

HERAKLES, PEISISTRATOS AND ELEUSIS

(PLATES I-IV)

IN *RA* 1972, 57-72 ('Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons') I tried to demonstrate that the exceptional popularity of Herakles in Athenian art of the Peisistratan period was due to some degree of deliberate identification between tyrant and hero, both appearing as special protégés of the goddess Athena, and that this association was mirrored by certain changes and innovations in the iconographic tradition of Herakles as represented on Athenian, and only Athenian, works of art of those years. The most explicit association was expressed in Peisistratos' return to Athens after his second exile, in a chariot accompanied by a mock Athena (Hdt. i, 60). This episode was mirrored by or inspired a change in the usual iconography of Herakles' Introduction to Olympus by Athena, on foot, to a version in which the hero is shown with the goddess in a chariot. Taken with other evidence of Athenian interest in the hero, their priority in accepting him as a god and promotion of his worship, which can plausibly be attributed to this same time, and a number of other scenes which seemed likely to reflect some political rather than purely narrative interest, the case appeared to the writer strong, though circumstantial, and in the total absence of any indications in surviving literary sources it was not possible to judge, except in the light of common sense, which parts of the case were strongest, which better discarded. The present paper explores another aspect of this matter, which, I believe, considerably reinforces the argument in favour of Herakles' political importance in the Athens of Peisistratos and his sons.

Before this is presented there is a general objection to the whole proposition which deserves remark since it concerns the premise, that Herakles' status in Athenian art of the sixth century is exceptional, on which the general argument is based. The objection is that Herakles is so popular in other periods and places that nothing special can be claimed for his appearance in sixth-century Athens, particularly in view of the plethora of surviving Athenian black figure vases. This objection can be answered on two counts. First, it ignores the innovations and changes in the iconography on which the argument was based. Secondly, it is wrong. Some rough-and-ready statistics can help here: the proportion of Herakles scenes to all myth scenes on Athenian vases down to about 510 B.C. in comparison with other groups of myth-decorated objects, especially from the Peloponnese where Herakles was 'at home'. A total count seems hardly necessary and I have relegated to a footnote¹ the account of how the figures have been reached and their possible limitations, which I do not believe to be damaging. The groups chosen for comparison are the bronze shield-band reliefs made in the Peloponnese (probably Argos and Corinth) in the later seventh and first half of the sixth century; Corinthian vases of the same period; Spartan vases of much the same period as the Athenian; and, from outside the Peloponnese, the 'Chalcidian' vases from the western colonial world, which are of about the same date as the Spartan and Athenian. The results are as follows:

Proportion of Herakles scenes

Athenian black figure to 510 B.C.	44%
Peloponnesian shield-bands	27·5%
Corinthian vases	27%
Spartan vases	27·5%
'Chalcidian' vases	23%

¹ Generic Dionysiac, satyr and komast scenes have been ignored in all classes; also gigantomachies, in which at any rate Herakles is often shown. Sources for the Athenian vases are the Index to *ABV* for entries down to p. 291, which seems a fair cut-off point for a rich sample of vases earlier than about 510 B.C.; for the shield bands Kunze's catalogue in *Archaische Schildbänder*; for the Corinthian vases

If we turn to architectural sculpture proportions are meaningless since the numbers are so small. But in the relevant period there are in Athens six pediments with Herakles scenes in them (assuming Herakles' presence in the marble gigantomachy); one Dionysiac (from the temple of Dionysos); one unidentified (the Olive Tree pediment); and animals.² In the whole of the rest of the Archaic Greek world we can muster, from temples or treasuries, only the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, metopes at Paestum and Selinus, the Amyklai altar and throne (Paus. iii 18.10–16, 19.5), clay revetments at 'Larisa' in Aeolis, and the frieze at Assos, where there may be Athenian connexions.³

In this context Herakles' only serious competitor can be Theseus, who registers little over 5% on both the Athenian vases of the relevant period and the Peloponnesian shield-bands; less in other groups where the numbers become too small to make useful proportional comparisons.

By the early fifth century this special interest in Herakles has waned, although his dominance in Athenian iconography cannot easily be shaken, and Theseus, for political reasons which now seem generally acknowledged, gains in popularity. On Athenian red figure vases of roughly the first quarter of the century (Beazley's Late Archaic) the proportions of all myth scenes are: for Herakles 19.4%, for Theseus 13.2%, and they share the honours on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. In the fifth century the assimilation of the two heroes naturally proceeds more rapidly,⁴ but this is no part of our present story. Theseus' comparative unimportance in Athenian art before about 510 B.C. is the significant factor. To this we might add that the stories in which Herakles and Theseus are associated, notably Herakles' rescue of Theseus from Hades, are conspicuously absent from the art of Peisistratan and earlier Athens, although the rescue does appear on one of the Peloponnesian shield-bands.⁵

Another puzzling and probably relevant piece of negative evidence for the relative roles of Herakles and Theseus in sixth-century Athens is the presence or absence of Athena herself. She is frequently shown supporting Herakles as well as other heroes in the sixth century. But she is remarkably seldom shown supporting or celebrating the slaying of the Minotaur and delivery of the Athenian children by Theseus, and when, after 510 B.C., in

Payne's *Necrocorinthia*, chapter nine; for the Spartan vases Stibbe's catalogue in *Lakonische Vasenmaler*; for the 'Chalcidian' vases Rumpf's catalogue in *Chalkidische Vasen*.

² See *RA* 1972, 70 f. The three-bodied monster from the Acropolis, however interpreted (see *RA* 1972, 71 f. and below, note 10), shares a pediment with a Herakles scene and might be connected with it. In the pediments of fountain houses shown on Athenian vases of these years, apart from snakes, we see a lion fight (Copenhagen *CVA* forthcoming) and a satyr (*JdI* xi (1896) 180, n. 8).

³ See *RA* 1972, 70, n. 2.

⁴ Soon after 510 the Euergides Painter puts Herakles and the Lion between Theseus with the Minotaur and Theseus with Prokrustes on one side of a cup (Paris G 71; *ABV* 89, no. 21). This is illustrated by Pottier in *Recueil E. Pottier* (1937) 362, fig. 4, in the course of an article (357 ff.) 'Pourquoi Thésée fut l'ami d'Hercule' which makes a number of good points about Herakles' popularity in Athens in the sixth century. On a Middle Corinthian cup (Brussels A 1374; Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 34.6) Herakles fights Acheloos and Theseus the Minotaur in the same frieze. A Herakles kills the Minotaur on an

Etruscan black figure amphora, Paris C 11069.

⁵ Kunze, *op. cit.*, 112 f., Beil. 7.4; K. Schefold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* (1966) 68 f., fig. 24. Here it seems that both Theseus and Peirithoos are to be freed. The earliest evidence for the version which leaves Peirithoos behind in Hades is fifth-century and is the story favoured by Euripides. The friends' intention had been to seize Persephone for Peirithoos. We shall see that a sixth-century poet in Athens might well have had a motive for visiting Peirithoos with eternal retribution for his attempted sacrilege, despite the older tale, but there is no indication whatever in the art of Athens of any new poetic celebration of the episode. On the other hand, when Kritias' play has Herakles negotiate with Hades and Persephone for the release of both heroes we have an element we shall recognise in the Herakles and Kerberos story, yet to be discussed (also Diodoros iv 26.1 and Plut., *Thes.* 35, where he frees both, and Theseus only, respectively, after negotiation with Persephone and Hades). For a useful survey and references to this adventure see now H. Herter in *RE* Suppl. xiii (1973) s.v. 'Theseus' 1203–5 and 1176 f. (the freeing in Hades).

art (and literature, surely) Theseus embarks on his series of adventures on the road from Troezen to Athens, he usually does it on his own. In these encounters Athena appears as an onlooker seldom, and no regular convention for her support at any one of the fights was established. When Herakles fought the lion if there were any bystanders at all Athena was almost inevitable, and the contrast in her patronage of Theseus is remarkable. Only gradually is the city goddess permitted to devote herself regularly to the Athenian Theseus, so strong in Athens hitherto had been her association with his predecessor in civic affection.⁶

We turn now to Eleusis and Athens. The argument woven here has many strands. Although, in the presentation, one is seen to lead to another, they can be followed independently, and the relative weakness, through incomplete evidence, of any of them, does nothing to impair either the strength of others, or, I believe, the clarity of the overall pattern which emerges. They concern Athens' control of the Mysteries, the foundation of the Lesser Mysteries and the *genos* of Kerykes, the history of buildings in Eleusis and Athens, Herakles' role in stories associated with Athens and the Mysteries, and aspects of the iconography of his visit to the Underworld for Kerberos.

It seems clear that in the early historic period the conduct of the Mysteries at Eleusis was exclusively in the hands of the Eleusinians. The first to learn and celebrate the Mysteries was the hero Eumolpos, and the priesthood remained with the family which traced their descent from him.⁷ The stories of early wars with Athens and Erechtheus (Paus. i, 36.3, 38.3; Apollodoros iii, 15.4–5; Euripides, *Erechtheus*) are placed before Theseus (Thuc. ii, 15) and very probably reflect conditions of the Late Bronze Age. But later there may also have been difficulties and Solon's paragon Tellos lost his life fighting *πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγέλτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίῳ* (Hdt. i, 30). The Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* is generally now regarded as not having been composed before the end of the seventh century and is a purely Eleusinian composition with no hint of Athenian intervention or control.⁸

By the fifth century the situation is completely different. Before the celebration of the Great Mysteries at Eleusis the Sacred Objects were carried in procession to Athens where there were rites, sacrifices and purification performed over several days before the great return procession to Eleusis for the initiation. There was an Eleusinion shrine in Athens itself, between the Agora and the Acropolis, where the Sacred Objects were kept during the ceremonies in the town and by the sea. And a separate annual festival was held earlier in each year, the Lesser Mysteries, conducted at Agrai in Athens, beyond the Ilissos, which seemed more closely connected with Persephone than with Demeter and was concerned mainly with preliminary purification before full initiation. The organisation of the festivals was in the hands of the Athenian Archon Basileus, assisted not only by representatives of the Eleusinian Eumolpidai, but of another *genos*, the Kerykes, whose function may have been more concerned with the arrangements for the processions and Athenian aspects of the festivals and Mysteries.

Clearly, between the end of the seventh century and the fifth the control of the Mysteries at Eleusis had been taken over by Athens and much of the necessary preparation for initiation transferred to Athens. All the elements in this need not have been realised at one

⁶ For Athena's attendance on Theseus see G. Beckel, *Götterbeistand in der Bildüberlieferung griechischer Heldensagen* (1961) 68–71.

⁷ G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1961) provides a convenient and well-documented guide to the literary and archaeological evidence for Eleusis, and the reader is referred to it for fuller record of some of the problems touched on in this article. More recently N. J. Richardson's edition of

The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (1974) includes much of relevance (as on Eumolpos, 197 f.).

⁸ See the last note. The famine which resulted in Athens initiating offerings to Eleusis (Mylonas, *op. cit.*, 7; *RE* s.v. 'Proerosia' 109) is not securely datable. Harpokration, s.v. 'Abaris', offers either Ol.3, which is too early to be relevant here, or Ol.53 (568–5 B.C.), which is about the time we should expect ready access to Eleusis for Athenians.

time but they are likely to have formed part of a single programme. There is no clear evidence for the date at which the processions to and from Athens were instituted.

The Eleusinion in Athens has been identified and excavated.⁹ The temple there is of the early fifth century but there are offerings of earlier date. How much earlier is not certain but nothing before the 'mid sixth century' has been mentioned. Andokides records (i, 111-12) that the Archon Basileus was required to report to the Boule in the Eleusinion after the Mysteries, and that this was decreed by Solon. There has been some reluctance to allow that this legislation must be so early, nor have we evidence for such a high date in the sixth century for the foundation of the Eleusinion.

No one tells us when the Lesser Mysteries were instituted, but traditions about the college or family of Kerykes are more informative. The Eleusinian claim was based on finding the founder of the family, Keryx, a son of Eumolpos (Paus. i, 38.3). The Athenians made him a son of Hermes and one of three daughters of the Athenian king Kekrops.¹⁰ The intentions of the rival genealogies are obvious.¹¹

Eleusis itself may prove to be more informative. What follows is based partly on Mylonas' account of the architecture, checked or corrected at various points. Through the eighth and seventh centuries the pottery found in the sanctuary and cemetery includes sufficient of Athenian manufacture to indicate a ready market for Athenian goods, which we would expect at any rate from the sheer proximity of the two towns. There is also a fairly rich import of Corinthian, the other standard Greek ware of these years. It is not yet possible to draw any useful deductions from these finds since so little has yet been published.

Buildings, presumably of a sacred character, had been constructed on the terrace of the later Telesterion in the Geometric period. At the end of the seventh century, to judge from the reported finds of pottery from an adjacent pyre, a fine peribolos wall of Lesbian-style masonry was constructed. This was followed by a large rectangular building of brick on a Lesbian masonry socle, measuring some 24 by 14 metres. The date of this

⁹ J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971) 198; *Athenian Agora* xiv 152 (which is more cautious); *The Athenian Agora: a Guide* (1962) 93; *Athenian Agora* iii 74 ff., for testimonia. In *BSA* xlix (1954) 197 f. I took the small white-ground plaques found in the Agora for mid-seventh-century and associated them with the Eleusinion for their resemblance to plaques found at Eleusis, but Agora scholars are more probably correct in attributing them to a cult of the dead in the area of the graves on the Areopagus slopes.

¹⁰ Three daughters of Kekrops are named as mother of Keryx by different sources, but no single one admits to any doubt. Kekrops was a snake-bodied Athenian king in fifth-century Athenian art (see F. Brommer in *Charites*, Festschrift Langlotz, 153-7), a feature which is hardly likely to be a fifth-century invention. His grandsons might well have been snake-bodied and if originally there were thought to be three we would have another possible explanation for the famous triple monster from the Acropolis pediment. The wings would be an appropriate herald addition (even Hermes is shown winged on an Athenian vase of about 520/10 B.C.: *Gymnasium* lxx (1963) pl. 2; *Para.* 185, no. 20 *ter*; a Dionysos and an Athena with Herakles in the other two panels on the vase). The symbols the monster-heroes hold are not totally explicable: water for the purification;

corn for Demeter; the bird. . . .? But I hesitate to press yet another interpretation for the group. In Hesiod fr. 228 (Merkelbach-West; and see *Rhein. Mus.* cviii (1965) 303) Keyx is better read than Keryx, and the epithet *ἰππηλάτα* is more suitable for him.

¹¹ In the family there was a Kallias who could have been the first to officiate as *δαδοῦχος* (see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families* (1971) 254 f.). He seems to have been born in about 590 B.C. and he bought Peisistratos' confiscated property 'after his exile (Hdt. vi 121.2)—not necessarily an unfriendly act by any means, despite Herodotus' view of him. Davies (p. 450) remarks of the Kallias son of Hyperochides who was father of Myrrhine, Hippias' wife of about 550 B.C. (Thuc. vi 55.1), that 'his name is far too common in Athens to allow any probability that he was connected with the Kerykes'. We await more evidence to justify any associations, but they are worth bearing in mind. A later Kallias, *δαδοῦχος*, recalled to the Spartans that 'our' ancestor Triptolemos had shown the rites of Demeter and Kore to 'their' leader Herakles and citizens the Dioskouroi (Xen., *Hell.* vi 3.6). The Kerykes are much discussed: Richardson, *op. cit.*, 8; and D. D. Feaver in *Yale Classical Studies* xv (1957) 126-8 on the creation of the *genos* and the method by which Athens gained control of the Mysteries.

does not seem to be clearly established on archaeological grounds and it is not necessarily as old as the peribolos.¹² It may be the temple of the *Hymn* (270-4). This is generally described as 'Solonian' in modern architectural and Eleusinian literature, and this is not impossible. Salamis, which lies just offshore from Eleusis, was secured first for Athens by Solon, although it was not until Peisistratos' success against Megara in 566 that this area could be regarded as firmly in Athenian hands. On any of these occasions the strategic desirability of securing Eleusis, on the coastal route to Megara and the Peloponnese, as well as the economic attractions of the Thriasian plain, would have become apparent to any Athenian politician or commander.

The arrival of both Corinthian and Athenian pottery in Eleusis continues in the first half of the sixth century but there is an interesting group of votive plaques and of vases which may be regarded as of an Athenian ritual shape (tall-necked amphorae and loutrophoroi) decorated with animals and with figures of goddesses or priestesses: they seem to have been made especially for Eleusis.¹³ Their clay and style of drawing seems Athenian but it is possible that they were made in Eleusis. They are not easy to date closely, being in a rather loose 'provincial' style, but they are perhaps not any or much earlier than the 560's. These could certainly be taken for evidence of Athenian commercial intervention, although of a very low order and decidedly private, in the sacred affairs of Eleusis.

The next major structure at Eleusis is generally regarded as 'Peisistratan'. It is a great square Telesterion, the first in what is to become the canonic form for this building, measuring overall some 27 by 30 metres. It was all of stone, with marble upperworks and tiles and a Doric portico. There were marble rams' heads in the round at the corners and painted marble anthemia. These give only a general indication of date and Noack was inclined to attribute completion to Peisistratos' sons,¹⁴ which could be correct but is not altogether demanded by the archaeological evidence. The anthemia have been compared with those of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth,¹⁵ built by about 540 B.C., and in the foundations for two of the façade columns were incorporated blocks carrying inscriptions which are apparently dated no later than the mid sixth century and which had been discarded before this period of re-use.¹⁶ At this time too the whole site was fortified.¹⁷

To summarise, active Athenian intervention at Eleusis could antedate Peisistratos' first tyranny, but not be unconnected with his military activity, and it is possible that most of it falls within the period of his power. The establishment of the Kerykes is unlikely to antedate his tyranny and with this we should obviously associate the inception of the Lesser Mysteries, Athens' close involvement in the conduct of the Great Mysteries and the building of the Eleusinion in the city. All this culminates in the construction of the new Telesterion for Eleusis which is almost certainly datable to Peisistratos' last years in Athens, or was possibly completed by his sons.

The institution of a new festival such as the Lesser Mysteries and its incorporation in Athenian state religion through the Archon Basileus, but with the establishment of a new priestly genos, the Kerykes, to match the Eleusinian Eumolpidae, was no mean achievement, and demonstrates considerable religious and political acumen. It had naturally to be sanctified by myth, and we have seen how the rival genealogies of Eleusis and Athens dealt with the Kerykes, tracing them back to Eumolpos and to the legendary Athenian king Kekrops respectively.

¹² On its revetments see A. W. van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period* (1926) 35. Travlos compares the revetments of the earliest Acropolis temple (*op. cit.*, 193), not usually dated as early as the start of the sixth century.

¹³ *ABV* 21 (Painter of Eleusis 767; 'an artless painter'—Beazley; also *Para.* 13). *Para.* 54 (Painter of Eleusis 397; plaques). And *CVA Athens* i pl. 5.1,2.

¹⁴ F. Noack, *Eleusis* (1927) 69.

¹⁵ van Buren, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ *Praktika* 1884, 74 (Noack, *op. cit.*, 260) for one, still with primitive punctuation mark (three oblique dashes) and closed aspirate; and K. Clinton, *AE* 1971, 82 f., no. 1 (Mylonas, *op. cit.*, 81 f.).

¹⁷ Mylonas, *op. cit.*, 92-6; J. Travlos in *Ergon* 1973, 131, fig. 117.

For the Lesser Mysteries another tale was told, and here Herakles takes the stage. Apollodoros' account is the fullest although it may confuse rival but not strictly contradictory traditions (ii, 5.12 ff.). Herakles came to Eleusis wishing to be initiated, but this was not lawful for 'foreigners' and in any case he was impure after his slaying of the centaurs. Eumolpos purified him and proceeded to initiate him after he had been 'naturalised' by being adopted by one Pyllos (so too Plut., *Thest.* 33.2 and Schol. *Iliad* viii, 368). The outline of this account is followed in other authors, the important elements being his purification, adoption and initiation. Diodoros (iv, 14.3), however, records that the Lesser Mysteries in Athens were founded by Demeter specifically so that Herakles could be purified after the slaughter of the centaurs; and the Scholiast on Ar., *Plut.* 845, that they were founded so that Herakles could become an adopted Athenian and then initiated.

Herakles' involvement in the story of the founding of the Lesser Mysteries is not easy to understand except in terms of the exceptional position he held in Athenian political esteem at the time the new festival was born. It presented a neat justification for the purification procedures involved in the festival and the need to provide machinery for the initiation of 'foreigners'—strictly and originally, non-Eleusinians. And, we might ask, who was this Pyllos? The family of Peisistratos traced their ancestry to the Neleids of Pylos, Peisistratos being named after Nestor's son (Hdt. v, 65.3-4), and it seems wholly apt that a legendary kinsman of the tyrant should have been found or invented to make Herakles an Athenian. Peisistratos could take comfort that, when Herakles sacked Pylos and killed the sons of Neleus, Nestor survived by being elsewhere at the time (*Iliad* xi, 690-3; Hesiod fr. 35, Merkelbach/West) or, as Aelian has it (*V.H.* iv, 5)—and this Peisistratos would certainly have approved, if he did not inspire the version—because Herakles deliberately spared him. Others, with Aelian, have Herakles handing over Messenia to Nestor (Paus. ii, 18.6), and Nestor anticipating Athenian deification of the hero by being the first to swear by him (Philostratos, *Her.* iv,2).¹⁸

At Eleusis itself there was probably little enough need to disturb the existing arrangements for the Mysteries or to tamper with the myth history. It is probably at this time, however, that Triptolemos emerges first as an important figure in Eleusinian affairs. In the *Hymn* (473 ff.) he is one of those to whom Demeter teaches her rites but has no special function. By the Classical period he is the important third beside the goddesses, the agent by whom the blessings of agriculture were given to mankind, and a more national than parochial figure through the importance of this role—a 'propaganda hero'.¹⁹ His new status was surely acquired at the time when we see the first representations of him in art, on Athenian vases from about 540 on.²⁰ One of the first is on a fragment in Reggio (PLATE Ia: to this we shall return in a moment)²¹ where he stands with his ears of corn beside Demeter's chariot, and where the mysterious Ploutodotas personifies further this new Eleusinian function of beneficence for all mankind. It is followed by a spate of vases showing Triptolemos on his magic throne preparing for his mission. This is a matter simply of promotion of an existing figure and the codifying of his functions. How it was effected we do not know, but the result in contemporary Athenian art is clear enough, and he was at some time given a temple and statue by the Eleusinion in Athens (Paus. i, 14.3). Triptolemos is not our quarry, however: merely another instance of art reflecting a change in religious practice and belief, probably politically motivated, although there seems no obvious reason why Triptolemos was singled out.

¹⁸ Hugh Lloyd-Jones points out to me the comparable story of Herakles' gift of Elis to Phyleus, who had supported him before his father Augeas. Here too there is a 'swearing' story—it was the only occasion on which Herakles took an oath (Plut. *Q. Rom.* xxviii).

¹⁹ Richardson, *op. cit.*, 194-6.

²⁰ For these see *Recueil C. Dugas* (1960) 123 ff.; E. Kunze-Götte in *CVA* Munich viii 57.

²¹ Reggio 4001; *ABV* 147, no. 6; *Arch. Classica* iv (1952) pls. 30.1, 31-2; H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne* (1965) pls. 1.2, 2.

In the case of Peisistratos' manipulation of the theme of Herakles' Introduction to Olympus to celebrate his reintroduction to the Acropolis by 'Athena', it was possible to detect a reflection of the manoeuvre in a change in the iconography of the scene on Athenian vases. The same seems true of Herakles' role at Eleusis and in the Mysteries. The matter is neatly introduced by the vase fragment in Reggio (PLATE Ia), in the manner of Exekias (very close to the master, I would judge, if not his) and datable about 540 B.C., which provides our earliest evidence for Herakles in an Eleusinian setting.

The main scene shows Demeter, holding ears of corn, mounting her chariot. Beside her is Triptolemos and at the front of the horses Ploutodotas. Beyond the horses stand Athena and Herakles, facing each other. But the fragment has more to offer than this. It is from a large belly amphora which has been most unusually decorated with a tall subsidiary frieze, appearing above the main panel and separated from it by the floral which usually crowns such a panel. On this scale and in this circle of vases the scheme seems unique, and on comparable vases, as by the Amasis Painter, such a subsidiary frieze is given relatively far less prominence. Here it seems probable that the frieze went right up to the lip of the vase and such a scheme had not appeared on Athenian belly amphorae since the end of the seventh century.

Its content may explain this prominence. From left to right we see Kerberos, led by Herakles, who is preceded by Athena and Iolaos. The one Herakles story which could be seen to have some relevance to Eleusis is his journey to the Underworld for Kerberos. Apollodoros (ii 5.12 ff.) places his initiation at Eleusis immediately before this labour. Euripides makes Herakles attribute his success in the Underworld to his initiation (*Her. F.* 610-3), and, an important point for us, Diodoros (iv 25 f.) says that he was initiated by Mousaios at Eleusis in preparation for the adventure and that he succeeded through the intercession of Persephone herself. This was by no means, however, the only, or probably the original account, where the seizing of Kerberos involved violence offered not only to the dog but to Hades, a veritable triumph over death. This most terrible of the labours is referred to in the Homeric poems, where the help of Athena and Hermes is specified (*Od.* xi 623 ff.; *Iliad* viii 362 ff.), and the visit to the Underworld, if not the seizing of Kerberos, also saw Herakles' wounding of Hades (*Iliad* v 395 ff.).

The earliest surviving representation of the labour²² appears on a Corinthian cup of about 590-580 B.C.²³ Herakles holds his bow and is preparing to throw a stone at Hades who has left his throne and is running away. Athena stands between them, facing Herakles, and Hermes behind him, restraining him. Off to the right is the dog and a column indicating the Halls of Hades. The general mood of violence, although not so specific in the threatening of Hades, is followed in many later representations.

The Athenian vase painters' interest in the scene is not quickened until after the mid sixth century—in fact the Reggio fragment is among the earliest representations on any Athenian vase. The usual scheme is to show Herakles dragging the dog, already collared,

²² Brommer lists scenes in *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensagen*³ (1973) 91 ff. (and see *AK Beiheft* vii 50 f.); on other subjects in *Denkmälerlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* i, Herakles (1971); with a general account in *Herakles* (1953) 43 ff. See also Kunze, *op. cit.*, 110-2 and K. Schauenburg, *JdI* lxxvi (1961) 66 f. On the relative popularity of the myth in black figure H. Thiry in *Živa Antika* xxii (1972) 62 f. It would be agreeable to find a group of Herakles and Kerberos on the Acropolis and such has been proposed on the strength of a Herakles torso and a base with the feet of a man and a dog (H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (1939)

290 f., nos. 414-5; Brommer, *op. cit.*, 92). But this cannot be admitted. The relative size and placing of the feet make it clear that the base carried simply a man and a dog of natural size, a common enough motif in Late Archaic art, and not the massive Hound of Hades. The 'Kerberos' fragment of *JdI* viii (1893) 164, n. 9 (associated with the Acropolis base by Brommer, *op. cit.*, 92, no. 2) is the phallos-beast published by Buschor in *AM* liii (1928) 96 ff., Beil. 29, 30.

²³ Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 127, fig. 45c; Brommer, *Herakles* pl. 24b.

with some vehemence, often swinging his club, or at least threatening the beast. Athena and Hermes are commonly present, far less often Persephone, and least of all Hades. The scene is sometimes very animated. I offer two other examples, of the last quarter of the century, to show this standard type. On PLATE Ib²⁴ Persephone hurries on from the palace of Hades on the left: notice here that the body of the vase has Demeter's chariot again, as on the Reggio fragment (PLATE Ia). And in red figure Paeas gives a more spirited version (PLATE Ic).²⁵

This general scheme persists on Athenian vases to the early fifth century, when it almost disappears from the repertory of vase painters. The violence is surely implicit in the Homeric references. Apollodoros and the Scholiast to *Iliad* v 395 say that Hades consented but required him to use no weapons, so force was still required and the feat was generally regarded as a supreme example of the hero's strength and courage. For a short period, however, we see a variant approach on the Athenian vases. These scenes do not interrupt the sequence of the traditional scheme but run parallel to it. They are not seen outside Athenian art and they soon disappear again from the repertory. Their character can best be demonstrated by describing one or two typical examples.

The Andokides Painter presents the story twice, on vases painted in the 520's. The fullest version is in black figure on a vase in Moscow (PLATE IIa).²⁶ Herakles crouches, club and chain in hand, stretching forward to pat the forehead, or one of the foreheads, of Kerberos, who seems calm. Hermes stands behind Herakles, making an encouraging gesture, and Kerberos is standing in the portico of the Halls of Hades, where Persephone stands, both hands outstretched in a gesture which here can only be one of invitation or gift since no violence is being offered to the beast. The painter's red figure version of the scene omits Hermes and Persephone but adds Athena, and Herakles' approach to the dog is the same.²⁷ A comparable, but duller scene, with Herakles upright, is seen on PLATE IIb, which is in the manner of the Andokides Painter.²⁸

Acceptance of the situation by both the deities of the Underworld and the dog is well demonstrated by an amphora of the Leagros Group in the Vatican painted about 510 B.C. (PLATE IIc).²⁹ Here Athena stands behind Herakles. He approaches Kerberos, who is standing quietly, looks at it and extends a hand towards Hades who looks back towards him making a similar gesture. The palace of Hades is again indicated and here sits Persephone, her hand raised to her mouth, a gesture which means different things in different places but here is clearly not one of dissent. She is also seated calmly (on a palmette!) on a vase of about 520-510 B.C. (PLATE IVa)³⁰ where Kerberos is so placid as to be seated also. Herakles approaches with the chain and stretches out a hand to pat his muzzle, while Athena and Hermes stand at either side of him. On a Leagros hydria in Amiens (PLATE IIIa)³¹ an apprehensive Herakles with chain and club is led by Athena towards the dog whom Hermes seems almost to be introducing to them, while Hades raises his arms and sceptre in alarm. This is a rare instance where Persephone is missing.

The degree of apprehension exhibited by Herakles on a number of these vases is demonstrated by the way he puts his fingers to his lips. Even Hermes may make this gesture, but he plays an important part in these scenes and on some it is he who kneels to approach Kerberos with the chain, which makes it yet clearer that Herakles has to do no more than lead the beast away. Hermes was already an important figure in the story in the allusion

²⁴ Würzburg 308; *ABV* 269, no. 19, Antimenes Painter.

²⁵ Boston 01.8025; *ARV* 163, no. 6.

²⁶ Moscow Historical Museum 70; *ABV* 255, no. 8; Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (1974) fig. 163.

²⁷ Paris F 204; *ABV* 254, no. 1 = *ARV* 4, no. 11;

Boardman, *op. cit.*, fig. 162.

²⁸ Boston 28.46; *ABV* 261, no. 38.

²⁹ Vatican 372; *ABV* 368, no. 107; Albizzati, pl. 50.

³⁰ Purrmann Coll., Montagnola; *Para.* 141, no. 5, Medea Group; *JdI* lxxvi (1961) 62, figs. 15, 16.

³¹ Amiens 3057.225.47a; *ABV* 384, no. 25.

in the Odyssey. He was a proper participant, of course, as a conductor of souls and go-between in matters affecting Hades and the world of mortals. He might have seemed a particularly appropriate figure too for such a prominent position in the tale, even taking a more active part than he was usually permitted, if the Athenians sought to trace their Kerykes, who were to manage the Mysteries for them in Athens, back to the divine Herald himself.³² When Hades appears in these scenes he may display some animation; he was after all to be threatened and later wounded by Herakles (*Iliad* v 395 ff.). But Persephone, who is the important figure in our argument, is calm, appeasing and shown more often than her consort.³³

This variant in the story, introduced on the vases of Athens about 530 B.C. and nowhere else, continues in the repertory for at least twenty years but is not seen again after the beginning of the fifth century. It remains possible for artists to cling to the traditional, more violent version, throughout this period, although in many instances elements of the new attitude are admitted, in the presence or gestures of the Underworld deities, especially Persephone, and we find the combination of the dragging of the beast with Hermes still in the kneeling, coaxing pose (as PLATE IIIb).³⁴ But the change in mood is unmistakable and most readily associated with Herakles' new role as an Athenian-sponsored initiate who could secure the support of Persephone herself in completing what was otherwise regarded as the most dire of his labours.

If this variant on the story was deliberately introduced at or after a time when the story of the initiation of Herakles and the origins of the Lesser Mysteries first became current, and of importance to Athens' new role vis-à-vis Eleusis, it is unlikely that it would have won currency through representational art alone. We would expect some literary version to have been composed to popularise it. Here Hugh Lloyd-Jones' important study on 'Heracles at Eleusis' (in *Maia* xix (1967) 206 ff.), an article which has been the inspiration for a number of the suggestions already made here, comes timely to our aid. He deals with papyrus fragments of, and a commentary on, a poem which can plausibly be attributed to Pindar and which contains an account of Herakles' journey to the Underworld. It apparently includes a passage on his initiation by Eumolpos with a suggestion that he was the first 'foreigner' to be initiated at Eleusis. Persephone's friendly reception of Herakles is a point taken up also by later authors (Lloyd-Jones, 220 f.), notably in the *Frogs* where the initiates are also met in Herakles/Dionysos' Katabasis, but other details of the story in the Pindaric fragment are not immediately relevant here.

Lloyd-Jones suggests that the source for this and later versions of the Katabasis was an epic poem likely to have been composed in the sixth century 'perhaps round about 550 B.C.' and its author 'probably an Athenian or a person belonging to the orbit of Athenian culture'—not Stesichoros' *Kerberos*, then. It is tempting to think that its composition was

³² There was also a story which made Hermes the father of the founder hero Eleusis (Paus. i 38.7), and he had escorted Persephone back to her mother (*Hymn* 377 ff.).

³³ See Brommer in *AK* Beiheft vii 50 f. and n. 4 for the bystanders in the adventure. He notes ten instances with Hades, twenty five with Persephone in black figure, and only once Hades without Persephone (but we may add the Amiens vase).

³⁴ Leningrad; *ABV* 364, no. 59, Painter S; *Para.* 162. The iconographic problems of some of these scenes, where the pre-capture appeasement is combined with the removal of the beast, have been studied by C. Sourvinou-Inwood in *AK* xvii (1974) 30-5. The kneeling Hermes is prominent because his role is an important one in this episode (see

above). Other Leagran vases with versions of the scene worth noting are the lost amphora, Inghirami, pl. 40 (*ABV* 370, no. 131), where the kneeling Hermes has his finger to his lips before the dog, which is being removed by Herakles; and Villa Giulia 48329 (*MA* xlii 1024, fig. 263) where both Hermes and Herakles are crouching, the latter before the dog, the former beyond the dog and before Persephone, with his fingers to his lips. It looks as though cowering as well as the problem of approaching the dog might be another element in the choice of this pose. The kneeling Iolaos attending the lion fight is perhaps to be compared: *CVA* Tarquinia i pl. 14.2, and the two club-bearers on Würzburg 317 (*ABV* 334, no. 5, now Priam Painter; *RA* 1972, 67, fig. 4).

prompted by the circumstances of the foundation of the Lesser Mysteries and the importance accorded to Herakles in Athens' new status in Eleusinian affairs. He also remarks that 'it cannot have been written before the time at which Theseus as an Athenian national hero was being exalted as a friend and peer of Herakles'; but I do not believe that this is a necessary criterion, and have already remarked how the Theseus-Herakles relationship is ignored in Athens through the sixth century. The poem is likely to be one more element in the nexus of manoeuvres involving Peisistratos, Herakles and Eleusis, which I have tried to demonstrate in this article.³⁵

The iconographic arguments offered here, and in the former article in *RA* 1972, were based on observation of changes in the canonic treatment of certain Herakles stories, or of new episodes. The scenes which can be so described are the following. They are not all of them yet demonstrably relevant to my thesis—nor need they be. And it cannot be either asserted or denied that they may owe something, directly or indirectly, to some earlier work—by Pisander, by the author of the *Shield*, by Stesichoros, or even representational.

Herakles' Introduction to Olympus. See *RA* 1972. The version showing the introduction by chariot with Athena and not on foot was associated with Peisistratos' charade on his return from exile. The chariot introduction disappears from Athenian vases by about the end of the sixth century.

Herakles and Kerberos. See above. The variant scenes on vases are dated from about 530 to 500 B.C.

Herakles and the Kerynitian Deer. The earliest certain representations of the labour are on Athenian vases, about the middle of the sixth century.³⁶ On these Artemis is clearly identified as guardian of the beast, a fact which is not always explicit in the literary tradition, and equally clearly she is permitting Herakles to capture it and on occasion even to break off its horn. We know far less about this episode than about Kerberos, but the implication of the scenes is obviously a peaceful concession of the beast by Artemis,³⁷ without any question of its being seriously wounded or killed, such as is recorded in later accounts of the episode. The analogy with the negotiated surrender of Kerberos is obvious, and for Peisistratos' devotion to Artemis we need look no farther than Brauron, his old home, and the introduction of her cult to the Athenian Acropolis.

Herakles and Nereus/Triton. The wrestling with the fishy Triton takes over the iconography of the struggle with Nereus in Athenian art just before the mid sixth century.³⁸ In *RA* 1972, 59 f., it was suggested that this might have something to do with the amphibious success against Megara.³⁹ The group appears twice on Acropolis buildings. It disappears from Athenian art by the end of the century and thereafter Triton appears simply as escort for Theseus in his journey beneath the sea, and there is even an instance of Nereus reverting to his fishy form⁴⁰ (abandoned for a wholly human one once the Triton scenes had won popularity). In other words, Herakles' adversary becomes Theseus' escort.

Herakles mousikos. Herakles mounting a bema to play a kithara is introduced on Athenian vases about 530 B.C. and disappears by about the end of the century;⁴¹ nor is he so represented outside Athens in this period.

³⁵ Herakles' association with Eleusis and initiation there is of course long remembered. It is discussed fully by Lloyd-Jones; and it is a Herakles rather than Dionysos who may recline beside the Eleusinian goddesses in the east pediment of the Parthenon: E. Harrison, *AJA* lxxi (1967) 43–5 and Lloyd-Jones, *AJA* lxxiv (1970) 181. Eleusis does not, moreover, figure in the tradition about Theseus' synoikism of Attica, and there he has only to wrestle with Kerkyon and see to the burial of the Argive heroes killed at Thebes (Plut., *Thes.* 29 and in Aes., *Eleusiniói*). For more recent comment on the Herakles-Eleusis association see now W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1972) 294–7 and E. Keuls, *The Water Carriers in Hades* (1974) 161–3.

³⁶ On its doubtful occurrence on a Late Geometric fibula see K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagenstellungen bei dem Griechen* (1969) 62. On the Athenian scenes, Brommer, *Herakles* 21. Earliest

should be the Tyrrhenian amphora in Caere reported by Schauenburg in *Aachener Kunstblätter* xlv 37, n. 2.

³⁷ The Etruscans could take a different view. On a black figure amphora in Italy (private) Artemis draws her bow at Herakles over the deer.

³⁸ Lists in Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³ 143 ff. He gives no reason (p. 152) for doubting the 'Meerwesen' on the Maidstone fragment (*BICS* v (1958) pl. 2.1), yet the relative scale of the monster and Hermes makes this certain, apart from the contemporary comparanda.

³⁹ There was the Theban princess Megara whom Herakles married, then killed, with their children, but she is never associated with the town: *Od.* xi 269 f.; Pindar, *Isthm.* iv 63 f.; Apollodoros ii 4.11–2.

⁴⁰ See Boardman in *Getty Museum Annual* i. Fishy Nereus on the Berlin Painter stamnos, Munich 8738 (*ARV* 209, no. 161; *CVA* v pls. 259–62).

⁴¹ A red figure column crater in Paris showing

In *RA* 1972, 69, the suggestion that this had reference to epic recitals in Athens was recorded. His performance is commonly attended by Athena (PLATE IVb, by the Andokides Painter),⁴² sometimes other gods, and it has been generally supposed that it illustrated a performance on Olympus. The bema seems a deliberate reference to the competition platform, but there is one version, on a vase in Tarquinia,⁴³ where the bema is not shown and Herakles with his kithara, accompanied by Iolaos and a woman, approach a burning altar beyond which stands Athena (PLATE IIIc). This should indicate a sanctuary of Athena, and presumably an Athenian festival with recitals, rather than Olympus or any god-frequented limbo. Apart from the probability that recitals were introduced in the reformed Panathenaia which flourished under Peisistratos and may owe their origin to him, and which may also have been a vehicle for the celebration both of the acknowledged city goddess and the hero of the gigantomachy, Herakles, there is the more specific attribution of the introduction of Homeric recitals in the Panathenaia to his son Hipparchos (Plato, *Hipparchos* 228 B-C).⁴⁴ We should also recall the tradition that Herakles had been taught to play the phorminx (=kithara in this context) by Eumolpos (Theokritos xxiv, 109 f.), who has figured already in the story of the Athenian Herakles.

Herakles the athlete. The reorganised Panathenaia and the accompanying Games are important elements in the life and religion of Peisistratan Athens and we might have expected our Herakles, reputed founder of the Olympic Games, to have had some part to play here too. Possibly his Olympic role was inhibiting, but in pseudo-Aristotle (*mir. ausc.* 51) we have the extraordinary story that the sacred olive tree at Olympia from which the victor's wreath was cut, was grown from a cutting brought by Herakles from Athens, from a sacred tree near the Ilissos; near, therefore, Agrai where the Lesser Mysteries were performed, and near both the Panathenaic stadion and the temple of Olympian Zeus, work on which had been started by Peisistratos. A story which brought the cutting from Olympia to Athens might seem more plausible, but Athena and Attica were the home of the olive: coals to Newcastle. Herakles is not shown exercising or competing as an athlete, although some adventures, as his wrestling with the Lion, Antaios and Nereus, called for skills learned in the palaistra.⁴⁵ It may be worth considering whether these are developed in any peculiar way in our period. The Lion was invulnerable and Herakles has to use his bare hands on it by about 600 B.C. in art.⁴⁶ But it is on Athenian vases from after the mid sixth century that the uselessness of his weapons is emphasised, not merely by showing them hanging in the field or held by a patient Iolaos, but with the sword crumpled and abandoned or inflicting only a surface wound.⁴⁷ Moreover, from the 520's we see wrestling moves employed which are far more explicitly 'human' than the grappling round the neck of the earlier versions. These include bringing the beast down to the canvas to wrestle with it prone, the engagement holding its paw or preparing a cross-buttock throw, and even the throw over the shoulder (PLATE IVc, by the Andokides Painter),⁴⁸ which in terms of possible man-lion fights is extreme, not to say ridiculous. Not as ridiculous, however, as the arm-lock applied to the beast on an Etruscan black figure vase (PLATE IVd).⁴⁹ The Andokides Painter is the first exponent of the lying and throwing versions.⁵⁰ Otherwise it is the fight with Antaios that shows Herakles as master-wrestler, and this is seen in Athenian art first, from about 520 on.⁵¹

Herakles' rewards for these bouts was in heaven, but we may perhaps find him enjoying a more conventionally mortal prize. On a vase of about 540 B.C.⁵² he is seen carrying a massive tripod towards Athena, accom-

him with a barbiton is in a komos setting, with Hermes, a satyr and a toper: *CVA* Petit Palais pl. 21.5. On the subject see K. Schauenburg, *Gymnasium* lxxvi (1969) 44 and *JdI* lxxvi (1961) 58 f.

⁴² Munich 1575; *ABV* 256, no. 16.

⁴³ Inv. 679; *CVA* i pl. 12.3; contrast the conventional scene, with bema and Athena, *ibid.*, pl. 11.3.

⁴⁴ Notice also the kitharodes of this date and little later shown in a Panathenaic setting, with cock columns, or on vases of Panathenaic shape which include a Panathenaic Athena: Toronto C 322 (Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, no 308, pl. 43); London B 139 (*ABV* 139, no. 12, near Group E; *CVA* i pl. 5.3); London B 260 (*CVA* iv pl. 64.1; with sphinxes on the columns); Würzburg 222 (*ABV* 405, no. 20, Kleophrades Painter; Langlotz, pl. 50); Baltimore WAG 48.2107 (*AJA* lxxiii (1959) pl. 47.3,4); Paris ÉI. 84 (*CVA* v Hg pl. 4.3,5); Paris F 282 (*ibid.*, pl. 2.4,5). On this type see E. Preuner, *Hermes* lvii (1922) 95; J. A. Davison, *JHS* lxxviii (1958) 36 ff., lxxx (1961) 141 f.

⁴⁵ He was taught boxing and wrestling by Harpa-

lykos (Theokritos xxiv 111 ff.) or Autolykos (Apollodoros ii 4.9).

⁴⁶ Kunze, *op. cit.*, 95 ff., for the best detailed account of early schemes. See also Fittschen, *op. cit.*, 87 f.

⁴⁷ Kunze, *op. cit.*, 99 f. Crumpled sword—Villa Giulia, Castellani no. 472, Mingazzini, pl. 65.1. Surface wound—Kassel T 384 (*ABV* 137, no. 57, Group E; *CVA* i pl. 21.1) and Oxford 1965.141 (*ABV* 299, no. 1, manner of the Princeton Painter; *CVA* iii pl. 32.4).

⁴⁸ London B 193; *ARV* 4, no. 8.

⁴⁹ Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 62-1-8; Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³ 141, no. 17; the club identifies Herakles.

⁵⁰ Compare, for example, *JdI* lxxvi (1961) 49, fig. 1 (on ground) and 55, fig. 7 (over shoulder); discussed by Schauenburg, *ibid.*, and in *JdI* lxxx (1965) 79, 97.

⁵¹ Kunze, *op. cit.*, 120 f.

⁵² Munich 1378; *ABV* 299, no. 17 (Princeton Painter); Boardman, *op. cit.*, fig. 139. The tripod bowl is painted white, perhaps to signify gold.

panied by three youths, one of whom holds a branch (olive?). Such a motif at this time is not likely to signify other than success in Games; at least there is no suggestion of the famous and often illustrated dispute with Apollo here. Another vase of about 520/510 B.C. has him carrying the tripod beside Athena's chariot.⁵³ *Herakles feasting*. Athenian art offers many scenes of Herakles feasting from about 530 B.C. on into the early fifth century. He is often attended by Athena, and from about 510 B.C. he may be accompanied by Dionysos, who also occupied a special place in Athenian religion and art in the sixth century, was like him a comparative newcomer to Olympus, and like him an initiate at Eleusis. It is not a subject for non-Athenian art.⁵⁴

In *RA* 1972 the Priam Painter was found to have been particularly interested in scenes which appeared to have some 'Peisistratan' content. His senior, the Andokides/Lysippides Painter, has been mentioned several times above, and his role in establishing new and relevant Herakles iconography is worth attention. The new-style Kerberos scenes (PLATE IIa), the new throwing (PLATE IVc) or lying with the Lion, Herakles the kitharist (PLATE IVb), Herakles at feast with Athena, Herakles driving a bull to sacrifice, these are all new to Athenian art in his work, and possibly introduced by him. The Athenian Herakles engaged the sympathy of some vase painters more than others, and, in a humbler way, they abetted the political manipulation of myth by Peisistratos and his sons no less effectively than, no doubt, did their poets and ministers.⁵⁵

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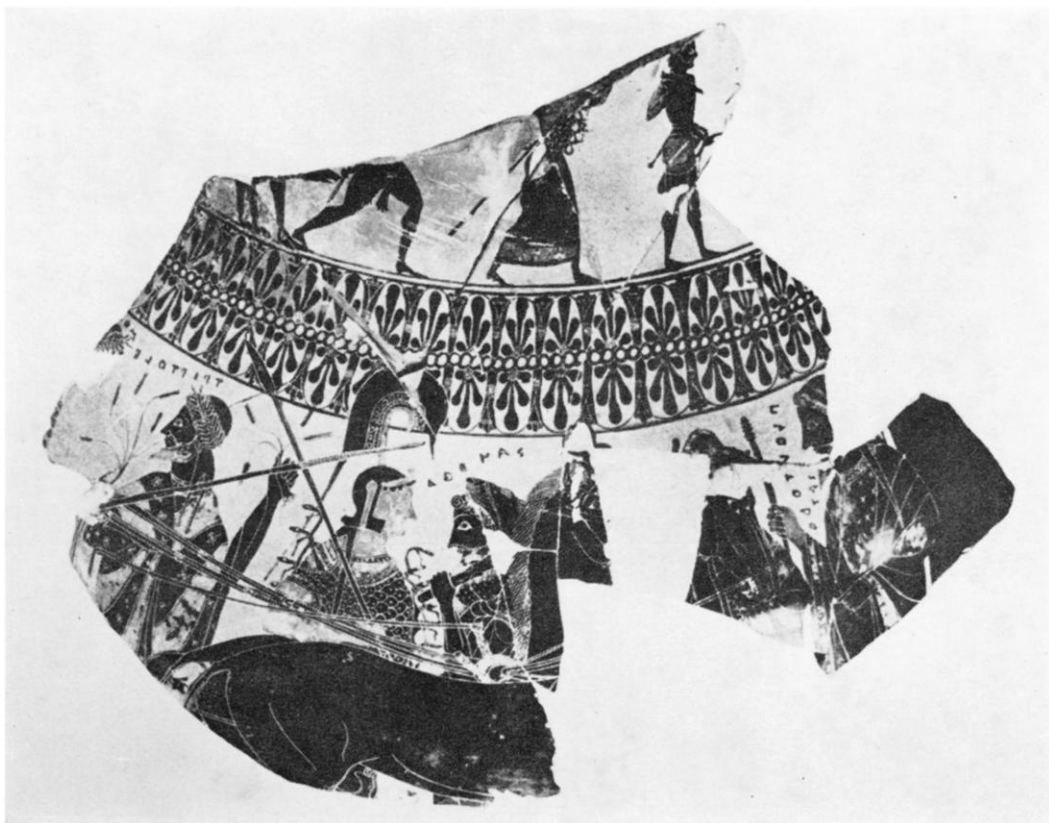
Compare *ibid.*, fig. 145.2, for a contemporary athlete victor with a tripod on a Panathenaic amphora.

⁵³ Paris F 221; *CVA* iv pl. 41.3. For a Herakles athlete on a Classical gold finger ring see Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings* (1975) no. 76.

⁵⁴ Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³ 37 records one Italiote red figure version of the feast with Dionysos (Oxford 1947.226).

⁵⁵ For photographs of vases and permission to use

them I am indebted to Dr. R. Richard (Amiens), Dr C. C. Vermeule (Boston), Dr K. Gorbunova (Leningrad), Mr D. E. L. Haynes (London), the Historical Museum (Moscow), Prof. D. Ohly (Munich), Mr Pinkney Near (Richmond, Virginia), Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale (Rome), Archivio Fotografico (Vatican); and to Hugh Lloyd-Jones and the Journal's editorial committee for comments on the penultimate draft of this article.



(a) Reggio 4001



(b) Würzburg 308



(c) Boston 01.8025



(a) Moscow Historical Museum 70



(b) Boston 28.46



(c) Vatican 372



(a) Amiens 3057.225.47a



(b) Leningrad



(c) Tarquinia inv. 679



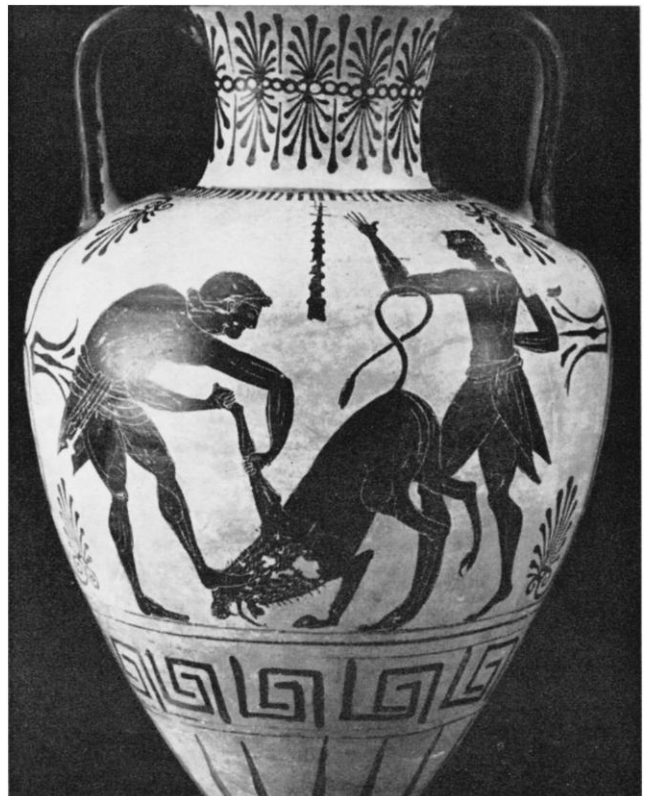
(a) Montagnola, Purrmann



(b) Munich 1575



(c) London B 193



(d) Virginia 62-1-8