is Theseus. But he is seen frontally with a sword, not from behind with a spear. Our examination of the Centauromachy taught us to believe that each vase-painter felt free to transpose the figures of his original, and that the names refer solely to the figures in his re-creation of the subject.¹²⁹ The Amazonomachy will have been used with no less freedom. It may be suggested, then, that all these themes are derived from the mural original; but the original identity of the figures is lost.

These threads must now be drawn into a stouter cord. The means for this are provided by an artist identified as the Painter of Bologna 279. He was a contemporary and follower of the Niobid Painter. His work is uniformly execrable; for us, invaluable. Only three examples have been recognised, all volute-kraters, all decorated with many-figured compositions on two or three distinct levels. No other vases more nearly approach the composition of the Niobid Painter's name-vase, or give a clearer idea of the appearance of a multi-level mural. The first carries on one side the Seven against Thebes, in the centre Amphiaraios descending into the earth, and on the other a quiet scene of heroes, rank upon rank, in the presence of Athena.¹³⁰ The two remaining volute-kraters by this artist carry Amazonomachies which occupy both sides of the vase. Bologna 279 itself is in a sorry state, not much more than half the vase having survived.¹³¹ Nevertheless thirty figures can be recognised, out of an original total of about fifty, arranged on three levels. The upper and lower levels show Greeks advancing to the right, Amazons to the left both mounted and on foot; the central level reverses these directions. In such a composition, all the excerpts which we have examined could be accommodated. The traditional group of a Greek striding to the right with sword or spear against an Amazon fallen to her knees occurs more than once, and the lower level includes a Greek seen from behind, moving to left with foot raised. Moreover in the upper left zone of one side, an Amazon is to be seen siding with a Greek against an Amazon archer, just as we saw on the reverse of the calyx-krater in New York.¹³² No tree is to be seen, nor any plant, on the surviving part of the vase; but very many details of dress and equipment are already familiar from other vases decorated with shorter excerpts from the battle—in particular, the characteristic anatomical breast-plates of some Amazons.¹³³ The painter's second Amazonomachy is in a private collection in Switzerland, complete

¹²⁶ London E 450: *ARV*² 1043.1, Epimedes Painter; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 180 no. 51; *CVA* Brit. Mus. iii (Gt Britain iv) pl. 23.1.

¹²⁷ On other vases, still other figures are named Theseus. Conflation of two originals, that in the Theseion and that in the Stoa Poikile, has been suggested to explain the naming of two Amazons Peisianassa and Dolope on a bell-krater in Ferrara by Polygnotos (T 411: *ARV*² 1029.21; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 198 no. 132, pl. 83.7): J. D. Beazley, *AJA* xxxiii (1929) 366. For Peisianax built the Poikile, and the Theseion followed Kimon's victory over the Dolopians. But, since the Poikile was a 'Kimonian' building, Dolope would not be out of place there; and all that is proved is the allusion contained in the name of Peisianassa.

¹²⁸ Boston 95.48: *ARV*² 1248.2; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 177 no. 30, pl. 77.6.

¹²⁹ *Cf.* above, p. 29.

¹³⁰ Ferrara T 579: *ARV*² 612.1; N. Alfieri, P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Spina*, pls. 42-4; E. Simon, *AJA* lxxvii (1963) 54 ff. The second scene is perhaps to be recognised as an expiation ceremony, of the Argonauts for the killing of Kyzikos (*cf.* Apollod. i 9.18). The scene of the Seven includes several warriors whose poses have much in common with our Greeks and Amazons.

¹³¹ *ARV*² 612.3; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 162 no. 8, 169; *CVA* Bologna iv (Italia xxvii) pls. 62-6; Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 508 (drawing).

¹³² *Cf.* Bothmer, *op. cit.* 169.

¹³³ *Cf. ibid.* For the Amazons' breastplates, see the Niobid Painter's krater in Ferrara, above p. 37 and n. 122. There are Greeks in black corselets, a rarity but to be paralleled on Bologna 289, *PLATE* VIa.

but as yet unpublished.¹³⁴ Its composition, though similar to the last, is by no means identical. The scene begins under the right attachment of a handle, and is arranged now on two levels now on three. In the upper part Greeks advance to right, below they counter-march to left. The battle consists mainly of a series of duels on foot, but two of the Amazons have horses. Several Amazons wear anatomical corselets. Again the motif of a Greek advancing against an Amazon already fallen to her knees occurs more than once; again a nude Greek is seen from behind, advancing to the left in three-quarter view. Most interesting are the figures at and under the handles. Under one, the head and shoulder of an Amazon behind rising ground, as on the New York krater by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, and a second Amazon on horseback to left, cut off by rising ground along the side of the horse. Next to the other handle, a Greek is partly hidden by the uneven terrain. And there are corpses: under one handle, a Greek lying on his right side with the face seen frontally; towards the other, an Amazon face-down and a Greek lying on his back.

These two kraters by the Painter of Bologna 279 evidently bring us close to the composition of the murals. But there is no evidence that either is a direct copy of its model in the major art—no tell-tale anatomy. From these general impressions of the composition, we have come close to mural art in some detailed episodes: two striding Greeks attacking fallen Amazons, one nude, the other in armour, both derived from the painter of the quadripartite abdominal muscle; the warrior seen from behind with one foot raised, three-quarter faces, figures partly hidden behind hills, corpses lying on the ground, plants, trees. If we have found no certain means of distinguishing the Amazonomachy in the Theseion from that in the Stoa Poikile in terms of their motifs,¹³⁵ we may attempt a distinction between the versions of the story which they preferred. The comparative frequency with which Hippolyte is prominent and named among the enemy and the repeated appearance of a friendly Amazon among the Greeks reflect two special features noted by Pausanias and Plutarch respectively: the leader of the invaders was Hippolyte, and Antiope fought for Theseus.¹³⁶ On the other hand, there are vases beginning somewhat later on which Theseus and Antiope are opposed.¹³⁷ They will represent the variant tradition, according to which the latter joined the invaders.¹³⁸ It is natural to suppose that each of these versions appeared in one of the murals. An Amazon fights for Theseus on the krater by the Painter of the Berlin Hydria (above, p. 35). If we are right in associating that vase closely with its companion by the Painter of the Woolly Satyrs, which itself is intimately connected with the Theseion, then the version of the Theseion is likely to have been that in which Antiope fought for Theseus against her sisters.

In the Centauromachy a sense of urgency was imparted to the scene by the device of the back-to-back pair, springing apart against the enemy. There they were both Greeks, for Centaurs are not built for such exertion. On the Amazonomachy vases—for instance on both of those by the Niobid Painter—the striding pair recur, but they fight on opposite sides. Two poses deserve special mention, for they are especially common in both subjects, and so captured the traditional scheme of both fights that the very derivative frieze of Apollo's temple at Bassae repeated them to the point of monotony.¹³⁹ One warrior moves to his left, sword lowered at the ready, prepared to parry a blow on his shield or on mantle extended at arm's length.¹⁴⁰ The other strides to his right, left arm at his side, raising his sword-arm

¹³⁴ *ARV* 612.2. I owe my knowledge of this vase to the excellent photographs of the Beazley Archive, and the generosity of Professor Robertson.

¹³⁵ Rumpf, *Mal. u. Zeich.* 94 f., proposed to derive the multi-level compositions such as Bologna 279 from the Poikile, the single-level scenes from the Theseion.

¹³⁶ Paus. i 41.7; Plut., *Thes.* 27.6; cf. Paus. i 2.1.

¹³⁷ Cf. calyx-krater, Ferrara T 1052: *ARV*² 991.53, Achilles Painter; Bothmer, *op. cit.* 161 no. 4, 170; *Riv. Ist. n.s.* ii (1953) 15–25, figs. 1–13; Alfieri, Arias and Hirmer, *op. cit.* pl. 33.

¹³⁸ Cf. Apollod., *Epit.* 1.16–17.

¹³⁹ Cf. Kenner, *op. cit.* pls. 14, 18, 19.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. PLATES IVb, Va, c, VIc.

across and behind his head, ready to deliver a slashing blow.¹⁴¹ Both echo a splendid work of sculpture dedicated in Athens only a year before the oracle dispatched Kimon to Skyros. The original figures of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the tyrannicides, had been ripped from their base and carried off by Xerxes with the spoils.¹⁴² In 477/6 the Athenians erected in the Agora, not far from the Theseion, a new pair of statues by Kritios and Nesiotes. Copies of these have survived, and ancient representations disclose the composition (PLATE III*d-e*).¹⁴³ Our murals of *c.* 475 disclose that these statues at once became the favoured model for violent, warlike action.¹⁴⁴

The picture on the third wall of the Theseion, Pausanias says, was not intelligible unless you knew the story.¹⁴⁵ He explains the tale of Minos' passion for Periboia on the voyage to Crete, Theseus' intervention to protect her from the king, and Minos' challenge to Theseus to prove his divine paternity by retrieving a ring from the depths of the sea. According to Pausanias, Theseus returned with the signet together with a golden crown, the gift of Amphitrite. Pausanias' version corresponds roughly with that given by Bacchylides, except that the latter does not make it clear that the ring was in fact returned, and Amphitrite's crown is a crown of roses.¹⁴⁶ Bacchylides' ode, sung by a Keian choir at Delos, is the only fifth-century literary version of the story to have survived. Its date cannot be far from that of the Theseion. In art the recognition of Theseus by Poseidon and his consort in their own watery domain had been represented since *c.* 500—but not the whole story. The best-known of the late archaic scenes occupies the tondo of a cup by Onesimos in the Louvre.¹⁴⁷ Theseus, supported by a diminutive Triton, is introduced by Athena to Amphitrite, who hands him the crown. A simplified version recurs on a cup in New York by the Briseis Painter, rather later.¹⁴⁸ Outside this cup, Theseus with a larger Triton is greeted by Poseidon. As Jacobsthal pointed out long ago, this episode in Theseus' career corresponds in that of Herakles to the latter's introduction into Olympus and recognition as the son of Zeus.¹⁴⁹ This correspondence has influenced the iconography of the scene in some of the very few late archaic and early classical scenes of Theseus with Poseidon. But there is nothing in any of them to suggest a connexion with mural painting.¹⁵⁰

A mural does, however, seem possibly to lie behind a calyx-krater in Bologna by the Kadmos Painter.¹⁵¹ Here we see a multi-level composition. In the centre, below, Poseidon reclines on a couch, waiting for an Eros to prepare his wine. To the left, Triton presents a boyish Theseus to Amphitrite, who holds out the bright crown. In the back-

¹⁴¹ Cf. PLATES III*b*, IV*a*, V*a*, *c*, VI*a* (including one back view), *b*, *c*.

¹⁴² Paus. i 8.5; cf. Pliny, *NH* xxxiv 70; Arrian, *Anab.* iii 16.7.

¹⁴³ *Marmor Parium*, *FGrH* 239 A 54; cf. Paus., *loc. cit.* For the statues, see G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*³ (New Haven, 1950) 199 ff., figs. 565–77; B. B. Shefton, 'Some Iconographic Remarks on the Tyrannicides', *AJA* lxiiv (1960) 173–9, pls. 49–52.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Shefton, *op. cit.* 174 n. 10, cf. n. 8.

¹⁴⁵ Paus. i 17.3.

¹⁴⁶ Bacch. xvii, esp. 116. See also Hyg., *Astr.* ii 5.

¹⁴⁷ Louvre G 104 and Florence PD 321: *ARV*² 318.1; Arias, etc., pl. 134. For a full discussion of this episode and the illustrations of it, see P. Jacobsthal, *Theseus auf dem Meeresgrunde* (Leipzig, 1911).

¹⁴⁸ New York 53.11.4: *ARV*² 406.7; *Bull. Metr. Mus.* xiii (1954–5) 62 f. and figs.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* 6 ff.

¹⁵⁰ From the late archaic and early classical

periods we have the following representations of Theseus' introduction to Poseidon and Amphitrite, all composed on a single level using the lower border of the scene as ground-line—a typical vase-painters' composition, quite unrelated to mural work. Paris, Cab. Méd. 418: *ARV*² 260.2, Syriskos Painter; Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* pl. 1.2; *JHS* xviii (1898) 278. Harvard Univ. 60.339: *ARV*² 274.39, Harrow Painter; Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* pl. 3.5; *JHS* xviii (1898) 279; *CVA* Robinson ii (U.S.A. vi) pls. 31–32. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 2695: *ARV*² 362.19, Triptolemos Painter; F. Poulsen, *Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt* (Copenhagen, 1927) pl. xii 24. Yale Univ. 143: *ARV*² 503.25, Painter of the Yale Oinochoe; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918) 61; P. V. C. Baur, *Cat. . . . Stoddart Coll. of Greek and Italian Vases* (New Haven, 1922) 97, pl. 10.

¹⁵¹ Bologna 303: *ARV*² 1184.6; Jacobsthal, *op. cit.* 8 ff., pl. 4.7; Dugas and Flacelière, *Thésée* pls. 18–19; J. Six, *JHS* xxxix (1919) 133 fig. 3, 140 ff.

ground on the left, the stern of Minos' ship, the chariot of the rising sun coming up from behind a hill; on the right, Nereids on hilly ground. The vase was painted *c.* 420, and its style gives no hint of an earlier model: there is nothing on which to base a positive connexion with the Theseion.¹⁵²

We return now to the Niobid Painter's krater in the Louvre, with which we began.¹⁵³ Since the original of the faithfully copied Herakles scene was painted by the same artist as at least two of the murals in the Theseion—we have demonstrated it from his anatomical eccentricity—it is worthwhile to examine the picture further in this context, and to inquire, first, what is its subject. The range of possibilities is limited by recognition of some of the figures. In the centre, Herakles turns back towards Athena. At either end, the youths in Lakonian piloi, one of them with a horse, are plainly to be identified as horse-taming Kastor and his twin Polydeukes, the Dioskouroi.¹⁵⁴

When first discovered, the relation of the scene to mural painting was recognised at once, and it was supposed to represent Herakles among the Argonauts, a copy of Mikon's painting of them in the Anakeion, the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi.¹⁵⁵ Popular as it has been, there is little to be said for this interpretation. The one detail preserved by Pausanias, the exceptional care which Mikon lavished upon Akastos and his horses, finds no echo on the vase. Worse: there is no Argo, no oars, no sea, no dolphins. Where, above all, are winged figures of Zetes and Kalais, children of Boreas and the Athenian princess Oreithyia, who must have been prominent in any Athenian scene of the Argonauts?¹⁵⁶ Hauser preferred to recognise an assembly of Athenian heroes, *eponymoi* and others, drawn after the mural of *Marathon* in the Stoa Poikile.¹⁵⁷ But they are a gloomy lot to be participants in such a shining victory.¹⁵⁸ The most recent attempt is by Professor Jeppeson, who sees here an encounter between Eteokles and Polyneikes in the story of the Seven against Thebes, a plan for reconciliation between the brothers proposed by Eteokles and rejected by Polyneikes.¹⁵⁹ The original, he suggests, was the wall-painting of Adrastos and the Argives' expedition against Thebes, painted by Onasias in the temple of Athena Areia at Plataiai.¹⁶⁰ Nothing more is known of Onasias,¹⁶¹ and the one detail recorded of his painting, the down-

¹⁵² A second krater by the Kadmos Painter, Syracuse 17427, bears an equally 'mural' composition: *ARV*² 1184.4; Dugas and Flacelière, *op. cit.* pls. 20–1. The subject is the parting of Theseus and Ariadne, with Athena and Dionysos, Poseidon and a ship. The design is a pendant to that on the krater in Bologna. But there is no record and no reason to suppose that the subject was shown in the Theseion. Both kraters, then, if not original conceptions of the Kadmos Painter, will have been derived from murals elsewhere and of later date.

¹⁵³ Above, pp. 23–25: PLATE I. For recent discussion of the subject, see E. Simon, 'Polygnotan Painting and the Niobid Painter', *AJA* lxxvii (1963) 43–62, with bibliography, 61 f.; K. Jeppeson, 'Ἐτεοκλέους Σύμβασις', *Acta Jutlandica* xl 3 (1968). I am grateful to Professor Webster for much stimulating discussion of the problem.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. A. Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v. 'Dioskuren', col. 1172; A. Rumpf, 'Kranos Boiotionerges', *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1943, 3–5; K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta* (Manchester, 1949) 362 f.; C. Kardara, *BSA* lv (1960) 150 n. 6, on the wider use of this hat in the later fifth century.

¹⁵⁵ C. Robert, *Annali dell' Inst.* liv (1882) 273–89;

Mon. Inst. xi (1882) pls. 38–9; cf. Paus. i 18.1. See also E. A. Gardner, *JHS* x (1889) 117 ff.; C. Robert, 'Die Nekyia des Polygnot', 16. *Hall. Winckelmannsprogramm.* (1892) 40; cf. *ARV*² 601.22. As a variant, W. Klein saw Athena and Jason recruiting Herakles for the Argonautic expedition: *Jahrb.* xxxiii (1918) 2 ff. P. Girard proposed to recognise Herakles rebuking the Argonauts for their delay among the Lemnian women: *Mon. Assoc. Et. Gr.* 1895/7, 18 ff.; cf. E. Pottier, *Cat. Vases Louvre* ii (1905) 1082 ff.; T. B. L. Webster, *Der Niobidenmaler* 15 ff. But where are the Lemnian women?

¹⁵⁶ F. Hauser, *FR* ii (1909) 246 ff.; cf. Simon, *op. cit.* 43.

¹⁵⁷ Hauser, *loc. cit.*; cf. Paus. i 15.3. See also E. Buschor, *Gr. Vasen* 197, arguing for the battles in the Poikile, with an inclination towards *Oinoe* rather than *Marathon*.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Webster, *op. cit.* 15.

¹⁵⁹ Jeppeson, *op. cit.* (above, n. 153). For the offer of reconciliation, see Eur., *Supp.* 734 ff.

¹⁶⁰ Paus. ix 4.2.

¹⁶¹ There is, of course, nothing to be said for identifying him with the sculptor Onatas (cf. Jeppeson, *op. cit.* 53 f.).

cast presence of the rivals' mother Euryganeia, is not reproduced on the vase.¹⁶² Moreover the Niobid Painter's model was by an artist engaged in the Theseion, and there is no encouragement to find a place here for the obscure Onasias. It was therefore not the painting which Professor Jeppeson proposes. Nor is his identification of the subject in any way persuasive. He avers that all eyes are fastened upon the figure seated clasping his knee. He, then, is the main character.¹⁶³ That he is Polyneikes, for whose decision all the others wait, and that the man standing at the extreme left is Eteokles, is deduced from nothing more substantial than the family relationship implied in their both being seen in three-quarter view.¹⁶⁴ In the absence of more explicit clues, the interpretation falls short of cogency.¹⁶⁵

As long ago as 1889, Ernest Gardner in this *Journal* identified the reclining and seated figures in the centre as Theseus and Peirithoos, living among the Argonauts.¹⁶⁶ Thirty years later, Six placed them in Hades.¹⁶⁷ The scene, he argued, was the return of Theseus from the dead. The two heroes, it will be recalled, had descended to Hades to abduct Persephone, but were detained at the gate on seats from which they could not rise until Herakles, on his way to fetch Kerberos, pulled Theseus free while Peirithoos remained a prisoner.¹⁶⁸ Six's arguments have been powerfully reinforced in a recent study by Erika Simon.¹⁶⁹ She argues that the chief interest of the composition is focused upon the central figure, pulling himself off the ground. Athena looks towards him, and indicates him with her spear; the older man in the petasos salutes him; and the spears of the others for the most part converge in that direction.¹⁷⁰ Miss Simon identifies this reclining figure as Theseus; and in support one may adduce a wealth of parallels, from the end of the sixth century onwards, for the representation of the hero in chlamys, with a petasos on his head or slung behind him, his hair dressed as here, equipped with two spears and a sword.¹⁷¹ If the central figure is Theseus, his seated companion is Peirithoos. He is gloomy, the others merely solemn. His pose, we have seen, was that of Hektor in Polygnotos' *Nekyia* at Delphoi, ἀνωμένον σχῆμα ἐμφαίνων.¹⁷² He knows that his misery will have no end, with not even his friend to share the eternal future. In the phrase which Virgil applies to Theseus himself, 'sedet, aeternumque sedebit'.¹⁷³

It is true that in archaic art the two heroes are seated not on rocky ground but on thrones.¹⁷⁴ And this is how Polygnotos still portrayed them in the Knidian Lesche at Delphoi.¹⁷⁵ But Panyassis, who died before the middle of the fifth century, wrote that they

¹⁶² Euryganeia, Paus. ix 5.11. (For her, not Iokaste, as the brothers' mother, see Paus., *loc. cit.*, citing *Oidipodia* fr. 1 K.)

¹⁶³ Jeppeson, *op. cit.* 44 ff., Abb. 17a.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 21 f., 38, 42 f.

¹⁶⁵ For a vase-painting which is certainly of the Seven against Thebes, and which seems equally certainly to be derived from a mural painting, see the volute-krater, Ferrara T 579, by the Painter of Bologna 279: *ARV*² 612.1; Jeppeson, *op. cit.* Abb. 22b on p. 57; above, n. 130.

¹⁶⁶ E. A. Gardner, 'A Vase of Polygnotan Style', *JHS* x (1889) 117-25.

¹⁶⁷ J. Six, 'Mikon's Fourth Picture in the Theseion', *JHS* xxxix (1919) 130-43; see also J. Fink, *Antike u. Abendland* ix (1960) 82.

¹⁶⁸ D.S. iv 63.4; Hyg., *Fab.* 79; Apollod., *Epit.* 1.24.

¹⁶⁹ *Op. cit.* (above, n. 153).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 44.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.* 45. For the dress and equipment,

Bacch. xviii 47 ff.; for the hair, Plut., *Thes.* 5. Among a horde of vases, the following are typical. London E 48: *ARV*² 431.47, Douris; J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919) i 238. Leningrad 649 (St. 830): *ARV*² 460.13, Makron; Dugas and Flacelière, *op. cit.* pl. 10. Yale Univ. 143 (above, n. 150)—perhaps the best parallel.

¹⁷² Paus. x 31.5: cf. above, p. 24.

¹⁷³ Virgil, *Aen.* vi 617 f., following a version in which Theseus was not delivered by Herakles—a version which had been followed by Polygnotos when he placed both Theseus and Peirithoos on their thrones in Hades at the time of Odysseus' visit, Paus. x 29.9. This version is perhaps implied in *Odys.* xi 631. Elsewhere Virgil seems, however, to have known of Theseus' release: *Aen.* vi 119-23.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. for instance a shield-band of c. 600 found at Olympia: E. Kunze, *Olymp. Forsch.* ii (1950) 112 f., 129, Beil. 7; K. Schefold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (London, 1966) 69 fig. 24.

¹⁷⁵ Paus. x 29.9.

were held fast by the rock growing to them, and this version prevails in early classical vase-painting.¹⁷⁶ A lekythos in Berlin by the Alkimachos Painter shows Peirithoos, bearded, dressed in a chlamys, with petasos on his head and traveller's puttees about his legs, seated on a rock. In his left hand he holds two spears, their blades superimposed on the upper border. His right he extends to Herakles, who endeavours to drag him free (PLATE VIIe).¹⁷⁷ Rather later, in the third quarter of the century, a calyx-krater in New York shows Peirithoos and Theseus on the rocks, their names written beside them. Hades and Persephone stand within their dominion to the left. At the right, a youthful Herakles arrives with Hermes as his escort, apparently reluctant to venture further (PLATE VII f).¹⁷⁸ On the Louvre krater it is Athena who accompanies her chosen hero to the Underworld. Professor Webster found this objectionable, an obstacle to the location of the scene in Hades.¹⁷⁹ But the Andokides Painter had long ago sent Athena down with Herakles to fetch the awful hound.¹⁸⁰ In the New York scene, both Peirithoos and Theseus wear chlamys and puttees, both have the petasos, Peirithoos wearing his, Theseus preferring to sling the hat behind his neck. Here, just as on the Niobid Painter's krater, Herakles waits for Theseus to attempt to free himself by his own efforts, pushing off with one hand and raising himself on the shaft of his spear.¹⁸¹ The Niobid Painter's scene is framed by the Dioskouroi, appropriate symbols of the alternation of death and life enacted at the centre, whose story was movingly told by Pindar in his tenth *Nemean Ode* during the 460s.¹⁸² There they stand, the inseparable brothers, waiting to rise with Theseus.

Provisionally, I should accept that this scene is the *Return of Theseus*. Where was the original? Miss Simon contrives an argument for the heroon of Theseus and Peirithoos which Pausanias describes in the precinct of Poseidon at Kolonos Hippios, close to one of the mouths of Hell, through which both Persephone and Oidipous disappeared below.¹⁸³ It is not impossible. But we have no reason to believe that that shrine was of a date and nature to contain early classical murals.¹⁸⁴ It seems greatly preferable to return to the answer given by Six, following a much earlier suggestion of Overbeck and Brunn.¹⁸⁵ We have seen that the Theseion was rectangular, with paintings allotted one to each wall in Pausanias' account.¹⁸⁶ But Pausanias mentions only three paintings. Having done so he proceeds, apparently quite inconsequentially, 'Concerning Theseus' end there are many mutually contradictory versions of the story. For they say that he was held prisoner, until he was brought up by Herakles. But the most likely story I have heard is this', he goes on, and tells a Euhemerist tale similar to those which Plutarch found equally credible.¹⁸⁷ Overbeck

¹⁷⁶ Panyassis fr. 9 K, *ap.* Paus., *loc. cit.* On the date of Panyassis, see W. MacLeod, 'Studies on Panyassis—an Heroic Poet of the Fifth Century', *Phoenix* xx (1966) 95–110.

¹⁷⁷ Berlin 30035: *ARV*² 532.57; J. D. Beazley, *Athenian Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* 137 fig. 85. The bearded hero is usually Peirithoos, as on the krater described next. Beazley, *loc. cit.*, thought of him as Theseus dejected, with three days' growth of beard; but he later changed his mind in favour of Peirithoos.

¹⁷⁸ New York 08.258.21: *ARV*² 1086.1, Nekyia Painter; Richter and Hall, *op. cit.* ii pl. 135.

¹⁷⁹ *Niobidenmaler* 15 f.

¹⁸⁰ Louvre F 204: *ARV*² 4.11; Arias, etc., pl. 88. Cf. *Odyss.* xi 625.

¹⁸¹ Was this a detail in Panyassis' narrative? Or even a specially heroic Athenian version in which the hero actually succeeded in freeing himself by his own efforts?

¹⁸² In *Odyss.* xi 298–304, it is not clear whether the

heroes succeed one another in living and dying, or are alternately alive and dead *together*. Despite the different view taken by later authorities (as Virg., *Aen.* vi 121 with Servius *ad loc.*, and Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* i *init.*), the ambiguity was determined for the early classical period by Pindar (*Nem.* x 55 ff. and schol.), who explains that Polydeukes chose alternate days of life and death rather than continuous immortality precisely in order to be with his brother.

¹⁸³ Simon, *op. cit.* 52–4, cf. 47; Paus. i 30.4; Soph., *OC* 1589; schol. *ibid.*, saying that there was no evidence to show whether Peirithoos and Theseus also descended here.

¹⁸⁴ On the site, see W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (Munich, 1931) 414, cf. 45.

¹⁸⁵ J. Six, *op. cit.* (above, n. 167); J. Overbeck, *Die ant. Schriftquellen zur Gesch. d. bild. Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig, 1868) 208 no. 1086; H. Brunn, *Gesch. der griech. Künstler*² (Stuttgart, 1889) 17.

¹⁸⁶ Paus. i 17.2–3; above, p. 22.

¹⁸⁷ Paus. i 17.4–6; cf. Plut., *Thes.* 31, 35.

and Brunn supposed that the careless Pausanias omitted to mention a fourth painting, but commented on it as if he had in fact recorded it. The painting, they said, was of Theseus' end. Not an appropriate subject, perhaps, for a shrine which celebrated the still potent force of Theseus in Athens. Six agreed that Pausanias was commenting on a fourth painting, but suggested that it pictured not Theseus' death but his resurrection.¹⁸⁸ The Theseion would then have contained the hero's two great battles, the recognition of his divinity, and his conquest of death. No combination of themes could be more appropriate to a hero, no theme more suitable than the fourth for the actual resting-place, the burial-spot of the bones which the Athenians in 476/5 or soon afterwards welcomed *ὡς περ αὐτὸν ἐπανερχόμενον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ*.¹⁸⁹ It will be recalled that the bones were found in a huge tomb, *θήκη μεγάλου σώματος*. When Theseus rises from the pit of Hades, he will be taller by a head than all those heroes about him.¹⁹⁰ Here, then, is the fourth mural, this time a direct copy of all the figures, from an original by the same artist who painted both the Amazonomachy and the Centauromachy in the Theseion. It is a proud scene, this *Nekyia*, and a moving one. There on the ground Theseus struggles back to life, watched by his grieving friend, by Herakles and by Athena.

The painter of these three murals has not yet been identified. Pausanias named Mikon for another in the Theseion, of which we have found no trace, but left no attribution for the Centauromachy or the Amazonomachy. Harpokration may have associated the Theseion with Polygnotos; if so, he might be taken to have attributed our murals to that artist.¹⁹¹ 'Polygnotan' features are the multi-level compositions, transparent chitons, open mouths.¹⁹² The partially concealed Amazons under the handles of the New York volute-krater—head and shoulders of one, head, top of shield and spears of the other—and the Amazons by the Painter of Bologna 279 in Switzerland recalled Mikon's picture of Boutes concealed behind a hill, all but his helmet and one eye.¹⁹³ Mikon painted Amazons fighting on horseback and he painted their wicker shields, both of which details correspond to the vase-paintings which are most reasonably to be associated with the Theseion.¹⁹⁴ However, Mikon was a successful sculptor of athletes as well as a mural painter. It seems improbable that such an artist would have made so fundamental an error in anatomy as to misrepresent the abdominal muscle of his figures, and to do so in a way which the sculptors of kouroi had corrected half a century before.¹⁹⁵ Beside this negative argument one may set the testimony of Harpokration, and tilt the balance of probability in favour of Polygnotos as the author of our paintings.

So far we have looked only at the subjects and composition of these murals. What of their actual appearance in colour upon the walls? Their technique is unknown. The paintings in the Stoa Poikile were on wooden panels;¹⁹⁶ fresco is possible,¹⁹⁷ and encaustic.¹⁹⁸ The literary tradition gives several details about Polygnotos' colours, fewer about Mikon's.

¹⁸⁸ Six, *op. cit.* 135 f.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Plut., *Thes.* 36.3.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 2: cf. Simon, *op. cit.* 45.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 23 and n. 33.

¹⁹² Pliny, *NH* xxxv 58; Paus. x 25–31. Cf. above, p. 24.

¹⁹³ Cf. above, n. 44.

¹⁹⁴ Aristoph., *Lys.* 678 f.; Phrynichos, *ap. Bekker, Anecd. Gr.* i p. 33.25. (For *γέγρα* as Persian equipment, see Hdt. vii 61.1, etc.) Cf. above, pp. 35 f. and PLATES IV–VI.

¹⁹⁵ Paus. vi 6.1; for the date, 472 B.C., *id.* v 9.3; cf. Pliny, *NH* xxxiv 88. For the practice of sculptors, see above, n. 66. I owe this argument to Professor Robertson. However, Pliny has a tradition that

Polygnotos also was a sculptor, xxxiv 85; but no works are recorded.

¹⁹⁶ First mentioned by Synesius, *Epist.* 54, 135, but perhaps confirmed by the spike-holes for their attachment on the remains of the walls of this building—at least, if these were rightly identified by H. A. Thompson, *Hesp.* xix (1950) 328 f. and pl. 103c; cf. L. Shoe Meritt, *ibid.* xxxix (1970) 248–50 and pl. 65.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. the technique of contemporary Etruscan paintings, M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929) 419 f.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Pliny, *NH* xxxv 122. The technique was popular in Ptolemaic Egypt, and good examples survive. See Swindler, *op. cit.* 425 f.

There is no reason, however, to suppose that they differed in their practice, which was to employ four primary colours, but freely mixed. Yellow ochre, red *sinopis* and black are recorded in the literary tradition. We may add blue.¹⁹⁹ Until very recently our knowledge of the colour scheme of mural painting was a matter of deduction from Etruscan tomb-paintings and from the decoration of white-ground lekythoi and other shapes at Athens during the fifth century. On the latter, the colours are what we should expect, the bold contrasts of solid colour with areas of outline drawing are a revelation.²⁰⁰ But it is as if one were to deduce the nature of great works in oils from water-colour drawings. Four years ago a deep-ploughing operation on the outskirts of Paestum brought to light the first classical wall-paintings ever found, lining a tomb.²⁰¹ Their date, to judge from both their style and the nature of the associated pottery, is *c.* 480—within a decade of the construction of the Theseion. On the walls was a banquet scene, very similar to scenes on Attic vases of the late archaic period, and on the ceiling a diver, apparently swooping from a cliff out of which grows a tree. The artist left the background of his scenes unpainted, white plaster. The human figures are washed in flesh-colour within a black outline. The banqueters have green wreaths in their dark brown hair, and are dressed in himatia of red or white or grey. The covering of their couches is blue, their pillows red. The side-tables are brown, decked in green branches, the drinking-vessels black. The water into which the diver plunges is blue-green, the tree which overhangs it brown with green leaves. The work of the artist's greater Athenian contemporary may have been more subtle, particularly in the treatment of light and shade. But it cannot have been altogether different in kind.

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¹⁹⁹ Cicero, *Brut.* 18.70; Pliny, *NH* xxxiii 160, xxxv 42; Plut., *de Defect. Oracul.* 47 (*Mor.* 436B–C). See M. Robertson, *Greek Painting* 96; *cf.* below and n. 201.

²⁰⁰ *Cf.* Robertson, *op. cit.* 111–35; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung* 95.

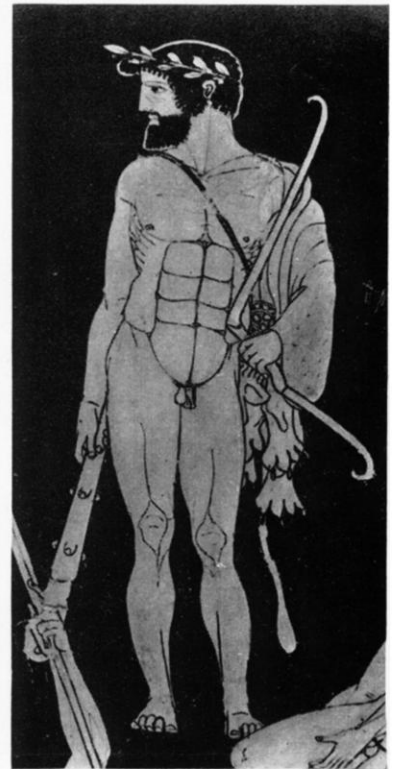
²⁰¹ Now in the museum at Paestum: Mario Napoli, *Paestum* (Novara, 1970) figs. 92–3.



(a)



(b)



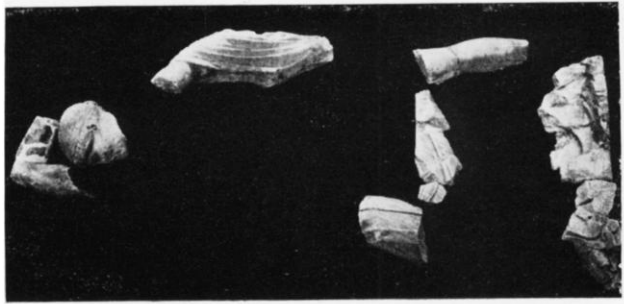
(c)

Calyx-krater, Louvre MNC 511 (G 341)

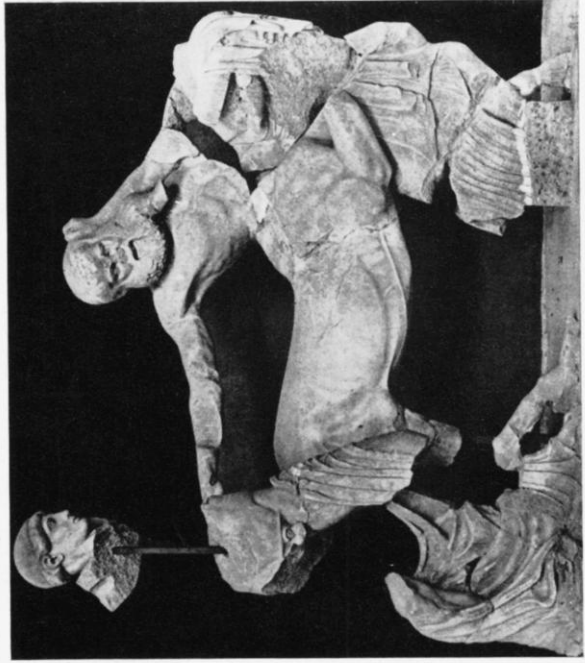
NEW LIGHT ON OLD WALLS



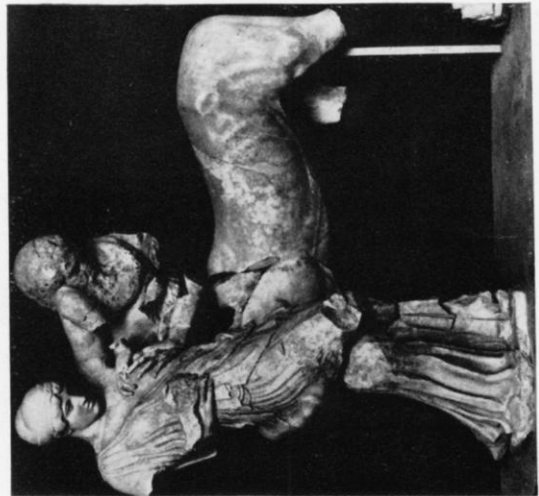
(a)-(b) Volute-krater, New York 07.286.84



Peirithoos



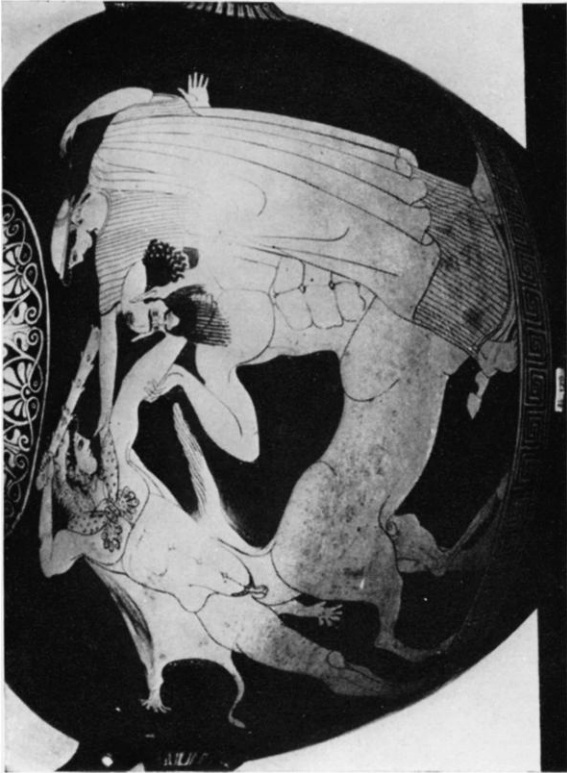
Theseus, Centaur, Lapith woman



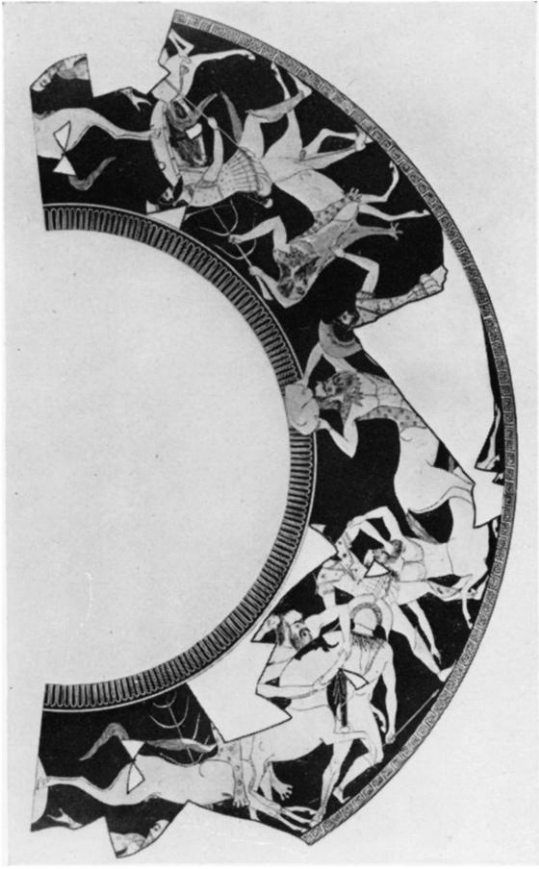
Hippodameia, Eurytion

(c)-(e) West pediment of temple of Zeus, Olympia

NEW LIGHT ON OLD WALLS



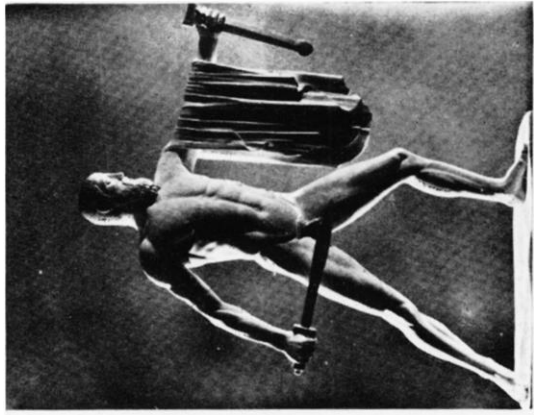
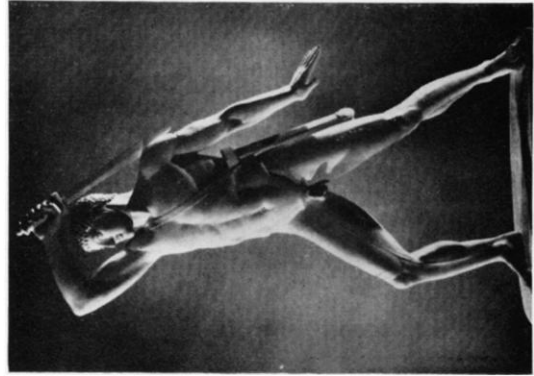
(a) Hydria, British Museum E176



(c) Psykter, Rome, Villa Giulia 3577

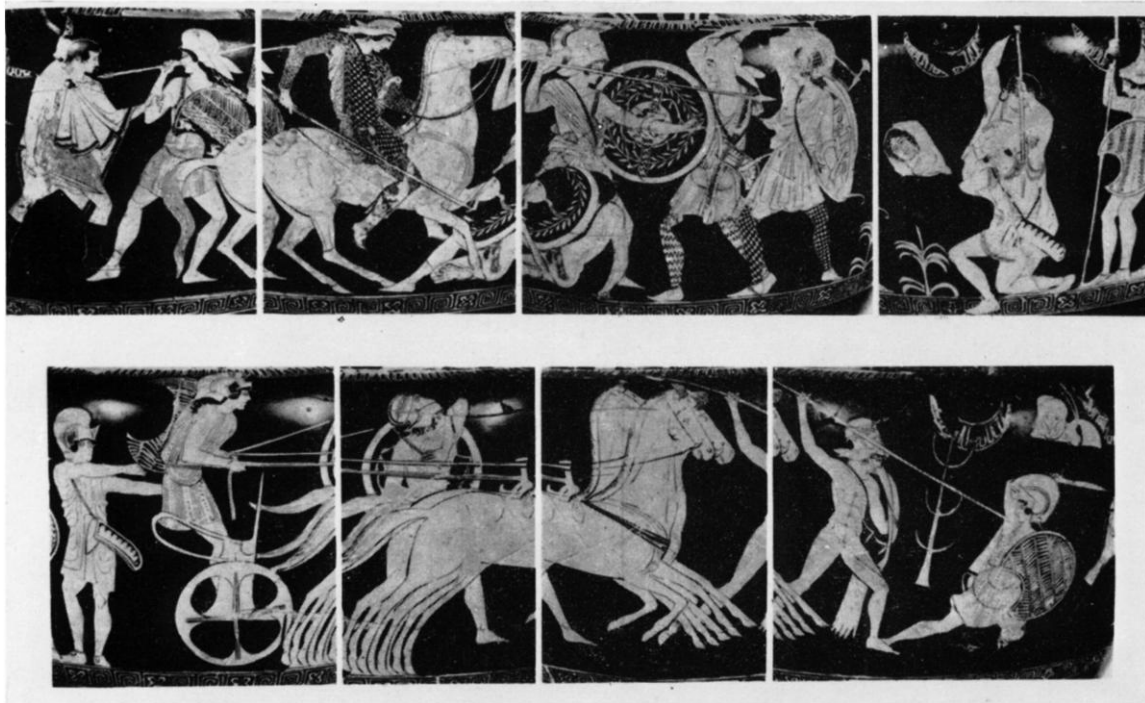


(b) Fragmentary volute-krater, New York 06.1021.140

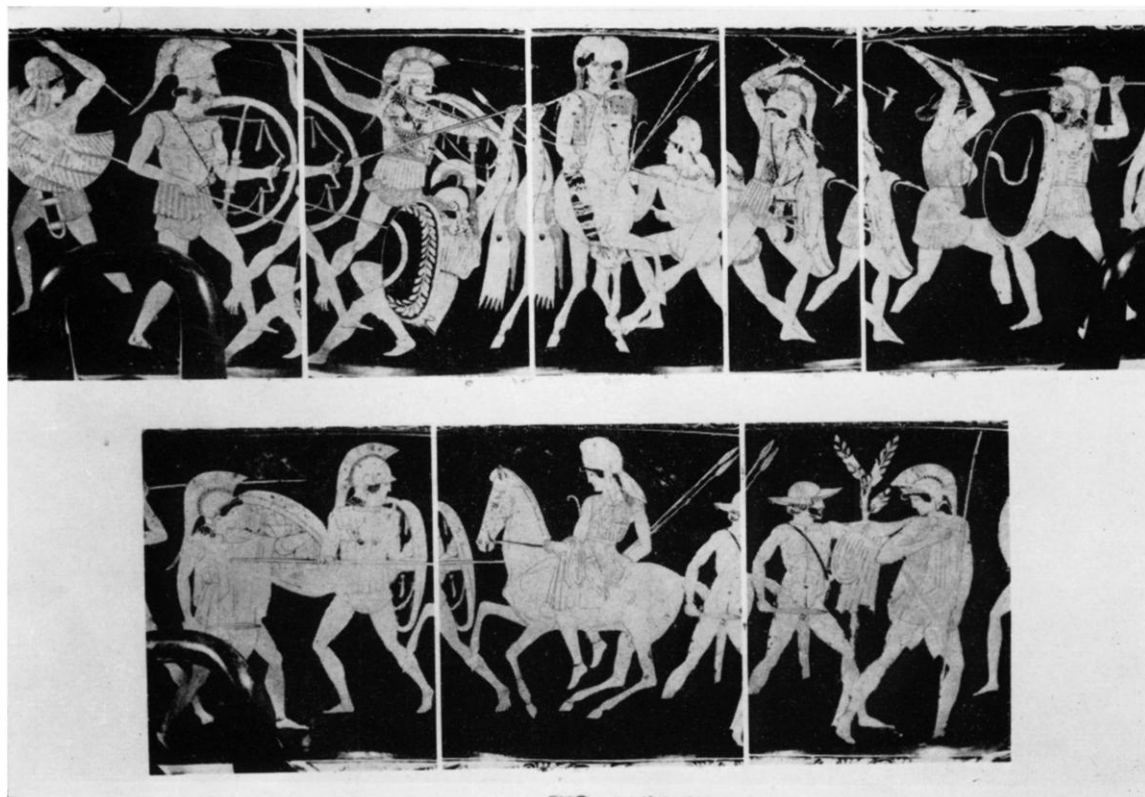


(d)-(e) Harmodios and Aristogiton, Rome, Museo dei Gessi

NEW LIGHT ON OLD WALLS



(a) Volute-krater, New York 07.286.84



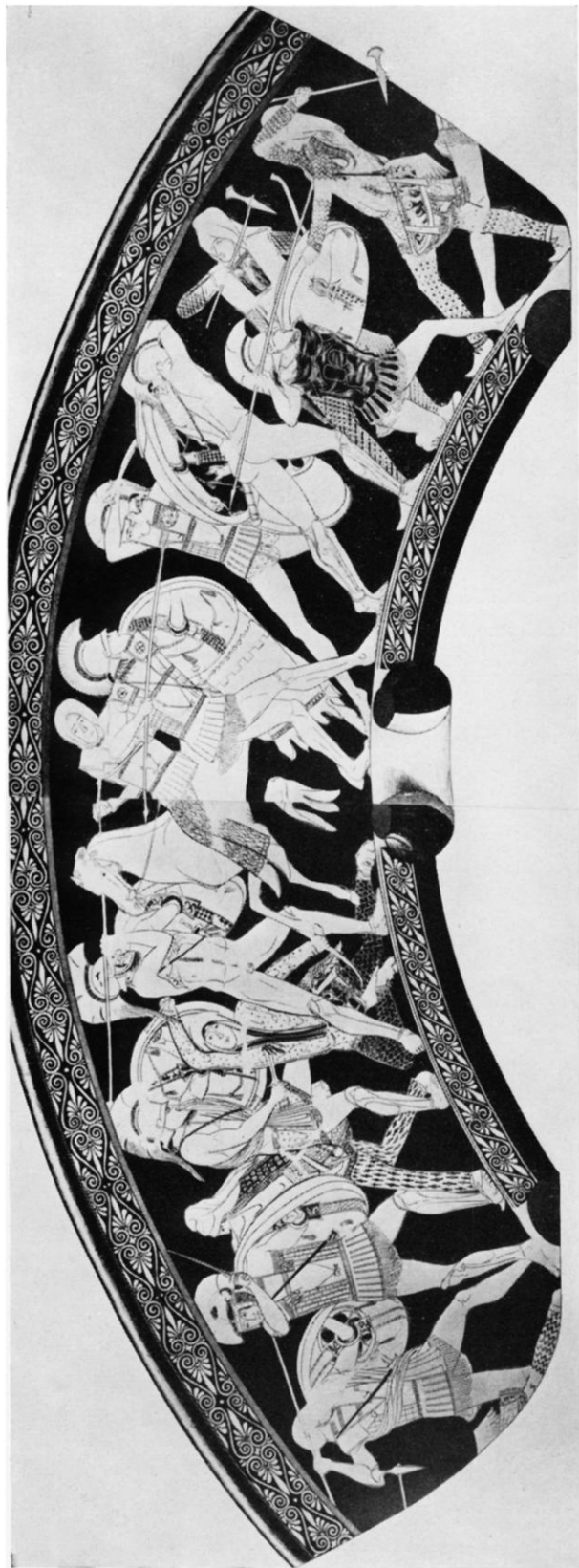
(b) Calyx-krater, New York 07.286.86



(a)-(b) Volute-krater, Palermo G 1283



(c) Dinos, British Museum 99.7-21.5

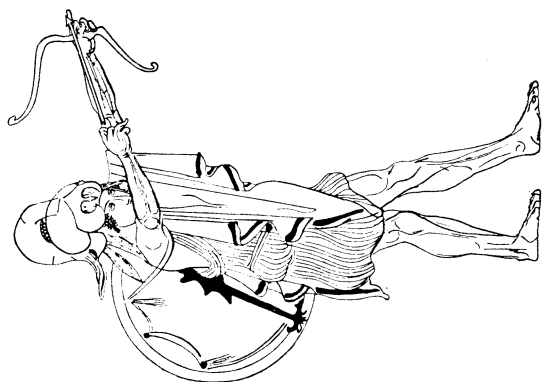


(a) Calyx-krater, Bologna 289



(b)-(c) Volute-krater, Naples 2421

NEW LIGHT ON OLD WALLS



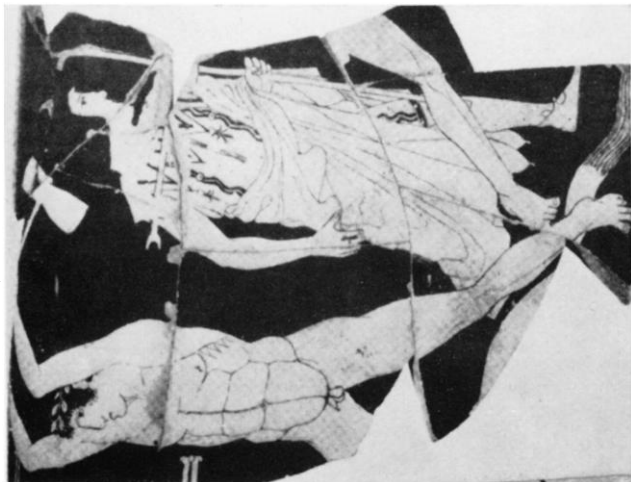
(a) Hydria, Odessa University



(b) Fragmentary krater, Reggio



(d) Fragmentary volute-krater, Berlin F2403



(c) Fragmentary volute-krater, Berlin F2403



(e) Lekythos, Berlin 30035



(f) Calyx-krater, New York 08.258.21