

and conquered by the Neo-Assyrians in the Iron Age when it was called Sissū. It was an important coastal city where Assyrians, Phoenicians, Greeks, and native Luwians formed a unique cultural blend.⁴⁴ Yet despite Greek presence, Cilicia was where Alexander's military intelligence failed him. When the Macedonians observed an Assyrian royal monument near Tarsus, the translators may have been descendants of Greek settlers, for they misunderstood it and provided the conquerors with Hellenic stereotypical imagery of the debauched tyrant. Alexander did not receive the full cooperation of places like Soli and Issus: the inhabitants failed to tell him of the Bahçe Pass which Darius would use to cross the Amanus. The conqueror was in an alien country among hostile peoples.

The ancient account of Alexander's religious behavior before and after Issus seems deceptively familiar because of the divine names in our text: Jove, Hercules, and Minerva. But the king's actions are clarified by the information distilled through the thoughts and writings of a Latin author. Too little attention has been paid to Curtius Rufus where he described the gods whom Alexander exhorted as being *dis praesidibus loci*. The deities to whom the king appealed and to whom he dedicated altars should be recognized as Ba'al Tarz/Tarhunzas, Nergal/Resheph/Runzas, and 'Anat/Ishhara—Cilician gods whose complex syncretistic nature reflects the historical fact that the region's culture represented a blending of Anatolian, Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Greek components. Their names sound strange, but they bring us closer to the actual, unfamiliar time and place of Alexander: the year 333 BC, the northeast corner of the Mediterranean in regions called by the Persians Hilik and 'Abernaharā but better known by the Greek names Cilicia and Syria.

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⁴⁴ See Bing, 'Sissū/Issus, and Phoenicians in Cilicia' to appear in *AJAH*; and also A. Goetze, 'Cuneiform inscriptions from Tarsus' *JAOS* lix (1939) 1-16, for Cilicia's ethnic mix in the Neo-Assyrian period.

History and image: the Penelope Painter's Akropolis (Louvre G372¹ and 480/79 BC)

Why the Athenians of the classical era seem never to have set their own greatest historical moments into representational art has remained a

major problem for historians and art historians alike. In attempting an answer, perhaps more attention should be given to one of the explanations by Aischines of why it would be wrong for the Demos to honor Demosthenes with a crown (iii 183-192). In brief, Aischines says that in the great days of the democracy, the days of unforgettable victories, it was undemocratic for a great man to be exalted in art when the achievement in truth belonged to the Demos. He adds pointedly that some great men of that era adhered to this patriotic ethic themselves, while others like Miltiades had their attempts at prominence in representational arts rebuffed or sharply diminished in scale. And certainly in succeeding ages, once democracy was discredited and

omits all wash lines, some ornament, and substitutes *digamma* for initial *gamma* in 'Gigas' name.

c) O. Rossbach, 'Verschollene Sagen und Kulte auf griechischen und italischen Bildwerken', *NJbb* vii/viii (1901) 390-2. A, B, Devillard's drawings.

d) B.V. Farmakovski, *La peinture des vases attiques* (St Petersburg 1902) 449-454, cat. # 10.59, pls. VIII, IX. In Russian; A, B, evidently Devillard's plates redrawn with errors.

e) H. Bulle, 'Der Bau der Akropolismauer auf einem Vasenbilde', *Festgabe Hugo Blümner* (Zürich 1914) 96-101. A, B, Devillard's drawings.

f) E. Buschor, 'Skyphos im Louvre: Bau der Akropolis', in A. Furtwängler, K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* iii (Munich 1932) 298-301, pl. 168.2 (A,B). Buschor's text and Reichhold's plates were available in a 'Lieferung' before 1917. Reichhold adds the wash lines, some ornament, and the *digamma* in 'Gigas' that Devillard omits.

g) F. Studniczka, 'Zu den Friesplatten vom ionischen Tempel am Ilissos', *JDAI* xxxi (1917/1918) 193-195. A,B, Devillard's drawings, but citing Buschor's text of vol. iii.

h) E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* iii (Paris 1922) 239: pl. 138. A,B, photographs. Photographs omit important details painted in 'rouge mat' (both inscriptions, the cord on B); for these one must rely on Reichhold's or Devillard's drawings.

i) A. von Salis, 'Die Gigantomachie am Schilde der Athena Parthenos', *JDAI* lv (1940) 149-152. A, Reichhold's drawing.

j) F. Vian, *La guerre des Géants* (Paris 1952) 149, 276-277 (discussion). *id.*, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies* (Paris 1951) pl. 42 # 387: A,B, Reichhold's drawing much reduced.

k) K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1981) 91. A,B, photographs, brief discussion.

l) H. Meyer, *Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich 1983) 24 following Buschor; A, B, Devillard.

m) P. Demargne, 'Athena', *LIMC* ii (Zürich 1984) 962 # 50, pl.709. A, photograph, brief discussion.

n) F. Vian, M. Moore, 'Gigantes', *LIMC* iv (Zürich 1988) 234 # 387 (no fig.); *cf. id.* 289 (Lykabettos).

I cite this painter's work by museum entry number as listed in *ARV*² 1300-1302, 1689; Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 475, 518; and T. Carpenter, *Beazley addenda*² (Oxford 1989) 360. Add Matera, Museo Ridola 9967 from Pisticci, rf. skyphos of Corinthian shape: *Mon. Ant.* xlvi (1973) pls. 20.1-2, 22.2; *Atti del convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* xiii (1973) pl. 19.1 (A); *BdA* liii (1968) 2-3, opp. p.119, figs. 58-9. For related pieces by this painter, see J. Oakley, 'Attic red-figured skyphoi of Corinthian shape', *Hesp.* lvii (1988) 182-184, pls. 50-51, 53; add the (non-Corinthian-shape) skyphos showing Eros on a rock: Basel market, *Kunstwerke der Antike: Münzen und Medaillen*, A. G. Sonderliste N (Basel May, 1971) 51 # 68 (A,B), 'unter dem Einfluss der Penelopemaler' (Cahn), dating it 430-400 BC. The correct number of *ARV*² 1302.27, Para. 475 is Athens 17982 (Oakley).

¹ Previous discussion of Louvre G372 is cited as follows:

a) J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters*² (Oxford 1963) 1300.4.

b) F. Hauser, 'Der Bau der Akropolismauer', *Strena Helbigiana* (Leipzig 1900) 115-121. A,B, drawings by Jules Devillard. Hauser (115) gives the text of the earlier Campana catalogue entry (Ser. xi no.72; Louvre inv. Campana 768). Devillard

and great men became indispensable, other authors made lists of men who had been punished by the Demos after doing good deeds or simply for being conspicuous.²

Aischines speaks of public monuments however. It remains even more puzzling why in private ceramic art the Athenians seem just as reticent as in their public dedications.³ Certainly the list of 'great events', in the sense of events we recognise today as historical, is slim enough in the ceramic repertoire: a few pots showing the Tyrannicides at work,⁴ Myson's amphora in the Louvre showing ΕΥΘΥΜΟΣ lighting ΚΡΟΕΣΟΣ' funeral pyre in 546,⁵ perhaps also the oinochoe in Hamburg

inscribed ΕΥΡΥΜΕΔΟΝ ΕΙΜ[Ι].⁶ But in fact, Harmodios and Aristogeiton did not die; they still live peacefully in the Hesperides with Achilles and Diomedes, while, by 468, Kroisos was said to dwell with the Hyperboreans.⁷ Enveloped in religion, immortalized, no longer men and no longer historical, they are set beyond even the correcting pens of Herodotos and Thucydides.

Yet from commemorative celebrations for Marathon, Thermopylai, or from among private reunions, or veterans' clubs, presumably gathered to honor the battles at Eion, Oinoe, the Peiraieus, or more particularly from amid the grave goods for warriors proud of their victories or who died in action, why are there no bespoke representations of battles or other events of significance to the whole Demos?⁸ Since from c.530 BC to c. 460 BC a multitude of personal names is inscribed on ceramic ware clearly meant to commemorate

² τὸ δ' ἄχνημα φθόνον ἀμειβόμενον τὰ κατὰ ἔργα', Pind. *Pyth.* vii 15, presumably of Megakles' ostracism in 486 BC, though Prof. Willemsen's ostraka are inscribed with better reasons for that event. Alkibiades commissioned one pinax showing Olympia and Pythia crowning him (his Olympic victory was 416), and another showing himself seated in the lap of Nemea; while these pleased some, he was censured by older citizens as tyrannical and lawless: these panels were apparently private, and at least are not said to have been inscribed with his name (Plut. *Alc.* xvi 5, Athen. xii 534d, Paus. i 22.7). The democratic penchant for dining on fattened *prostatai* already is visible in Aristoph. *Eq.* 1125-40 (produced 424), but this presumably refers only to politicians and ostracism. For the canonical lists of benefactors betrayed by the Demos see Plato, *Gorg.* 515d-517a, with Dodds *ad loc.*; Philostr. *Ep.* 39 Hercher; Aristeid. xlvi p.241-243 Dind. (vol. ii) and scholia *ad loc.* (vol. iii); and generally, Plut. *de exil.* (*Mor.* 599-607).

³ Of the pottery of the period of the Persian wars, Tonio Hölscher adds that 'Charakteristische Einzelszenen, wie sie das Marathongemälde in der Stoa Poikile zeigte, fehlen auf den Vasen. Auch lassen sich nirgends einzelne Personen erkennen, weder durch Namensbeischrift noch durch ihre Stellung. Die Kämpfe werden anonym zwischen Griechen und Persern ausgefochten'. T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Würzburg 1976 = *Beiträge zur Archäologie* vi) 45. For other allusions to specific battles see A. A. Barrett and M. Vickers, 'The Oxford Brygos cup reconsidered', *JHS* xcvi (1978) 21.

⁴ To the bibliography in S. Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant-slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes* (Stockholm 1971), and in T. Hölscher (n.3) 85-88, and W.-H. Schuchhardt and C. Landwehr, 'Statuenkopien der Tyrannenmörder-Gruppe', *Jdl* ci (1986) 85-126, add E. Hudeczek, 'Theseus und die Tyrannenmörder', *JOEAI* 1 (1972-5) 134-49; Chr. Kardara, Καταλύσις τῆς τυραννίδος καὶ ἀφρηρισμὸς τῶν τυραννοκτόνων (Athens 1978); and the interpretative essay by B. Fehr, *Die Tyrannentöter, oder: kann Man der Demokratie ein Denkmal setzen?* (Frankfurt 1984). In 1949 Beazley published the inscriptions [APM]ΟΔΙΟΣ, ΠΠΠ[Α]ΡΧΟΣ and (probably from the reverse) ΠΑΝΤΙΘΕΟΣ on fragments of a skyphos in Gela, 'Death of Hipparchos', *JHS* lxxviii (1948) 26-28.

⁵ Louvre G197, *ARV*² 238.1, *Add.*² 201; Hölscher (n.3) 233 n.63 suggests that because the Rape of Antiope is shown on side B, the amphora dates to c.499, the period of the Ionian revolt and Athenian landing in Ionia; this dating generally is followed (e.g., H.A. Shapiro, *AJA* xcii [1988] 379), to which one may add the suggestion that the Athenian burning of Sardes in 499 is behind the image of Kroisos' pyre on A. Devambez once ventured a date of 476/5, on grounds that the amphora is archaising and reflects the historical occasion on which the Persian governor of Eion immolated himself, his family and servants when his town fell to Kimon (Hdt. vii.107): 'Sur l'amphore de Crésus, au Louvre', *BABesch.* xxix (1954) 16-19. For dating Eion's destruction to Spring, 476, see J. Delorme, 'Sur la date du siège d'Eion par Cimón', *Mélanges offerts à Michel Labrousse* (Toulouse 1986) 1-9.

⁶ Hamburg 1981.173, Circle of the Triptolemos Painter (Schauenburg), bibliography in G. Ferrari Pinney, 'For the heroes are at hand', *JHS* civ (1984) 181-3. One may at least mention here four other 'historical' representations on vases, all problematical: the bf. neck-amphora Munich 1517, with a charioteer named [A]ΛΚΜ[Ε]ΩΝ, 'that is, Alkmeon the son of Megakles, the first Athenian to win the chariot-race at Olympia, 592 B.C.' according to Beazley, *ABV* 401.6 and *AE* 1953/54 vol. i, 204; *ARV*² 1039.6, fr. rf. bell-kr. Erlangen 707 by the Peleus Painter, a dancing dwarf named [Η]ΠΠΟ[Κ]ΛΕΙΔΕΣ, Hölscher (n.3) 256 n.418; *ARV*² 1032.61, *Add.*² 318, rf. hydria Naples 3232 by Polygnotos, with 'Spartan' dancers and auliste ΕΛΠΙΝΙΚΗ, showing an incident (surely unlikely) in Kimon's house, according to Hölscher (n.3) 250 n.331. On connecting the invasion of Lemnos to the inscription ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ on Pases' rf. plate Oxford 310 (*ARV*² 163.8, Para. 337, *Add.*² 182) see E. Pemberton, 'An early red-figured calyx-krater from ancient Corinth', *Hesp.* lvii (1988) 232-234. I omit mythological vase depictions that cannot show an historical moment except by 'reflection', e.g. ² 1029.21, Para. 442, *Add.*² 317, a rf. bell-kr. Ferrara T.411 by Polygnotos, with the names 'Dolope', 'Peisianassa'. Presumably in this class is a pointed amphora by the Copenhagen Painter in a private collection, personifying 'Strymon' among other geographical deities (e.g., Okeanos, Nilos), perhaps referring to Kimon's victories in the region: H. Cahn, 'Okeanos, Strymon und Atlas auf einer rotfigurigen Spitzamphora', *Proceedings of the 3rd symposium on ancient Greek and related pottery, Copenhagen 1987* (Copenhagen 1988) 107-16, to be published further by Erika Simon. I omit here discussion of vases falling under the rubric 'propaganda': e.g., the Herakles-Peisistratos equation: H. A. Shapiro, *Art and cult under the tyrants in Athens* (Mainz 1989) 15, 157-163 (contra); J. Boardman, 'Herakles, Peisistratos, and the unconvinced', *JHS* cix (1989) 158-9 (pro). One also must mention Boardman's theory that the cavalcade on the Parthenon frieze depicts the heroized dead of Marathon: 'The Parthenon frieze—another view', in U. Höckmann, A. Krug, *Festschrift für Frank Brommer* (Mainz 1982) 39-49, 'The Parthenon frieze', in E. Berger, *Parthenon-Kongress* (Basel 1984) 210-15, 412-13 (notes).

⁷ The Harmodios skolion, *PMG* 894; Kroisos' Hyperboreans, Bacchylides iii 59, an epinician of 468 BC.

⁸ The Tyrannicide-oinochoe from Dexileos' private burial seems an exceptional use of an historical moment of 514 to characterize the patriotism of another 'heroic' death in 394, but if the Tyrannicides were considered apotheosized heroes rather than men the symbolism would be no different from that of grave offerings displaying other heroes like Theseus or Herakles. Rf. oinochoe *fr.*, Boston MFA 98.936; E. Vermeule, 'Five vases from the grave precinct of Dexileos', *DAJ* lxxxv (1970) 94-111.

events so private that we have no clue to their importance today,⁹ it would seem true that even privately those comprising the Demos adhered with formidable ideological purpose to the ethics they imposed upon the democracy's leaders: it was unpatriotic for individuals to exalt themselves over their equals. Nor, perhaps, was this sentiment foreign to the 'equals' comprising aristocratic leadership of an earlier age, who also feared the rise of great men. The absence of 'historical' names in a context we recognise as today as importantly historical is so complete in the ceramic repertoire that it cannot be accidental. Thus it would appear futile to search cups for battle-scenes led by a ΜΙΛΤΙΑΔΕΣ, or wedding scenes with figures named ΜΕΓΑΚΛΕΣ and ΑΓΑΡΙΣΤΕ, if their presence had been thought bad taste since archaic times by the very figures whose absence we find inexplicable.

If one accepts the thesis that Athenian democracy of the fifth century BC ideologically defined an 'historical event' as one involving the whole Demos, not individuals, then to the limited repertoire of representations of 'history' perhaps should be added the skyphos Louvre G372, attributed to the Penelope Painter and conventionally and acceptably dated c.440-430 BC. What follows here is an attempt to indicate that the skyphos shows an event which both we and Aischines would recognize as 'historical', and that this depiction therefore belongs to a very rare type of iconography—in this case the representation of an historical event of 480/79 BC symbolically applied forty years later (c.440) to a contemporary circumstance.

The skyphos entered the Louvre from the Campana collection in 1863. Hauser had found some sketches of it in the Roman branch of the DAI, and with new drawings made from the vase by Jules Devillard published it in 1900, grouped with five others which he identified as by an artist later named 'the Penelope Painter' by Beazley, after the subject of a skyphos in Chiusi. It has presented more than a few iconographic problems.

Side A, from left (PLATE V(a)): A bent male figure moving right carries a polygonal stone. His shoulder is protected by a himation and his prepuce is in athletic ligature. Above his head are inscribed the letters Π Γ Α ξ. Pottier alone notes that 'Il est probable, mais non certain, que la première lettre représente un Γ'. Before 'Gigas' is an upright staff, then Athena gesturing beyond the frame either to

the scene on side B or to where Gigas is to deposit his burden. Despite her helmet she carries no spear and wears an Ionic chiton and himation without aegis or gorgoneion. Hauser correctly emphasized the 'civic' nature of this unarmed Athena and Giant with his himation and 'sein Genital aufgebunden'.¹⁰

Side B, from left (PLATE V(b)): a bearded male in himation faces right, leaning on two staves like that on side A; above him in matt red was written Θ Λ Λ Α ξ. Before him is a leafless tree stump with three branches, at right stands another male facing left, also with two staves, without inscription but differentiated as apparently balding and holding in his right hand a red cord with three small balls at each end.

There are some points of interpretation that generally may be agreed upon.

1) The upright staff behind Athena is the same as those carried by the figures on B. As usual in this painter's other skyphoi, A and B are linked by a simple theme, however loosely; on Louvre G372 one such linkage is through these staves.

2) 'Gigas' carries a stone for building purposes.

3) The staves on A and B therefore are architects' measuring rods (Bulle, Buschor, Studniczka): all the figures wear civic dress, making spears or athletic akontia out of place (Rossbach, Bulle; 'in gut bürgerlicher ἀναβολή', Studniczka).¹¹

4) The red cord on side B is some sort of architect's line. Rossbach suggested a σταφύλη, the plummet of a carpenter's level; Bulle assumed that it is the rope used to delimit a public meeting area or sanctuary in the process termed περισχοινίσαι. But such a line also is used by architects when laying straight foundations and one may prefer to think it a στάθμη or architect's line dipped in red pigment and snapped to outline a building's foundation, the rods therefore forming four architect's κανόνες to establish the four corners of a building (not easily therefore the rounded Akropolis wall). This process is perhaps described in a fragment of Sophokles' *Oinomaos* where Hippodameia, noticing Pelops' glare toward her, compares it to a lightning-bolt from his eyes,

¹⁰ 'Wie ein Ephebe', Hauser. The Penelope Painter seems not to use 'infibulation' elsewhere, and binding the prepuce appears a practice alien also to depictions of gods and Giants in Gigantomachies. Rather than seeing in this practice a 'sign of submission' (the painter's satyr carrying the Basilinna's [?] parasol is not 'infibulated', skyphos Berlin 2589), it simply may be what men wore occasionally when doing navy work: an 'infibulated' male is shown drawing water on side B of a skyphos by the Zephyros Painter c.460-450 (hard work, whether the figures are slaves or athletes preparing their own palaistra): A. Lezzi-Hafter, in H. Bloesch, *Greek vases from the Hirschmann collection* (Zürich 1982) 80-81 # 39 (A,B); *La cité des images* (Mont-sur-Lausanne 1984) 88-89 (A,B); L. Bonfante, 'Nudity as a costume in classical art', *AJA* xciii (1989) 555, 557 fig. 4 (A); also Herakles wielding an axe on Louvre G210, *ARV*² 647.18, *Add.*² 275, and two stag-hunters on the neck of amphora Louvre G343, Niobid Painter *ARV*² 600.17, *Add.*² 266.

¹¹ Cf. the similar dividing-line, clearly a spear, on a Vatican skyphos by the Lewis Painter, thought to be the Penelope Painter's teacher, *ARV*² 974.28, 1676.

⁹ E.g., Louvre G138, a rf. cup by the Triptolemos Painter naming eighteen males (originally more) in procession with marshal and spectators: initiation of ephebes into a phratry? (*ARV*² 365.61, 1580, 1596, 1606, 1648, *Add.*² 182); or Paris Bibl. Nat. 523, rf. cup 'akin to early Onesimos' naming at least nineteen athletes, *ARV*² 316.4, 1561, 1564, 1604, 1645, *Para.* 358, *Add.*² 214, *La cité des images* (Lausanne 1984) 36 (I). It also is noteworthy that the persons shown on white-ground funerary lekythoi are anonymous, as J. Bazant notes, *Les citoyens sur les vases athéniens* (Prague 1985) 67, citing E. Pottier, *Étude sur les lécythes blancs attiques à représentations funéraires* (Paris 1883) 114-116.

ἴσον μετρῶν ὀφθαλμόν, ὥστε τέκτονος
παρὰ στάθμην ἰόντος ὀρθοῦται κανῶν¹²

5) The tree is the sacred olive on the Akropolis (Bulle, Buschor). We may add that on B the tree divides the scene like the staff on A, but the olive as a symbol is related to the purpose of both measuring rods and image of Athena on A

Hauser's analysis of the Louvre skyphos depended upon certain *a priori* assumptions, and these assumptions guided the several studies quickly following his, where methodology, perhaps inevitably for the era, became enmeshed in a study of texts rather than a recollection of images. These were unfortunately the wrong texts, and they were reshaped until they fitted the image of Louvre G372. The *a priori* assumptions were basically two, with a third suggested more recently: (1) the construction shown is the Akropolis wall; (2) the figures on A and B all are Giants; or (3) the heterodox version by F. Vian in 1952, that side A shows an aition explaining the origin of Mt Lykabettos. Let us start with Vian's solution.

The Lykabettos aition is this: When Athena gave the chest containing the infant Erichthonios to the Kekropidai on the Akropolis, she told them not to look inside. She then decided to fortify the Akropolis entrance by carrying a mountain from Achaian Pellene to Athens. A crow told her that two of the Kekropidai had peered into the chest, and angrily she cast aside her mountain, now named Lykabettos, henceforward banning crows from the Akropolis.¹³

But on Louvre G372 a Giant carries the rock, not Athena: he is less apt to cast it angrily aside. Lykabettos is not en route from Achaian Pellene to the Akropolis.¹⁴ Moreover, two aitia are involved, not one. The first explains the crow's banishment from the Akropolis, the second the origin of Lykabettos. Neither performs an aition's fundamental task of explaining the etymology of 'Lykabettos'. These two aitia are grafted onto the genuinely old tale of Erichthonios and the daughters of Kekrops; but side B of the skyphos does not show Erichthonios, Kekropids or

¹² '... measuring his gaze level, as when the staff of the architect moving along his line is set erect ...' *fr.* 474 Kannicht: *TGrF* iv (Göttingen 1977) 384. Other translations are possible, but cannot ignore the specialized meaning of ἴσον as 'level': (e.g.) 'measuring a glance to equal my own, as a carpenter's rule is kept straight while he moves along the line', Ellis (quoted by Kannicht); see further A. Orlandos, J. Travlos, *Λεξικόν ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν ὀρῶν* (Athens 1986) s.v. 'στάθμη', 'κανῶν', 'τέκτων'. On the line carried, *cf.* *CVA* France 15 Petit Palais # 318, pl. 18.7 (*ARV*² 1068.20, Barclay Painter): a woman ties her himation using a red cord with three balls at each end, clearly holding its threads from unravelling.

¹³ Jacoby, *FGrH* 330 Amelesagoras F 1, Comm. 601.

¹⁴ Jacoby *FGrH* 330 F 1, Comm. 602. Kallimachos (*fr.* 260. 17 Pf.) is the source of the 'Achaian' reference, presumably from 'Amelesagoras'; Jacoby allows that Attic Pallene may be meant, which opens the door to the 'Pallantidai'. Sophokles (*fr.* 24 Kannicht [n. 12]) seems alone in calling the sons of Attic Pallas Giants, but the tale of these fifty Pallantidai, killed by Theseus, depends upon their never reaching Athens or the Akropolis, and carries specific geographic aitia for other parts of Attika; *cf.* Jacoby on 328 Philochoros F 108 Comm. n. 11.

attendant myths. In fact the 'Lykabettos' solution leaves side B unexplained and unconnected to A, whereas even in his lesser pieces this painter regularly joins A thematically to B.

Lastly, the known source of this aition is disreputable, a forger of c.300 BC claiming to be an Archaic-age Eleusinian mantic 'Amelesagoras', hitherto unknown and of extravagant name, inspired by Nymphs. Since it is the business of mantics to reveal things unknown before, one deduces that the 'Lykabettos' tale was unknown to readers before c.300 BC, when 'Amelesagoras' wrote. Thus the aition certainly was unknown to the Penelope Painter over a century earlier. The 'Lykabettos' solution therefore resolves the meaning of Louvre G372's side A unsatisfactorily.

Let us now turn to Hauser's proposals, adopted in various forms by others. To eliminate any notion that the skyphos shows the building of the Akropolis wall, one need only recollect two facts. First, there is no extant Greek text stating that Giants built walls anywhere. Such walls are said to be the work of Kyklopes, presumably because prehistoric walls were built in a circle, κύκλω, but also because the Giants were thought to be uncivilized, the Kyklopes craftsmen. Nevertheless, no extant literary tradition says that either Giants or Kyklopes built anything on the Akropolis. Secondly, Hekataios c.500 BC and Herodotos c.425 give a single account, the only known account, of who built the prehistoric Akropolis wall: the Pelasgians.

Herodotos (vi 137) cites τὰ λεγόμενα ὅτι Ἑκαταίος μὲν ὁ Ἠγησάνδρου ἔφησε ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, that the Athenians hired the Pelasgoi to build the Akropolis wall and paid them with land below the Akropolis, which the Pelasgoi thereafter so improved that the Athenians evicted them and took it back. The Pelasgoi were driven out through Athenian jealousy and covetousness and for οὐδεμιᾶν ἄλλην πρόφασιν, said Hekataios.¹⁵ Herodotos mistrusted Ionian explanations, and—always ready to question Hekataios' accuracy—says that he inquired after other versions from contemporary Athenians. He heard none. Or rather, he merely heard that they were expelled for violence, a gloss intended to excuse and palliate Miltiades' expulsion of Pelasgians from Lemnos c.499 (Hdt. vi 138–40) and at odds with the 'civilized' Pelasgian version. Hekataios' account antedates 500 BC, he had traveled widely and may have heard his Pelasgian story in Athens.¹⁶

Nor in succeeding centuries, from poets, Attidographers and scholiasts who speak of the Akropolis wall—Kleidemos, Philochoros, Kallimachos, Myrsilos, down to Photios¹⁷—in none of these is there a reference to Giants building anything on the Akropolis. Attic tradition gave the construction of the prehistoric wall to the Pelasgoi

¹⁵ Jacoby, *FGrH* 1 Hekataios F 127.

¹⁶ So Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 Philochoros F 99–100; *cf.* 323 Kleidemos F 16, Comm. 73.

¹⁷ *FGrH* 323 F 16; 328 F 99–101; 477 F 7.

alone.¹⁸ Presumably it was while Herodotos was inquiring after alternative stories to explain the Pelasgian origin of the Akropolis wall, and finding none, that the Penelope Painter took up and painted his skyphos, inscribing the word 'Gigas'. Therefore, whatever Gigas is building on the Akropolis, it cannot be the Akropolis wall.

Beginning with Hauser the strength of the 'Pelasgian' tradition has been disregarded or distorted by creating new 'traditions' for which no testimony exists, all to explain 'Gigas' presence. One such non-tradition was invented by insisting against all literary testimony that the Pelasgoi were Giants. To create another non-tradition it was asserted that, in the name 'Philyas' written on side B, letters were (a) transposed, (b) missing and (c) mistakes. 'Philyas' thereby was transformed into 'Phigalos', eponymous hero of the Phigaleians, and the Phigaleians *mutatis mutandis* were declared to be Giants, another non-tradition (Hauser, Rossbach, Farmakovski, Pottier).

Again, Pausanias (i 28.3) speaks of a prehistoric Tyrrenian architect named 'Agrolas' ('Farmer') who once worked in Athens. One must therefore (1) declare the Tyrrenians to be Giants, (2) 'correct' the architect's name to 'Argolas' ('Speedy' suits a Giant as it does dogs, 'Farmer' does not¹⁹), and (3) using a convenient lacuna in Pausanias' text, one must slip 'Argolas' into both text and the modern non-tradition of Giants who build Akropolis walls (Studniczka). The superfluity of answers necessary to prove the point and the violence done to the text do not overcome the fact that no source anywhere states that Giants constructed anything on the Akropolis.²⁰ Except, now, Louvre G372, which labels a figure 'Gigas'—not 'Pelasgos', 'Tyrsenos', or other such variations.

It long has been clear—the names of Rossbach himself, Carl Robert, Charles Dugas come to mind²¹—that vases do display myths derived from lost literature or myths never treated by literature, that therefore there are versions of myths which we never will know. For such myths our only 'text' will be these ceramic images, whose inscriptions, never collected and published

in any organized way, promise to populate new and startling mythological landscapes. Yet it is just as wrong to assert—the litany may begin with the writings of Pierre Hugues²² and the consumptive Italinsky for Sir William Hamilton—that an image represents a lost myth or literary treatment when in fact it does not. On Louvre G372, the presence of Gigas remains unexplained. Perhaps Buschor and others are right to suggest that he is in 'Frohndienst', servitude to Athena for misbehavior in the Gigantomachy.

But the Akropolis generally celebrated Athena's victory over the Giants. The design on her Panathenaic peplos, the pre-Persian pediments celebrated it, the main, Eastern metopes of the Parthenon displayed it below the pedimental scene of her birth, with the Eponymous Heroes, the gods, and the peplos-scene of the frieze behind them.²³ The Panathenaia were founded by Erichthonios to celebrate Athena's victory over the Giant Asterios or Enkelados, she invented the Panathenaic pyrrhic dance to celebrate this victory,²⁴ yet the Gigantomachy did not take place on the Akropolis nor near it. In short, the Penelope Painter needed to invent or remember no specific myth of a 'Gigas' who carries stones to the Akropolis. It was difficult not to think of Giants when thinking of Athena's Akropolis cults.

Since 'Gigas' is not a human or Giant name, we deal here with a figure generically simply 'a Giant'.²⁵ For the painter has created his image on the direct model of Gigantomachies depicting Athena moving right with a Poseidon about to hurl his rock (or island), and having rejigged the iconographical cliché, now needs to label his Giant to distinguish him from

²² See F. Haskell, 'The Baron d'Hancarville', in *Oxford, China and Italy, writings in honor of Sir Harold Acton on his eightieth birthday* (Florence 1984) 177-91.

²³ For a description of scene-placement of east-frieze sculpture, see R. Tölle-Kastenbein, 'Parthenon-Ostfries: Komposition-Entwurf-Planung', *Parthenon-Kongress Basel* (Basel 1984) 249; on the peplos, see T. Schäfer, 'Diphroi und Peplos auf dem Ostfries des Parthenon', *MDAI cii* (1987) 185-212. See also G. Ferrari Pinney, 'Pallas and Panathenaea', *Proceedings of the third symposium on ancient Greek and related pottery* (Copenhagen 1988) 465-77.

²⁴ Athena's pyrrhic was imitated by later Athenians in her honor (other inventors are named in non-Attic traditions): Aristoph., *Nub.* 989 & schol.; Plato, *Leg.* 796B where the subject is mimesis. Asterios: Aristotle or Theophrastos in the curious miscellany *æPeplos'* fr. 637 Rose. Her normal opponent is 'Enkelados' from c.550 BC at least: cup, Copenhagen 13966: Beazley, *Para.* 48, *Add.* 33, T. Carpenter, *Dionysian imagery in archaic Greek art* (Oxford 1986) 61. But earlier she had opponent Giants of other names, like the three named on the dinos Malibu 81.AE.211 (second quarter of the 6th c.), M. B. Moore, 'Giants at the Getty', *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum ii* (Malibu 1985 = Occasional papers on antiquities iii) 21-40.

²⁵ The single exception: Gigas, son of Hermes and Hiercia and father of Ischenos, named in Tzetzes' schol. to Lyc., *Alex.* 42; not an Athenian in any case, and Tzetzes often relied on memory when without his books.

¹⁸ Allowing that the Pelasgoi were equated with the Tyrrenians specifically in the Akropolis wall tradition, as by Kallimachos: *Τυρσηνῶν τείχισμα Πελασγικὸν εἶχέ με γαῖα* (Kallim. fr. 97 Pf.). The willingness of Athenians to equate the two is much discussed, e.g. Jacoby at *FGrH* 328 Philochoros F 99-100, Comm. 410, but Tyrsenoi were not confused with Giants.

¹⁹ As if from ἀργός; 'Argolas' is attested, meaning merely 'from the city of Ἄργος', P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1983 [1968]) s.v. 'ἀργός'.

²⁰ Cf. Beazley's description of Louvre G372 at *ARV²* 1300.4, 'Building of the wall of the Akropolis: A, Athena, and a Giant (GIGAS) as λιθαγωγός; B, the ἐπισκοπός Philyas (ΦΙΛΥΑΣ) and the architect', a bolder description than those drafted earlier in *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen 1925) and *ARV¹* (Oxford 1942).

²¹ See also K. Scheffold, 'Texte et image à l'époque archaïque grecque', *Texte et image: actes du colloque international de Chantilly* (Paris 1984) 41-52.

Poseidon.²⁶ Here 'Gigas' stance is not derived from a current mime or dance but simply means to show someone transporting a heavy weight uphill, and he is less guilty of a Giant's 'wild gaze' than of a simple glance downward to watch his feet. This downward gaze is repeated by the men on side B, who stare deliberately down at the cord extended by the right-hand figure. Their 'wild gaze' does not therefore make Giants of them also (as Buschor *et al.* suggest). Like the 'wild hair' of all figures including Athena, their glare is a stylistic trait of the Penelope painter who occasionally likes to individualize features, and who several times produces this wild-eyed, wild-haired male.²⁷ Ultimately the beauty of the Athena on side A—'from the era of the Lemnia', says Hauser—and the puzzle of 'Gigas' have drawn attention from side B with its apparent variation of mere mantle figures. Yet it is to B that one must look for the key explaining the whole.

If explanations of side B have proven disappointing, it is because of the trouble taken over the inscription at the expense of its other puzzles. Bulle wished to read Φιλύ[ρ]ας, 'Lindemann', but at his request Pottier made a 'facsimile sommaire' for him, creditably reproduced in his study, showing clearly that despite apparent room for missing letters, the original inscription remains intact (PLATE V(c)). Pottier added that 'la couleur des lettres est effacée, mais la trace est très nette'. Pottier sometimes was careless in publishing inscriptions, but this is the same inscription that Reichhold saw and reproduced later. Bulle therefore settled on 'Phigyas', 'einen neuen Gigantennamen', but Buschor sensibly concluded that 'der Name kann nur Φιλύας gelesen werden . . . Unser Gigant den freundlichen Namen "Philyas" trägt'. Unfortunately because of the intrusive *upsilon*, the reading is correct but the name follows no known rule of Greek name-construction. There seem two solutions: 1) assuming that the name is an abbreviation of something originally longer, now

irrecoverable, or 2) that the artist did make a mistake, here in writing *upsilon*.

No historical name *Φιλύας seems attested.²⁸ Presumably it is to be derived from φιλέω, but the suffix -ας excludes the very few Greek names possible. It cannot belong to the small class of personal names constructed from the normal diminutive -υλλιο-, like (e.g.) Attic Φίλυλλα daughter of Φιλία and Φιλοκλήης (4th c., *IG* ii² 4025), or Φιλύλλιος and others of similar name inside and outside Attika. It cannot belong to the smaller class of names like Φιλύτης (e.g. 4th c., *IG* ii² 12598), built with the suffix -υτης (as in nom. πρεσβύτης), or the equally small class like Φίλυς (5th c. Euboian, *IG* xii 9 no. 56, 412), built like (e.g.) Βεΐδους, Ξένους²⁹ which show simple assimilation of *eta* to *upsilon*, as with the Eleian individual whose name Pausanias' mss. spell Φίλυς on one page and Φίλλης on another (vi 14.11, vi 9.4). This name (Φίλυς) and its cognates probably themselves already are contractions ('hypocoristic', 'Kurzoder Kosenamen') of compound names. Through such double abbreviation the original compounds become virtually irrecoverable if one does not already know the original form, as in (e.g.) Ἀνακοδώρα, probable source of the nickname Ἀνακώ, the last hypothetically the source of the secondary abbreviations Νακώ and Νακίον, all meaning a single girl given by the Anakes Kastor and Polydeukes to her parents.³⁰ Contractions of compound personal names were common and easily might replace the originals even in formal documents. If 'Philyas' were of this doubly abbreviated class its original compound form must remain unsure—Φιλοκλήης is as likely as Φιλήμων or another. Correcting ΦΙΛΥΑΣ to ΠΟΛΙΑΣ or ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ (the latter dropping *epsilon*, omitting the lower bar from *delta*, and substituting *upsilon* for a short *iota*) will persuade few.

There is a simpler explanation for the spelling 'Philyas', but one relying on an orthographic error. The artist either in reciting the letters to himself or hearing them recited simply heard *upsilon* instead of *epsilon*: for Φιλέας is a common name in Attika.³¹ Not ambitious in attempting inscriptions, normally he is a good speller with but two other

²⁶ Cf. especially two amphoras by the Swing Painter: Copenhagen 3672 (imitation Panath.), *ABV* 307.58, *Add.*² 82, and Taranto inv. 20.272, *ABV* 306.36, *Add.*² 81, E. Böhr, *Die Schaukelmaler* (Mainz 1982) pls. 5, 7; also the bf. amphora Würzburg 180, Vian, *Rép.* (n.1) pl. 33 # 316; rf. kalyx-krater, unattrib., Florence 4226, M. G. Marzi in *Studi di antichità* in onore di Guglielmo Maetke iii (Rome 1984) 641, pl.1; rf. hydria (kalpis), Bastis coll., Syleus P. *ARV*² 43, *Para.* 350, D. Buitron-Oliver in *Antiquities from the collection of Christos G. Bastis* (New York 1987) 280-1; rf. cup, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 573, *ARV*² 417.1, *Add.*² 234; rf. cup Berlin 2293, *ARV*² 429.21, *Add.*² 236; rf. column-krater Vienna 688, *ARV* 2 255.2, *Add.*² 203.

²⁷ Side B therefore does not illustrate Phlegeians or Giants in 'Frohdienst' staring in wonder at the first plumbline, Athena about to teach them 'die Werke des Friedens': Rossbach (n.1) 392, Buschor (n.1) 300. Compare the 'wild gaze' and hair of the dancer looking down at his feet on the skyphos London E149; of the male at the boy on Athens 17498; of Electra's servant at Agamemnon's tomb on Copenhagen inv. 597; of the balding man on the fragment in Adria B559. On Chiusi 1831 (A) beardless Telemachos waits with Penelope, (B) Odysseus returns as a disheveled beggar and Telemachos is bearded as Homer requires; on Berlin 2588 Odysseus, now neatly tonsured, exterminates similar suitors.

²⁸ The form is unknown to E. Landfester, *Das griechische Nomen φίλος* und seine Ableitungen (Meisenheim 1966) and Pierre Chantraine (n.19), s.v. 'φίλος'.

²⁹ F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle 1917) 52.

³⁰ F. Bechtel, *Die attischen Frauennamen* (Göttingen 1902) 4 n.3.

³¹ J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin 1902) nos.14229-14248; J. Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (Helsingfors 1910) 162-163. One may note that the solution 'Phileas' above relies on an auditory mistaking of the word *upsilon* for *epsilon*. Otherwise it may be noted that erroneous substitution of Y for E is very rare, if extant at all: S.-T. Teodorsson, *The phonemic system of the Attic dialect 400-340 BC* (Lund 1974) 107 finds only a single instance in writings of all types from earliest times to the third century inclusive, ΥΠΕΡΓΥΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ (*IG* ii² 1652.14, 333/2 BC); but L. Threatte notes that if this is not a conflation of ἐπαργ- and ὑπαργ-, it may be the modern copyist's mistake (Fourmont): L. Threatte, *The grammar of Attic inscriptions* i (Berlin 1980) 163.

clear orthographic errors. The first also involves *upsilon* (for *iota*): on side B of Chiusi 1831 we read ΟΛΙΣΣΕΥΣ, but ΩΛΥΣΣΕΥΣ on side A of Berlin 2588.³² His second error is ΦΙΓΑΣ on Louvre G372, because no linguistic or orthographic explanation except error allows substitution of *digamma* for *gamma*.³³ But it merely seems that he wrote *gamma* twice, one to enlarge the other. One might assume, then, that Φιλύας is simply a mistake for Φιλέας. But of the many Attic men named Phileas none seems to be associated with the Akropolis or building activity c.480–430 BC. In short, whether one prefers to believe that 'Φιλύας' is 1) the contraction of a nickname, or 2) simply a mistaken *upsilon* for *epsilon*, it seems of little help in determining the meaning of the event depicted on side B; but neither can it be used to link side A to Phigaleians, Tyrrhenians, or Giants.

The meaning of sides A and B resides neither in the figures nor inscriptions but in the strange and neglected image of the tree. Bulle accuses Hauser of ignoring it and observes that any tree associated with the Akropolis can be none other than Athena's sacred olive. While Attic pottery is not given to depicting trees lush in growth (and sometimes if painted in white, leaves have all but vanished), normally trees are shown with leaves, or at least twigs.³⁴ The fact that this tree has neither has made for some curious explanations. 'Dass es keine Blätter hat, ist Sache des Stils' (Bulle). 'Dieser Baum, so sorgfältig seine Rinde ausgemalt ist, hat keine Blätter'; its image 'nur um eine abgekürzte Darstellung des im vollen Saft stehende Baumes handelt' (Buschor). The sole analogy of a leafless

tree which Buschor offers unfortunately is a stone relief upon which the leaves will have been painted, and it is illogical to say that a tree without leaves represents a tree in full leaf.³⁵

At some point, presumably in the era of the orators, the tree had become bent, hugging the ground: Hesych., s.v. Πάγκυφος: ἐλαίας εἶδος τι κατακεκυφὸς καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει. Ἄσπῃ ἐλαία: ἢ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει, ἢ καλουμένη πάγκυφος διὰ χθαμαλότητά. While vase painters need not be expected to give a true depiction of Athena's tree, surviving images regularly display her olive as sparsely leaved, upright, slightly over human height.³⁶ Perhaps the tree in its younger,

³⁵ On general representation of trees in Greek art, B. Sismondo Ridgway, *Fifth century styles in Greek sculpture* (Princeton 1981) 134 n.14. As for dead trees: Erysichthon's poplar is sometimes dead, presumably because he has just killed it: LIMC 'Erysichthon I'.1, bell-krater, Stockholm Nat. Mus. 6 (c.450/40); 'Erysichthon I'.3, bell-krater, Matera Mus. Nat. 9975; generally, H. A. Shapiro, 'The iconography of Erysichthon. Kallimachos and his sources', *Akten des XIII. int. Kongr. für klass. Arch.*, Berlin 1988 (Berlin 1990) 529–30, pl. 83. Nor would a dead tree be misplaced in an Anodos of Kore: Trendall, LCS 14.1. Pompeii's Alexander mosaic shows a leafless tree amid the battle (id. n.14); add the leafless tree in the hunting scene over 'Philip's Tomb' at Vergina: see (e.g.) M. A. Elvira, 'Anotaciones sobre la cacería pintada en la tumba de Filipo', *AEA* lviii (1985) 19–40, figs. 1–2.

³⁶ Some representations of the tree in the Pandroseion (dates are approximate, references are to Uta Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen* [Berlin 1976 = *DAIA Mitt. Beih.* v]):

³² Threatte notes that after 480 confusion of *upsilon* with *iota* seems confined to cases of assimilation or metathesis, and in inscriptions shows a low standard of orthography, Threatte (n. 31) 261; on this painter's *iota* for *upsilon*, ib. 484, *omega* for *omicron* 47. The painter may be relieved of a charge of 'low standards' by noting that 'Odysseus' is in any case a name showing extraordinary orthographic variation.

³³ Digamma was kept in the Attic alphabet 'well into the second half of the fifth century', but Attic dialect did not have the sound: H. R. Immerwahr, *Attic script, a survey* (Oxford 1990) 140–1. For further orthographic troubles see also Copenhagen inv. 597, *ARV*² 1301.5 (side A), *Para.* 475, *Add.*² 360: on the tombstone the name 'Agamemnon' is begun in broad letters, then crammed into and under the space remaining (imitating boustrophedon?). One of several inscriptions on the skyphos in Matera (n.1) seems a jumble (unpublished except in photographs): side A, in white, ALE[...].A. Berlin 2589, *ARV*² 1301.7, *Para.* 475, *Add.*² 360, has two inscriptions illegible out of four, but they perhaps were not so originally. The most frequent inscription is the usual 'καλός'. On a skyphos-fragment in Gela (*ARV*² 1689.22 *bis*) the inscription reported (*NSc.* 1960, 237 left) as ΟΜΙΗΡΟΣ is a graffito not certainly by the Penelope Painter.

³⁴ A particular exception is the tree of the Athens/Samos decree of 405, the present copy erected 403/2, showing Hera and Athena clasping hands with, to far right, probably Athena's tree but with 'pollarded' limbs perhaps symbolizing the state of her Empire in 402. The horticultural practice of pollarding prunes older, unproductive branches severely to force from their stumps young, vigorous growth and better yield, old trees being thus renewed. The stele: J. Boardman, *Greek sculpture, the classical period* (London 1985) fig.177.

550 'Olive Tree Pediment', Akrop. sculpt. 52: J. Boardman, *Greek sculpture, the archaic period* (London 1978) fig. 198; 520–510 rf amphora, unattributed, LIMC Athena #617, *M&M* 1980 #84: (?); 500 Akr. 433, wg./rf. cup fr., Kron 254, pl.8.3 (see n.40); 480 Louvre G233, rf. pelike Syleus P. *ARV*² 251.26 (see n.50); 480 Frankfurt STV7, rf. cup, *ARV*² 386, 1689, *Add.*² 229, Manner Brygos P., Kron 252, pl.6; 470 Copenhagen 7603, bf. Ionian (?) kantharos, Kron 251, pl.3.6; 460 Agora P8959, rf. pelike fr., *ARV*² 486.34, 1655, *Para.* 379.34 Hermonax, Kron 257; 450 Akrop. 396, rf. cup fr., Penthesilea P. (?), Kron 254, pl. 8.1; 440–430 Louvre G372, rf. skyphos *ARV*² 1300.4, Penelope P. (n.1).

438 Athens, W. Pediment of the Parthenon, contest Athena/Poseidon; 430 Harvard 60.345, rf. bell-kr., *ARV*² 1115.30, *Add.* 2 331 Hephaistos P., Kron 261, pl.12; 420/10 Cleveland CMA 82.142, rf. sq. lek, Meidias P., *BCMA* lxx (1983) figs. 8, 13–15; L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford 1987) pls. 11, 12; all Moriai? 410 Athens, pyxis, Meidias P. or Manner, *BCH* cix (1985) 762 fig.9; *AR* 1985, 9; *AD* 31 (1976) B', 30, pl.35; L. Burn, *Meidias P.* 100, M 30; 410 Palermo, rf. calyx-kr. *ARV*² 1339.3, *Add.*² 367 near Talos P., Kron 250, pl.4.1; 409/8 Louvre Ma 831, Treasurer relief, Kron 209, pl.29; 403/2 Acropolis 1333, Athens/Samos decree (n.34).

400 Akrop. 594 pyxis-cover fr., *ARV*² 1341.1 Mikion P., Kron 261; 400 Adolfscek 77, calyx-kr., *ARV*² 1346.1, *Add.*² 368, Kekrops P., Kron 250, pl.5.1; 380 Malibu 77.AE.93, Apulian calyx-kr., Black Fury Group., M. Mayo, ed., *Art of South Italy* (Richmond, Va. 1982) 88; 355 Madrid 11095, Campanian bell-kr., LIMC iii Dionysos no. 494; 350 St Petersburg KAB 6a, hydria (Kerch), Schefold, *Göttersage* (n.1) fig.153; A.D.150 Ostia 148, Berlin (Perg. Mus.) SK 912, architectural frieze, Schefold, *Göttersage* (n.1) figs. 56, 159–60; Roman imp., Paris, Cab. Med. sardonix cameo, contest Athena/Poseidon, G.M. Richter, *Engraved gems of the Greeks and Romans* ii (New York/London 1971) no. 65 from which scene it becomes the tree of Eden: A. Guiliano, '... principes gentium sunt creati', *Prospettiva* liii/lvi (1988/1989) 80–82.

prehistoric growth is meant.³⁷ Further, Athena's olive grew in the Pandroseion, an appropriate place since the names of all the daughters of Kekrops—Pandrosos, Herse, Aglauros—have to do with dew or moisture.³⁸ Dew is vital to maturing a good olive-crop, and no doubt Athena's tree in the Pandroseion 'in its triple dimension of cultivated tree, of religious power, and of political symbol', as Detienne says, stood as signal for the prosperity of the olive crop throughout Attica.³⁹ The tree and sanctuary of Pandrosos therefore existed together as one cult, not two or more accidentally bound together like other miscellanea set into the Erechtheion.

The 'historical moment' shown on Louvre G372 seems therefore to be that described by Herodotos (viii 55), when in 480/79 BC Xerxes burned the buildings on the Akropolis.

Now it befell this olive tree to have been destroyed with the rest of the temple by the barbarians; but on the second day after the destruction those Athenians ordered by the King to sacrifice then mounted into the precinct, and saw that a sprout out of the bole as far as one *péchy*s had sprung up. These men, then, now declared this.

Herodotos is speaking of the Peisistratidai who had returned in Xerxes' train (viii 52), and it was the 'Peisistratid' temple of Athena Polias that the Persians had burned. In ceramic art such sprouts, the sacred Moriai, are shown springing from the ground about Athena's olive on a kalyx-krater in Palermo showing Erichthonios' birth, on the Kekrops Painter's name-krater in Adolphseck, and from its trunk on a fragmentary white-ground kylix from the Akropolis attributed to the Brygos Painter; while the Meidias Painter's lekythos in Cleveland seems to show nothing but sprouts.⁴⁰

Since the Penelope Painter's tree is shown without leaves and as a mere trunk, there is a purpose intended: the artist means to show the damaged and leafless tree of 479, and the moment the architects set to work in 479 to rebuild the Pandroseion. He does not need to show the new olive-shoot described by Herodotos, because he refers instead to a renewal of the structures that protect the tree. Sophokles at *O.C.* 694-706 makes clearer some of this symbolism of 480, for during the invasions of the Archidamian War the Spartans

had spared these Moriai, scions of the Akropolis olive transplanted throughout Attika.⁴¹ Sophokles refers obliquely to both the Persian and Peloponnesian attacks, repelled by the olive (ἔγγχεων φόβηται δαΐων, 699); the Athenian tree is indestructible, he says, because it stands within the circle of the protection provided by Zeus Morios and Athena.⁴²

Yet the skyphos was not made in 480. Its interest as an 'historical document' therefore lies in the fact that it commemorates an historical event of 480/479 BC, but also that historical purposes later in the century called both the tree and moment to mind. These actual circumstances c.440-430 remain a matter of speculation and Buschor naturally may be right in thinking that the skyphos is inspired by no specific event but very generally by the intense building activity on the Akropolis before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, but even should side A refer to the whole Akropolis, the Athena there points to side B which shows the specific site and tree of the Pandroseion. It therefore is logical to assume that the skyphos commemorates the moment when some sort of construction was made for the Pandroseion.

The history of the tree and the Pandroseion perimeter wall after 480, like much else on the Akropolis at the time, seems the result of shifting plans. Before the attack in 480/479 the Athenians had demolished a part of the Akropolis wall to display their new temple under construction and to make building more convenient, but quickly erected fortifications forced the Persians to climb the north-east corner near the Aglaurion,⁴³ and what they did not destroy in the burning of their first attack (*Hdt.* viii 53) they razed in their second under Mardonios (ix 13). In 479 a temporary enclosure was built about the ruins of Athena Polias' temple, of which the Pandroseion and its tree formed part. The western part of the old cella seems to have been preserved and used as a treasury. At some point after the Persian attack, perhaps in the second or third quarter of the fifth century, work was done in marble and poros on the wall and pavement of the Pandroseion, particu-

³⁷ For an attempt to estimate the tree's true size from architectural remains see J.A. Bundgaard, *Parthenon and the Mycenaean city on the heights* (Copenhagen 1976) 85-102.

³⁸ On the position of the tree, *FGrH* 328 Philochoros (= *D.H. Din.* 3); Apollod. iii 178. In inscriptions always 'Aglauros', in literature 'Agrauros': *LIMC* i 'Aglauros' p. 283 (1981, U. Kron).

³⁹ M. Detienne, 'L'olivier: un mythe politico-religieux', *RHR* clxxviii (1970) 5.

⁴⁰ Palermo, near the Talos P. (n.36); Adolphseck 77, Kekrops P. (n.36); Acr. 433, attributed to the Brygos P. by D. Williams, 'An oinochoe in the British Museum and the Brygos Painter's work on a white ground', *JBerlMus.* xxiv (1982) 32 fig.14; cf. *ARV* 216.10, 'Manner of the Panaitios Painter'; Meidias Painter's lekythos, J. Neils, 'A Greek nativity by the Meidias Painter', *BCMA LXX* (1981) 274-302 (n.36).

⁴¹ The Moriai were originally suckers from the Akropolis tree (*Suda*, s.v. Μορίαί) and were protected by a commission appointed by the Areopagus (*Lys.* vii 25). See further, B. Jordan, J. Perlin, 'On the protection of sacred groves', *Studies presented to Sterling Dow* (Durham, N.C. 1984) 153-159; Jacoby on Istros, *FGrH* 334 F 30; Plato, *Menex.* 238a implies that the Akropolis tree was the Ur-olive, parent to all others, not the usual story.

⁴² Schol., *Soph. O.C.* 702: 'τὸ μὲν τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας'. φυτὸν is not in Sophokles' text but may refer to 'sucker', 'sprout' as well as 'tree'.

⁴³ See A. Papanikolaou, 'Νεότερες παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὸ ἀμυντικὸ σύστημα τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως κατὰ τὴ περίοδο τῶν ἑλληνοπερσικῶν πολέμων', *AD* xxxiv (1979 [1986]) 217-227, pl. 84-9: fortifications of the 480's were built along the north wall, across from the NW corner of the old temple of Athena's sekos with its tree (the remains of these fortification walls previously were thought to be either Pelasgian, or medieval or later). Also see G. Dontas, 'The true Aglaurion', *Hesp.* lii (1983) 48-63, pl. 13-15.

larly at its entrance.⁴⁴ As for the extant 'Erechtheum': according to J. M. Patton, 'in the light of our present knowledge the year in which the Erechtheum was begun cannot be definitely determined'; W. Dörpfeld assumed that construction started before the beginning of war in 430, but J. Michaelis' suggestion that it began after the Peace of Nicias in 421 is now conventionally accepted.⁴⁵ The south Akropolis wall incorporating in its lower level architectural pieces of the Athena Polias temple was constructed, presumably through Kimon's initiative, with the Demos' funds from the battle of Eurymedon c.468-466.⁴⁶ The north wall between the Propylaia and old Athena Polias area either belongs to Themistokles' reconstruction or may be contemporary with the south wall: into it went cornices, metopes, triglyphs, and column drums of the old Athena Polias temple.⁴⁷ *IG ii*² 44 (*SEG* x 32) of c.447/6 orders Mnesikles to build a protective wall on the Akropolis within sixty days. It is uncertain which wall is meant—perhaps finishing work on the north wall. Construction on the Parthenon also began in 447/6, and by 438/7 Pheidias' cult-statue of Athena had been erected.⁴⁸ Yet despite such sporadic and sometimes intense building activity on the Akropolis to which the Athena and her Giant on side A might attend, ultimately there seems little else but the Pandroseion to which the architects and tree on side B might refer.⁴⁹

Let us summarize. Louvre G372 by the Penelope Painter belongs among a very limited number of

depictions of historical events in ceramic art. Side B means to show Athena's sacred olive tree in 479 BC, shortly after the Persians had burned the temple of Athena Polias and Pandroseion, and since the two figures carry architects' tools they probably depict the architects involved in the temporary reconstruction of the Pandroseion immediately after the fire.⁵⁰ The figures are less likely to represent the architects responsible for the later classical plan, for this assumes that the plans for the 'Erechtheion' were drawn up c.440-430 BC and delayed until 421 by war, and that the defoliated and scorched stump of 479 would be shown anachronistically in the environs of 440. The fact that the center of side B displays the olive of the Pandroseion, with architects beside it, allows us to exclude the possibility that any other building but the Pandroseion is the object of attention for both A and B, like the temple of Athena Nike or Propylaia. If the temple of Athena Polias were meant, one would expect the artist to depict the image of her ancient olive-wood statue, or make some reference more direct than the olive tree itself. The name of one of these architects, at either date, should be something like 'Phileas', or 'Philokles' or something similar since the painter's spelling of the name as 'Philyas' is unattested elsewhere and seems an impossible construction in Greek. Side A refers to superhuman help given, or to be given, by Athena and her helpmate Gigas to the architects, either those of 479 or of c.440. Alternatively, perhaps less likely, side A may show the original construction of the Pandroseion, concerning which no myth survives. 'Gigas' is simply labeled 'a Giant' to distinguish him from images of stone-throwing Poseidon with Athena in Gigantomachies, common in art since the late sixth century; and in using his figure the painter is inspired by the general association of Akropolis cults with the Gigantomachy since, except for this skyphos, there is no ancient testimony that Giants built anything on the Akropolis. In fact, the sole testimony of this skyphos should not make us assume that there was any such myth (e.g., in an epic, dithyramb or satyr play now lost). The 'historical moment' shown is the recovery of the Pandroseion's tree after the Persian attack of 480-479, and the planned reconstruction of its precinct wall.

Side B of the skyphos would support Aischines' insistence that, in Athens of an earlier day, an historical event worthy of public memorial was

⁴⁴ G. P. Stevens, L. D. Caskey et al., *The Erechtheum* (Cambridge, Mass. 1927) 125, 448 n.5; for a general attempt to describe the 'Cimonian' restoration see L. B. Holland, 'Erechtheum papers', *AJA* xxviii (1924) 402-425, cited with qualified approval by Caskey et al. (424 n.1). Fifth-century pottery was found next to deposits of undisturbed Helladic, no other pottery intervening: the blocks of these post-480 additions were laid directly on a 'Helladic' wall, and before the building of the Erechtheum walls proper, the foundations of the Pandroseion never were deep (*ib.*, 125-127).

⁴⁵ G. P. Stevens, J. M. Paton, *The Erechtheum* (Cambridge, Mass. 1927) 455; W. Dörpfeld, 'Der ursprüngliche Plan des Erechtheions', *AM* xxix (1904) 101-7; A. Michaelis, 'Die Zeit des Neubaus des Poliastempels in Athen', *AM* xiv (1889) 362-3.

⁴⁶ The battle of Eurymedon is dated variously to 470/69, 466, and 461, E. Bayer, J. Heideking, *Die Chronologie des perikleischen Zeitalters* (Darmstadt 1975) 118-120. J. A. Bundgaard (n.37) 75-7 exceptionally dates the south wall after 447, and a part to 438. For 'Kimonid' work, e.g. perhaps a cella under the present temple of Athena Nike, see J. A. Bundgaard, 'Le sujet de IG i² 24', *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* (Paris 1974) 43-49, and Ch. Delvoye, 'Art et politique à Athènes à l'époque de Cimon', in J. Bingen, *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels 1975) 802. But aside from problems of vase-chronology, the olive shown on Louvre G372 excludes buildings other than the Pandroseion.

⁴⁷ J. Boersma, *Athenian building policy from 561/0 to 405/4 BC* (Groningen 1970 = *Scripta archaeologica groningenana* 4) 162.

⁴⁸ See Boersma (n.47) 177.

⁴⁹ Since the Moriai were left unharmed by Archidamos in 431 (*FGrH* 324 Androtion F 39, 328 Philochoros F 39) it seems unlikely that the skyphos was a piece bespoke by e.g. the commission overseeing the Moriai during the opening invasion of Attika in 431, or under King Pleistoanax in 445 who scarcely entered Attika (Thuc. ii 21).

⁵⁰ Cf. the pelike Louvre G233 (n.36, *ARV*² 251.26, Kristian Jeppesen, *The theory of the alternative Erechtheion* [Aarhus 1987 = *Acta Jutlandica* lxxiii:1, Humanities series 60] 46, fig. 14.), by the Syleus Painter who is conventionally dated 480 or slightly later. Side A shows Athena apparently carrying her olive tree in hand (leaves once painted in white): Athena rescuing her own tree in 479? Side B depicts a balding male with curved staff, similar to the figures on side B of the Penelope Painter's skyphos. Cf. also the Gigantomachy with Poseidon, rock, and Giant on a kalpis by the Syleus P. in the Bastis collection (n.26); on the Syleus Painter's ceramic sequence, L. Berge in W. Moon, L. Berge, *Greek vase-painting in Midwestern collections* (Chicago 1979) 157, citing earlier bibliography.

popularly interpreted to be one involving the entire Demos, except for one anomaly. By inscribing the name 'Philyas' the Penelope Painter seems to break the code excluding the names of individuals. Perhaps this exception was felt more allowable for craftsmen than for generals like Miltiades, Kimon, and the victors of Phyle whom Aischines mentions, whose careers might take any one of them into politics and later position as an 'indispensable' man. Like generals, architects might become 'political' through estimating budgets for enterprises often of vast expense, but (to judge by the Demos' control of designs for Athena's peplos [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* xlix 3) the outcome of an architect's plans could be controlled as a general's could not. Aischines' words of course are a piece of special pleading, and the hypothetical 'code' of the democracy forbidding individuals to be exalted over the Demos may seem no longer or stronger than the moral instances he offers. Were we not faced with the problem of the near-complete absence of verifiable 'historical events' in Attic pots and their fragments—of whose number there is no accurate count, though Beazley catalogued over 30,000⁵¹—such a code might in fact be dismissed as entirely illusory. Yet its sentiments are repeated in the opening paragraphs of Perikles' *Épitaphios* (Thuc.ii 35.1-3) and perhaps really constitute one of those *agraphoi nomoi* of whose coercive force Thucydides and, later, Demosthenes speak.⁵² Accordingly, let future discussions of (e.g.) 'Kimonid propaganda' more frequently heed Aischines' message that in classical Athens memorials for public events belonged to the public, not to individuals. Politicians like Aischines might find this code of self-effacement of use at any time under the democracy; that would not diminish the reality of such feelings by the public, and it need not be thought an appeal 'from the left'. But his jurors did not think his case compelling, and Demosthenes' *On the crown* shortly gave good reasons why the code occasionally might be relaxed.

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⁵¹ Cf. T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and patron in classical Athens* (London 1972) 3.

⁵² *Agraphoi nomoi*, Thuc. ii 37.3, Dem. xxiv 5; the term refers not to vague moral belief but to the validity of ancient customs sanctified by habitual practice, R. Hirzel, *Agraphos nomos* (Leipzig 1903) 21. The relationship of 'great men' to initiating, and, in a sense, to using public monuments politically (e.g. the Stoa Poikile), and wider problems of modern historiography to which this question leads, are outside the purpose of this study.

The Apobates Reconsidered (Demosthenes Ixi 23-9)

References to the *apobates* have been collected by Reisch, Gardiner, Patrucco, Kyle and others,¹ but

¹ See especially the excellent article of E. Reisch, *RE* i 2 (1894) 2814-17, also E. N. Gardiner, *Greek athletic sports and*

the exact nature of this specialized event remains obscure. Patrucco in particular laments the scarcity of literary sources which he suggests provide little information.² Yet the fullest account of the *apobates* appears in a lengthy passage in the corpus of Demosthenes (Ixi 23-29, the *Erotikos* or *Erotic essay*³) which strangely is not mentioned by any of the above scholars. I propose to update our knowledge of this contest, particularly as it relates to the fourth century B.C., in the light of this 'new' evidence. Because of the romantic nature of the essay, the reader should perhaps observe caution and allow for exaggeration on the part of Demosthenes, but even so several important observations can be made.

The following is a summary of the comments of Demosthenes on the *apobates*. He states that the best men and only citizens pursue this event, whereas slaves and aliens participate in other sports:⁴

συνειδῶς τοίνυν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀθλημάτων καὶ δούλους καὶ ξένους μετέχοντας, τοῦ δ' ἀποβαίνειν μόνοις μὲν τοῖς πολίταις ἐξουσίαν οὔσαν, ἐφιμένους δὲ τοὺς βελτίστους, οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶν' ὤρησας. (*Erot.* 23)

It is the most notable and honourable competition and has more to offer than footraces which do not promote courage or high-spiritedness (εὐψυχία) and more than boxing and similar contests which destroy both body and mind. It is a solemn display which is similar to warfare and the laborious practice (φιλοπονία) of running (24). It is a most pleasing spectacle which consists of many different features and is worthy of the greatest prizes. Greeks and barbarians in Homer made war against each other using such equipment. It is the custom even now for the event to be found in games in the most important of Greek cities (25). Participants strip for competition and (apparently) practise in the gymnasium (25-26).

Demosthenes describes one special incident in which the hero Epikrates gained distinction in this contest and won the crown of victory by surpassing those competitors who had dashed to the front in the race and those who were holding their horses back. It was even more remarkable that Epikrates escaped disaster by avoiding a head-on collision with the chariot of his opponents, the kind of accident in which spectators normally took delight (27-29).

festivals (London 1910; reprinted Dubuque, Iowa 1970) 237-39, R. Patrucco, *Lo sport nella Grecia antica* (Florence 1972) 382-84, D. Kyle, *Athletics in ancient Athens* (Leiden 1987) 188-89 and *passim*.

² Patrucco (n.1) 383.

³ Whether or not this work is by Demosthenes, it is generally accepted as belonging to the fourth century; see G. Kennedy, *Cambridge history of classical literature. I. Greek literature* (Cambridge 1985) 510. The name Demosthenes is used throughout for convenience. The terms ἀποβάτης or ἀπόβασις do not appear in the passage, but τὸ ἀποβαίνειν does.

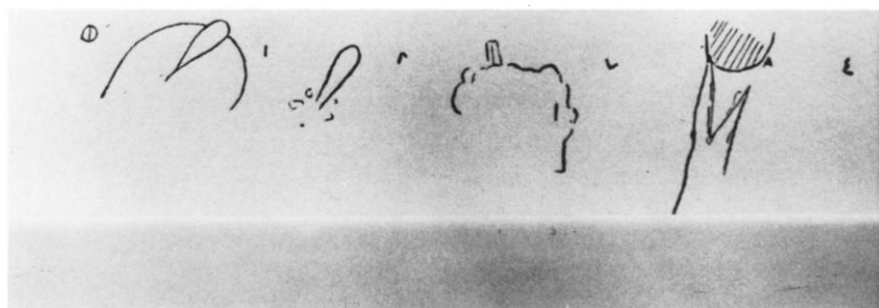
⁴ We may note that this passage is also evidence that slaves took part in athletic competition, but not in the *apobates*. See Gardiner, 'Regulations for a local sports meeting', *CR* xliii (1929) 210-12 for the only other reference to slaves in competition in Greek festivals, at Misthia in Pisidia, second century A.D.: N. B. Crowther, 'Slaves and Greek athletics', *QUCC* (forthcoming).



(a) Attic red-figured skyphos, Louvre G372, side A.



(b) Attic red-figured skyphos, Louvre G372, side B.



(c) Features and lettering at top of side B (after Pottier).