

Phineus as Monoposias*

The name vase of the Phineus painter in Würzburg is the largest of all known Chalcidian cups. Dated c. 530, it is also one of the most important narrative works of art of the sixth century (PLATE V). Accordingly, it is scarcely surprising that the vase itself has been often described and interpreted.¹ If we offer now a further analysis, it is rather to exemplify and elaborate the judgment of Erika Simon² that 'the vase has the same charm as the fragments of archaic lyric'. In fact, we believe that the vase provides us with a closer and more interesting parallel to archaic lyric than has been realized, and at the same time allows us to perceive that the artist was deliberately attempting to provide us not just with a mythical history, but more specifically with an *exemplum*, a story from which we are required to make a deduction by analogy,³ or with an *ainos*, a story where

* This article has its origins in a suggestion by Erika Simon that the two authors collaborate. Steinhart had written a Master's thesis on the Phineus painter while Slater, as part of his research into symposia, had given an interpretation of the Phineus cup in talks and seminars at several universities: Zürich, Basel, Bryn Mawr, Ottawa, University of Michigan and Toronto. He wishes to thank all those who made suggestions at these meetings. The present article is a result of more than three years of friendly correspondence, often interrupted. We are grateful to the referees of *JHS* for their comments. For the provision of photographs and permission to use them in our article we should like to thank the following: B. Bundgaard Rasmussen, A. Kauffmann-Samaras, N. Michel, A. Pasquier, D. Tornhave, I. Wehgartner, and M. Zimmermann.

For bibliographical abbreviations, see end.

¹ The Phineus vase (Würzburg L 164) has often been studied: we register here only the more important works: J. Boehlau, *AM* xxv (1900) 42 ff.; Blome, 'Sapphomaler' 70 ff.; Carpenter, *Dionysian imagery* 71; A. Flasch, *AZ* xxxviii (1880) 138 ff.; *Führer* 84 ff. (E. Simon); Keck, *Studien* 144 ff.; W. Klein, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* i (1904) 126 ff.; P. Kretschmer, *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach untersucht* (Gütersloh 1894) 55; E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich 1932) 24 n. 164; *LIMC* iii (1986) s.v. Boreadaï (K. Schefold) 127 no. 7; *LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai 447 no. 14; K. Neuser, *Anemoi* (Rome 1982) 99 no. Bo7; Pipili, *Laconian iconography* 22; Rumpf, *CV* 15 f. no. 20; Schefold 175 ff., esp. 176; Schefold-Jung 26 ff.; Voyatzi, *Argonauten* 65 ff. with Katalog no. B 42. Not instructive is A. Ferrari, *I Vasi Calcidesi* (Torino 1978) 42. The bowl is 38 cm in diameter, 12 cm in height without the handles.

² *Führer* 84.

³ There is much recent literature on the literary *exemplum* and on mythological innovation as an archaic and highly complex device; see *RAC* vi 1229 ff. s.v. *Exemplum* (Lumpe); the most interesting and complex example is that of Meleager in book nine of the *Iliad*, on which see D. Lohmann, *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Berlin 1970) 260 ff.—the summary in J. Griffin, *Homer: Iliad IX* (Oxford 1995) is inaccurate. In art, see e.g. H. Hoffmann, *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 127 ff., 137 ff.; H. Protzmann, 'Paradeigma als Schlüsselbegriff des hochklassischen Stilbewusstseins' in: B. Doehle and H. Nickel (edd.), *Das Problem der Klassik im alten Orient und in der Antike; Tagung in Halle, 10-12 Feb., 1966: Diss. Berlinenses III* (Berlin 1967) 48-69; I. Scheibler, *Jdl* cii (1987) 57 ff.; A. Steiner, *Jdl* cviii (1993) 207 ff. For the similarities between art and archaic literature in narrative style—'compressed narrative'—cf. W. Raack, 'Zur Erzählweise archaischer und klassischer Mythenbilder', *Jdl* xcix (1984) 1-25, with the

the point is not explicitly stated,⁴ both well known features of archaic narrative.

The frieze on the interior of the vase shows two scenes, Dionysus and Ariadne⁵ in a chariot and the 'story of Phineus' (PLATE V, VI). The first is relatively unproblematic, being eminently suitable for a drinking cup, which is decorated on the outside also with Dionysiac themes. We concentrate first on the second scene. The development of the story runs unusually from right to left, while that on the other side runs from left to right, the division being marked by a palm tree with ivy sprouting round it. At the top end of the *kline* of Phineus stands a woman in chiton and wrap, with her right hand raised to express astonishment.⁶ Originally she was named in an accompanying inscription, as were the other figures, and until the last cleaning of the vase by J. Sieveking in 1920⁷ the name was read as EPIXΘΩ but when the name could no longer be read, Rumpf came to the conclusion that the name was modern and could be ignored.⁸ But it is unlikely that any modern overpainting could have withstood the disastrous earlier cleaning by Sittl,⁹ which must have been the main factor in removing this and other names. The name Erichtho does not occur elsewhere in connection with Phineus, but the relation expressed by her stance is undoubtedly that of his wife, and has always been so recognized.¹⁰ The name would not be inappropriate, since the wife of Phineus is recorded in many versions as a daughter of Boreas and Oreithuia, and so would be called after her grandfather Erichthonia, of which Erichtho is an abbreviated form.¹¹

By contrast Phineus seems to be relatively unmoved by the events around him. He wears, as we see in many other symposia, a himation but no chiton, thereby differing from Hephaistos and Adrastus on other vases by the Phineus painter; such details did not apparently interest him. Noteworthy however is the careful positioning of the legs.¹² The upper body and face are treated frontally, and the face is framed between two thick strands of hair, as is Dionysus on the famous amph-

remarks of E. Krümmer, *Pyrros Hymnon* (Berlin 1990) 135, and Wolf, *Herakles beim Gelage* 66.

⁴ M.L. West, *Hesiod: works and days* (Oxford 1978) 205 on 1.202; W.J. Slater, *ClAnt* ii (1983) 126-7.

⁵ For the inscription with the name Ariadne, see M. Boss, *AA* (1992) 537.

⁶ On the figure see Rumpf, *CV* 106 ff.

⁷ See A. Rumpf, *AM* xxxvi (1921) 172.

⁸ The name is retained by Simon in *Führer* 85 and by Schefold-Jung 26, and was read in the first publication by H. Brunn, *BdI* 1865, 50. He was followed by Flasch (n.1) 175; L. von Urlichs, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* (1885) 30; and, in the interpretation, by Boehlau (n.1) and Furtwangler in *FR I* 211 ff.; then differently read by A. Rumpf, 'Zur Gruppe der Phineusschale', *AM* xxxvi (1921) 172 ff., followed by Keck, *Studien* 145; but cf. E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz 1975) 186.

⁹ On this see F. Studniczka, *Jdl* xi (1896) 268 ('... ungläubliche Reinigung ...'), or K. Reichhold, in *FR I* 223 ('... zuletzt von Sittl misshandelt ...').

¹⁰ So e.g. Simon in *Führer* 85; Keck, *Studien* 145; Voyatzi, *Argonauten* 66.

¹¹ So e.g. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* (Berlin 1893) ii 128.

¹² For chiton and himation see lastly Iozzo 78; on the leg position Jacobsthal, *GV* 39.

ora now in Beaulieu-sur-Mer by the same painter (PLATE VII a).¹³ In this way it was easier to convey the impression of blindness, as Kleitias had shown the blinded Cyclops,¹⁴ than in the representations where Phineus is shown from the side, e.g. by the Sappho and Kleophrades painters shortly afterwards. But the frontal portrayal returns in South Italian painting.¹⁵ The weakness of Phineus is made apparent by the very fact that he is shown as independent of the action going on around him, something that is characteristic of antique representation of blindness, as is the portrayal of his arms stretched out over the table.¹⁶ It would appear that in searching for his food, he is oblivious to all that is going on about him. The advantage of showing blindness from the side is precisely that the groping arms can be rendered more effectively, as the Sappho and Kleophrades painters showed. This continuing interest in rendering the blindness of Phineus is confirmed by the later appearance of a special tragic mask for Phineus, noticed by Pollux.¹⁷

However, nowhere else, as far as we know, is Phineus shown reclining on a *kline* in vase painting, which is a point of considerable importance, as we shall see. Both earlier on the Corinthian krater, illustrated by Voyatz, and later in Attic painting, he is shown sitting, or occasionally standing.¹⁸ As a solitary reclining figure, he belongs in the tradition of what we shall call 'monoposiasts',¹⁹ heroic figures who lie alone on a *kline*; we shall examine these presently. The furniture has attracted attention, because of certain peculiarities. The coverings of the *kline* fall well down from the edges, and the legs

are bent; both features can be found in Etruscan and Ionian art; especially Ionic is the intricate carving, and the originally white ivory inlay makes one think of eastern workmanship.²⁰

Beside and to the left of the *kline* stand two women, in chiton and wrap, who both reach forward with their right hands. This is an elegant gesture already made by the Hours on the François Vase.²¹ The two women here are also Hours, as is made clear by the inscription HOPAI beside them. Perhaps an additional hint at their identity is the flower-bud held out by one of them, especially since no such bud is shown in any other picture by the Phineus Painter.²² It is also different from the flowers held out by different individuals on Attic black- and red-figure pottery in the later sixth century. The Hours are associated unsurprisingly with blossoms and flowers, in the *Kypria* with crocus and hyacinth.²³ In no other representation of the Phineus story are the Hours depicted or required, and we shall return to the problem of their presence here.

The pursuing Boreads have their names also written beside them; Zetes is followed by Kalais in *chitoniskos* and winged sandals, their hair piled elegantly in a *krobilos*.²⁴ The oddity that they hold their swords in the left hand is not something that apparently worried the painter. The two Harpies²⁵ wear long chitons, which make them seem slower than their pursuers. Their outstretched hands with palms upward seemed to Furtwängler sufficiently unusual that he suggested that originally these held plates stolen from the table of Phineus.²⁶ Though this has not won complete assent, nonetheless it should merit serious consideration, if only because the stolen food is a fixed part of the Phineus

¹³ Villa Kerylos, Beaulieu-sur-Mer. Cf. *LIMC* iv (1988) s.v. Hephaistos 639 no. 135 (A. Hermary-A. Jaquemin); Iozzo 55, 108, 177 AG 5. Steinhart takes this opportunity to thank Madame M. Michel for allowing us to illustrate this side of the vase with a photograph for the first time and for the photos used here. For the other side cf. *Villa Kérylos. Institut de France. Fondation Théodore Reinach à Beaulieu-sur-Mer (Alpes Maritimes)*. (Ste. Maxime 1990) 11.

¹⁴ Frgt. Basel, Sammlung H.A. Cahn HC 1418: *Frühe Zeichner 1500-500 v. Chr.: Ägyptische, griechische und etruskische Vasenfragmente der Sammlung H.A. Cahn, Basel (Ausstellungs-Katalog, Freiburg 1992)* 39 ff., no. 30. Cf. K. Fittschen (ed.), *Griechische Porträts* (Darmstadt 1988) 18; A. Furtwängler, *FR* I 211; Keck, *Studien* 145; Voyatz, *Argonauten* 66; T. Rasmussen, N. Spivey (eds.), *Looking at Greek vases* (Cambridge 1991) 213, pl. 88b.

¹⁵ Cf. *LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai no. 8, 9, 17.

¹⁶ A. Esser, *Antlitz der Blindheit in der Antike* (Leiden 1961²) 80; E. Bernidaki-Aldous, *Blindness in a culture of light: especially the case of Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles* (Diss. Baltimore 1985, published 1988) 36 ff. For blindness in Greek art cf. the study of M. Steinhart, *Das Motif des Auges in der griechischen Bildkunst*, (Mainz 1995), 2 n. 10.

¹⁷ *Onomastikon* 4.141; cf. A. Lesky, 'Die Maske des Thamyris', *AnzWien* (1951) no. 8, 101 ff.

¹⁸ Voyatz, *Argonauten* Taf. 8-10; for Phineus standing in prayer see the red-figure neck-amphora London E 291: Beazley, *Paralipomena* 404; Beazley, *Addenda*² 277; Schefold-Jung 27 fig. 12; Blome, 'Sapphomaler' 70 ff., Taf. 20,5.

¹⁹ The term 'monoposiast' was suggested by M. Mellink, at a Bryn Mawr seminar. It is certainly not to be found in antiquity, but it appears to us nonetheless to be more representative of the facts than e.g. 'Einzeltrinker', coined by R. Senff, in: K. Vierneisel-B. Kaeser (eds.), *Kunst der Schale—Kultur des Trinkens* (Katalog München 1990) 310 ff.

²⁰ H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen* (Berlin 1969) 124 no. 1; G.M.A. Richter, *Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London 1966) 66; Fehr, *Gelage* 37; cf. the remains of a *kline* dated to c. 530 by U. Knigge, *Der Südhügel: Kerameikos IX* (Berlin 1976) 60 ff., allegedly of eastern workmanship.

²¹ Rumpf, CV 107; J.D. Beazley, *The development of Attic black-figure* (rev. D.v. Bothmer and M.B. Moore: Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1986) pl. 24.2.

²² Such flower-buds are of course popular as a filling motif, e.g. on the neck amphora Bochum S 575 (Keck, *Studien* 198 f. HA 17), Malibu 86.AE.48 (Keck, *Studien* 204 f. HA 30), New York Acc. no. 49.11.3 (Keck, *Studien* 203 HA 27) and Reggio di Calabria (Keck, *Studien* 200 f. HA 21) as well as a vase once in Beverley Hills (Keck, *Studien* 203 HA 26). On the question whether we are dealing with rose or lotus buds see P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* (Berlin 1927) 165; Keck, *Studien* 35; Rumpf, CV 57 f.; D.A. Jackson, *East Greek influences on Attic vases: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Suppl. Paper* xiii (London 1976) 2 ff. retains the usual name, probably correctly. On flowers that are certainly roses, see A.D. Ure, *JHS* lxx (1960) 160 ff.

²³ Pindar, *Ol.* 13,17; *Kypria* fr. 4 D; Anacreontea 5 W; and cf. for flowers like those mentioned Wolf, *Herakles beim Gelage* 77 ff.

²⁴ *LIMC* iii (1986) s.v. Boreadai (K. Schefold); C. Isler-Kerenyi, *AA* (1984) 383 ff.; Pipili, *Laconian iconography* 21 ff.

²⁵ *LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai; C. Smith, *JHS* xiii (1882/3) 103 ff.; for their movement cf. Schefold 176; E. Schmidt, *Münchener Archäologische Studien* (Munich 1909) 340.

²⁶ *FR* i 213, rejected by Keck, *Studien* 145.

iconography.²⁷ It is even mentioned by Aeschylus, *Eum.* 50 as a feature of the paintings of Phineus. On the extreme left, the sea is indicated, and this pursuit over the sea occurs in several literary versions also, most notably in that of Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2.280 ff. The pursuit occurred also on the Kypselos chest and the Amyclaeon throne.²⁸

That the Phineus story could provide other themes for narrative art is evidenced by the fragments of the Corinthian krater, published by Voyatzi, which show the healing of Phineus by Jason in the presence of his wife, as well as the expulsion of the Harpies.²⁹ A very fragmentary ivory from Delphi shows Boreads pursuing Harpies to the right. A woman, doubtless Phineus' wife, stands by the end of what may be a *kline*, which is regrettably almost entirely broken off.³⁰

We have seen from this brief summary that there are two principal features of the Phineus vase which are unique: the presence of the Horae, and—with the possible exception of the ivory from Delphi—the position of Phineus on the *kline*. These require explanation. Furthermore, we are entitled to ask whether the representation of the myth has anything in common with Dionysus and Ariadne in their chariot, since we saw that that conveyed a message that was appropriate for such a vase. Should the Phineus story not also make some related point? or does it have 'nothing to do with Dionysus'? We shall try to show that there is a satisfactory answer to all these questions.

There is no surviving myth that connects the Age-norid Phineus with Dionysus or with Dionysiac themes. On the other hand the story of Phineus was a great deal more popular, and so undoubtedly more complex, than our surviving literary sources indicate.³¹ It was mentioned by Hesiod at least twice,³² and was treated by

Aeschylus,³³ perhaps three times by Sophocles,³⁴ and also by other tragedians,³⁵ as well as by Ibycus and Telesites in lyric poetry,³⁶ but it seems to be primarily situated in the epic *Argonautica*,³⁷ and therefore reappears in Apollonius Rhodius. It can fairly rank as one of the favourite themes of ancient myth, even before the Phineus painter. The already confused myth was treated by Apollodorus, Dionysius Skytobrachion and probably other mythographers, though it is of no value to follow here these later developments.³⁸ Indeed, the recent appearance of the Corinthian krater with the healing of Phineus by Jason shows that previous constructions of the early development of the myth have probably underestimated our ignorance.³⁹

Rather we should concentrate on the picture given by the artist. We have a scene almost certainly derived originally from a lost Argonautic epic, at the point where the Argonauts pass the coast of Thrace or Bithynia. The king Phineus is lying on his *kline*; his wife, who is named, is standing on the right. The evil demons, the Harpies, have stolen his food from the helpless king. They flee to the right because they have been surprised by the two hero sons of Boreas, who have driven them off and so have rescued Phineus from his plight. This must refer to a situation as we learn from other sources in which he had been condemned to have his food stolen by the Harpies, so that he could never eat it, and he could not stop them because of his blindness. How he became blind or why he got into this plight is irrelevant to us and to the artist. What we see is the moment of his rescue.

In 1978, Blome,⁴⁰ publishing a white-ground lekythos in Basel, put our picture in an iconographic perspective. He commented that archaic art of the seventh and sixth centuries picked out from the story of Phineus precisely the story of the pursuit of the Harpies by the Boreads, and the weight of the portrayal lies not on his wretched history but on the redemption from it. And indeed this would be true of Voyatzi's Corinthian krater, that appeared subsequently. Blome argued that by 490 the iconographic type of Phineus changed in art. The actual robbery of the food from the table now became central. In 1990 Danali-Giole⁴¹ could affirm that the Phineus story from 490 onwards had been influenced by Attic drama. The subsequent publication of the Kleophrades painter's *kalpis* in Malibu did nothing to alter the probability of this analysis.

²⁷ As in the Boreadai painter earlier (*LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai no. 7), as well as the Sappho and Kleophrades painters afterwards: see *LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai no. 9.

²⁸ Paus. v 17.11; iii 18.5. An 'uncanonical' Harpy is perhaps to be recognized on an Etruscan black-figure amphora of the La Tolfia group, where a figure advances towards a wavy object, and carries two flat plates held up in its hands: Geneva 140; M. Martelli (ed.), *La Ceramica degli Etruschi* (Novara 1987) 306 no. 117; *LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai no. 21.

²⁹ Voyatzi, *Argonauten* Taf. 6-10; *LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai no. 21.

³⁰ *LIMC* iii (1986) s.v. Boreadai 127 no. 13 (K. Schefold); *LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai 447 no. 19; Voyatzi, *Argonauten* 61 ff. with Taf. 5.

³¹ The clearest description of the different versions is by Ziegler in *R.E.* xx (1950) 215 ff. s.v. Phineus. A slightly different analysis will be found in J.S. Rusten, *Dionysius Skytobrachion = Abhandl. rhein.-westf. Ak. Wiss.: Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensis* Bd. xx (Opladen 1982) 97-8. There are speculations on the origins of the saga in U. Hölscher, *Die Odyssee*² (Munich 1989) 179 ff. Most incisive are the observations of K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel 1975) 649 ff. The Hours are called *Dionysiades* in *A.P.* xiii 28, attributed dubiously to Simonides [fr. 148 B.] or Bacchylides, and describing a chorus in the dithyramb at Athens: it is worth noting that Philostratus, *VA* 73.13 speaks of choruses at the Anthesteria dancing as Hours, Nymphs and Bacchae.

³² Hesiod *fr.* 254 (where two different versions of his blinding are recorded in two works), 138, 151 MW³. In the *Catalogue of Women* the chase of the Harpies around the world was told at considerable length: M.L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (Oxford 1985) 84.

³³ Aeschylus *fr.* 258-60 R.

³⁴ Sophocles *fr.* 704-717, 645 R., cf. R.G.A. Buxton, *JHS* c (1980) 22 ff., 28 ff.

³⁵ *TGF* ii Adespota fr. 10a.

³⁶ *PMG* 812.

³⁷ Cf. *Naupaktika* fr. 3 Davies = Bernabé, which implies the same long-distance chase of the Harpies by the Boreads as in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*; Ap. Rhod. ii 184 ff.

³⁸ Apollodorus i 120 ff; iii 200 ff.; see above n.31.

³⁹ It was unknown to J.S. Rusten (n.31) 97 ff., but duly noted by Hölscher (n.31).

⁴⁰ Blome, 'Sapphomer' 70 ff.

⁴¹ 'Ikonographische Beobachtungen zu drei mythologischen Themen, Pentheus Phineus Prometheus', *OpAth* xviii.1 (1990) 33-44, following Voyatzi, *Argonauten* 67; for the Kleophrades painter's *kalpis*, see *LIMC* s.v. Harpuiai no. 9.

In view of the complex versions of the saga which had been developed at an early date, it becomes important not to introduce possibly irrelevant considerations, which may confuse. For us it must be sufficient, for example, that Phineus is blind, and the reasons cannot interest us; as Meuli⁴² in 1921 had already shown, he was blind because, as a soothsayer, he had to be blind. Just why he was blind was something for the inventiveness of poets; and Hesiod, or rather the epic poems we call 'Hesiod', as we saw,⁴³ already seemed to know two versions. The Argonauts—culture and saviour heroes—visit Phineus because he is a blind soothsayer from whom they can get help in their voyage; and in turn they help him.

Meuli indirectly helps us to answer the first question, why Phineus lies alone rather than sits. He pointed out that the theme of the 'disturbed meal' is a folk motif.⁴⁴ This is central. But, in order to understand why it should be so, it is necessary first to consider what an *undisturbed* meal would mean to a Greek of this period. This in turn raises the question, what significance must be attached to the monoposias, who lies on a *kline*, and in vase painting is integrated into various artificial landscapes in quite different ways. We can however only consider someone a true monoposias, if he is not intended to be merely a representative symposias, i.e. an 'abbreviation' of a symposium: and accordingly we may leave out of consideration the numerous tondos of this kind in Laconian and Attic red-figure cups.

The useful list compiled by Fehr makes possible a brief review of symposia, monoposias and their iconographical environment; we do not of course pretend to offer a complete history of the tradition, but it is worth noting that in Chalcidian vase-painting we only have two pictures by the Phineus painter, the Würzburg Phineus and the Copenhagen Adrastos discussed below.⁴⁵ The symposium is a not infrequent theme of Corinthian vase-painting from the time of the Eurytos krater, and appears on column-kraters or cups, often combined with battle-scenes. From early Corinthian onwards there are a few monoposias, who are connected with komast scenes or with the Corinthian 'Frauenfest' motif; in both cases they occupy a conspicuous position, whose meaning is elusive. More comprehensible is the Achilles on the well known late Corinthian *olpe* in Brussels, who lies on a *kline* mourning for Patroklos in the company of Thetis and Odysseus: here we have probably an adaptation of the

Ransoming of Hektor.⁴⁶ In Laconian vase-painting there are numerous symposia, but only one monoposias. A cup in Tarentum by the *Reitermaler* shows a youthful monoposias looking at a kithara player and two servants(?) as well as a naked boy. An eagle and a winged being swoop from above. The tondo is divided into three registers, and the komasts, who dance round a krater below the monoposias and the frieze of animals, belong in the same thematic context as the monoposias; though the considerable discussion of his significance need not detain us here, it is at least fair to say that the same must hold true for him as for the monoposias with komasts in Corinth.⁴⁷ Equally rare are monoposias in East Greece, though symposia are popular enough. In addition to a bearded man with drinking horn, perhaps to be interpreted as Dionysus reclining on the ground, of particular importance for our study is—although sitting on a *diphros*—the 'prince' on the Northampton amphora in Munich. He too is supplied with wine by a servant, and the horses which are being led to a *louterion* before him are thereby indicated to be his possessions—an important aspect of the iconography of the monoposias.⁴⁸ Otherwise he is missing completely from other Greek artistic settings or vases, as for example in Boeotia or on Caeretan hydriae.

On Attic black-figure vases symposia are found relatively rarely, most notably on Siana cups, before the appearance of red-figure,⁴⁹ where symposia are very popular. There is an emphasis on monoposias after 530, apart from Achilles and Herakles, who appear in this role before and around the turn of the century.⁵⁰ These can be anonymous mortals or gods or heroes, and characteristically the pictures tend to have the same basic content, without necessarily having the same significance. To describe the human monoposias Senff⁵¹ employs the happy formulation: *Herr über Besitz und Personal*, which can presumably be already applied to the famous and often invoked portrayal of Assurbanipal in his garden.⁵² This aspect becomes evident, when the monoposias acquires a dog as companion, which is intended to remind us of hunting, or is accompanied by a woman—presumably wife—who stands by the *kline*, or

⁴⁶ Cf. D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting of the Archaic period* (Berkeley 1988) ii 647. For symposia other than Attic, cf. Fehr, *Gelage* 26 ff.; R. Hirschmann, *Symposienszenen auf unteritalischen Vasen* (Würzburg 1985). *Olpe* Brussels A 4, Amyx, *ibid.* 581, inscr. no. 88.

⁴⁷ Cf. C.M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Amsterdam 1972) *passim*; Fehr, *Gelage* 41 ff.; Pipili, *Laconian iconography* 71 ff.; *Reitermaler*: Tarentum 20909, Pipili 118 no. 198.

⁴⁸ Rhodos 12.398, Fehr, *Gelage* 142 no. 49; E. Walter-Karydi, 'Samische Gefässe des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.', *Samos* vi 1 (Berlin 1973) 133 no. 555; Amphora Munich 586, cf. Senff (above n.19) 310 fig. 52.1.

⁴⁹ Examples of symposia on Siana cups are assembled by H.A.G. Brijder, *Siana Cups I and Komast Cups* (Amsterdam 1983), and *Siana Cups II* (Amsterdam 1993). In general, see Fehr, *Gelage* 53 ff. with literature.

⁵⁰ For the focus after 530, see Fehr, *Gelage* 72 ff., Wolf, *Herakles beim Gelage* 53 ff.

⁵¹ Senff (n.19) 311.

⁵² Dentzer, *Banquet* fig. 89-91 and pp. 58 ff.

⁴² K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika* cited from the version in *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel and Stuttgart 1975) ii 593-676, esp. 663 ff. It should be recorded that H. Grégoire, *Asklépios Apollon Smintheus et Rudra* (Gembloux 1949) 87 ff. understood Phineus to signify 'mole' and interpreted him as a mole-hero.

⁴³ Above, nn.32 and 37.

⁴⁴ Meuli (n.42) 667, approved by Blome, 'Sapphomer' 71 n.15.

⁴⁵ For what follows, cf. Fehr, *Gelage* 28 ff.; Carpenter, *Dionysian imagery* 116 nn. 78, 81; Wolf, *Herakles beim Gelage* 53 ff.; Dentzer, *Banquet* *passim*. In archaic iconography, no clear distinction is made between eating and drinking, and Herakles in particular is shown eating at symposia: Wolf, *Herakles beim Gelage* 93.

a handsome youth who performs a dance (PLATE VIII *a*).⁵³ It is still more obvious when he greets returning hunters, who present him with a fox or a hare as their catch.⁵⁴ This portrayal achieves a further heroic accent in the so-called *Totenmahlreliefs*, in which the monoposiasit is combined with signs of his prosperity—often a horse—, while his wife sits next to him on a throne and a handsome youth fetches wine. Terracottas of Tarentum and Medma utilize the same ideas, when they portray the dead person or someone making a votive offering as a monoposiasit with warlike traits.⁵⁵

When Dionysus or Herakles lie alone on a *kline*, we may postulate this same general meaning. Dionysus can occupy a central position in the middle of his companions, silens and maenads, whether he lies on the ground or on a *kline*. But no one will doubt that it is the lying on the *kline*, which is far more commonly represented, that characterizes the god as master of his domain.⁵⁶ It is more difficult to explain the monoposiasitic Herakles, who can be combined with Athena and Iolaos. Boardman has rightly noted that there is no indication of a deification of Herakles in these pictures.⁵⁷ Irrelevant are the notorious symposia of Herakles.⁵⁸ As with the mortal monoposiasits, our understanding of these pictures must start with the noble demeanour of the hero as he lies at rest, in the presence of the goddess who elsewhere accompanies him on his dangerous missions and gives him support. Whereas Herakles in the *Alkestis* of Euripides complains bitterly that he never can rest, in

these pictures, at least, he has that repose granted him.⁵⁹ Indeed, it is precisely in the last years of the sixth century that we find different pictures of Herakles relaxing in a rustic setting, which have been characterized by M. Heinemann as 'Heraklesidyll'.⁶⁰

The concept of the monoposiasit as 'master of his possessions' seems to be particularly apt for those pictures which show the ransoming of Hektor. In the majority of pictures, Priam, begging for the body of his son, must always approach an Achilles who lies on a *kline*.⁶¹ Under the couch lies the dead Hektor. This portrayal certainly follows the narrative in the *Iliad*, according to which the ransoming of Hektor took place late in the evening, and this, with the aid of Hermes, allowed Priam to reach the ships of Achilles unobserved.⁶² But it illustrates in particularly graphic terms, how much the monoposiasit is 'master', not only over the living but also over the dead. On numerous red-figure vases Achilles is shown actually in the act of dining: he holds a knife for cutting meat and sometimes also a piece of meat in his hand (Plate VIII *b*).⁶³ A connoisseur of the *Iliad* might well be reminded of Achilles' violent but eventually unrealized threat over the dying Hektor at *Iliad* xxii 346, 'to cut up his flesh raw, and eat it'. At any rate, as will be seen, it fits perfectly with our proposed interpretation of the Phineus scene that in the *Iliad* too the restoration of divinely ordained order takes place at a monoposiasitic meal.

In a discussion of the Phineus cup it is reasonable to introduce, if only as a contrast, another of the painter's monoposiasits (PLATE VII *b*). On his skyphos-krater in Copenhagen he depicts Adrastos, king of Argos,⁶⁴ clothed

⁵³ Attic black-figure amphora of the Zimmermann collection, which Steinhart attributes to the Leagros Group; see H. Termer, *Kunst der Antike* ii (1980) no. 5, and M. Steinhart, *Töpferkunst und Meisterzeichnung. Attische Wein und Ölfässer aus der Sammlung Zimmermann* (Mainz 1996) no. 9.

⁵⁴ As e.g. on the Attic black-figure vase Laon 37892 by the Edinburgh painter (CVA Laon (1) Plate III, H 12,3 ff.) or the Attic red-figure belly-amphora Munich 2303 by the Painter of the Munich Amphora (Beazley, *ARV*² 245,1); Senff (n.19) 310 Abb. 52.2. Pictures of this kind remind us that 'Besitz' usually meant possession of land; cf. M. Finley, *Die antike Wirtschaft*³ (München 1993) 108 ff.

⁵⁵ 'Totenmahlreliefs' are discussed by Rh. Thönges-Stringaris, *AM* lxxx (1965) 1 ff.; J.-M. Dentzer, *Banquet* 63 ff., 543 ff.; F.T. van Straten, *Hiera Kala* (Leiden, New York and Köln 1995) 94-100, who finds the name 'extremely unfortunate' (p. 94). An important beginning in interpreting the 'monoposiasit' motif was made by A. Alföldi, 'Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels', *Nouvelle Klio* 1-2 (1949-50) 537-66, but the promised study never appeared. Terracottas: H. Herdejürgen, *Die Tarentinischen Terrakotten des 6. bis 4. Jhs. v.Chr. im Antikenmuseum Basel* (Basel 1971) 26 ff., and for Medma, *Götter, Menschen und Dämonen: Ausstellungskatalog* (Basel 1978) 70 ff.; Dentzer, *Banquet* 190 ff., pl. 26 f. On the difficult interpretation of the Tarentine banqueter terracottas note the cautionary remarks of D. Graepler, in *Gnomon* lxxvi (1994) 615-20, esp. 618-19.

⁵⁶ Cf. *LIMC* iii (1986) s.v. Dionysus 456 ff., esp. no. 362 ff.; on a *kline*: no. 362, 364, 367, 370-79, 381; on the ground: no. 363, 365, 366; on a goat: no. 368.

⁵⁷ *LIMC* iv (1988) s.v. Herakles (Boardman-Palagia-Woodford) 817 f.: no. 1483 ff.; cf. Boardman, *ibidem* 820; and Wolf, *Herakles beim Gelage* 12 ff.

⁵⁸ Boardman in *LIMC* s.v. Herakles (n. 57) 817 collects examples; likewise Wolf, *Herakles beim Gelage* 159 ff.

⁵⁹ Eur. *Alc.* 499 ff. The theme is quite widespread, e.g. Pindar's first Nemean Ode, but neither the commentary of B.K. Braswell, *A commentary on Pindar Nemean One* (Fribourg 1992) nor the attached iconographical commentary by J.-M. Moret brings this out.

⁶⁰ M. Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente in der griechischen Kunst bis Polygnot* (Diss. Bonn. 1910) 35; cf. N. Himmelmann, 'Ueber Hirten-Genre in der antiken Kunst', *Abhandl. Rhein.-West.Akad.Wiss.* lxxv (1980) 57, and Wolf, *Herakles beim Gelage* 127.

⁶¹ Cf. *LIMC* i (1982) s.v. Achilleus 148 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann) no. 642 ff. and pp. 147 ff. Iconographic exceptions are the Berlin shield band, Berlin 8099 (*ibidem* 148 no. 642) and 149 no. 653 and there is a possibility of other exceptions in perhaps 149 no. 651.

⁶² Homer, *Il.* xxiv 443 ff.

⁶³ E.g. *LIMC* i (1982) s.v. Achilleus (Kossatz-Deissmann) 150 nos. 655, 656, 658, 659, 661; also in black-figure 149 nos. 649, 650, 652.

⁶⁴ Copenhagen, National Museum VIII 496; Rumpf, *CV* 15 no. 19 with older literature. Cf. further CVA Copenhagen (3) Taf. III He 97,1,2; Fehr, *Gelage* 49 ff., 143 no. 5; S. Frank, *Attische Kelchkratere* (Frankfurt 1990) 30 f.; R. Hampe and E. Simon, *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst* (Mainz 1964) 21 ff.; Iozzo 26, 55, 78, 125, 130, 200 NO 1; M. Iozzo, *Xenia* xi (1986) 14; Keck, *Studien* 158 ff.; *LIMC* i (1981) s.v. Adrastos (I. Krauskopf) 234 no. 1; *R.E.* viiA (1948) s.v. Tydeus 1704, 1706 (W. Aly); *R.E.* xxi (1952) s.v. Polyneikes 1780 (E. Wüst); K. Schefold 81. Rumpf, *CV* 50 already noted the Ionic form of the name, cf. P. Kretschmer (n.1) 70 f., and compare the inscription on the hydria in Keck, *Studien* 187 ff. The fragment in Palermo (Rumpf, *CV* 23 no. 62; Keck, *Studien* 160), which Rumpf saw as a possible example of self-variation, is of no value for our present theme.

clothed in chiton and himation, lying on a *kline* and watching the scene before him: two youths wrapped in their cloaks huddle on the ground in front of a Doric pillar, and behind them stand two women; a third stands close by the *kline*. Apart from the inscription naming him as 'Adrestos', we can just determine that one of the youths is called Tydeus, while the other is called mysteriously JOMAXOC.⁶⁵ This picture can be interpreted with reasonable certainty as the encounter of Polyneikes and Tydeus at the court of Adrastus, which led to the marriages with Adrastus' daughters Argeia and Deipyle, and so to his participation in the war of the Seven against Thebes;⁶⁶ thus the group of women will be his daughters and the woman next to the *kline* his wife Amphithea.⁶⁷ Without needing to consider other aspects, we can easily determine the main traits of the monopsiast Adrastus: he is lying on his couch as lord of Argos—master in his own house—in what is indicated by the pillar as his palace, surrounded by his wife and daughters, observing the events, if not actually controlling them. There can in fact be no doubt who will make the decision about the two suppliants.⁶⁸

Phineus belongs very firmly in this particular iconography as a hero of myth. He should by his posture express pride in possessions, but that is precisely what he cannot do; indeed his place in myth is to be deprived of the most elementary of these, the right to dine at his own table. We see that he is a 'negative example', in that his recumbent position contrasts with his helpless blindness and his real situation. But his position is also emphasised to be that of a symposiast. The position therefore also suggests enjoyment of *euphrosyne*, the best and most civilized aspects of social life. It suggests peace and good cheer and culture, as it does in innumer-

able vase paintings.⁶⁹ Of these things too he has been deprived, even if these are about to be restored to him by the Boreads. It seems to be clear that by making Phineus lie down, the painter was affirming both what he should be, and what he should be enjoying, and therefore by contrast the extent of his deprivation.

The second question we posed at the outset concerns the significance of the Horae. Past solutions have not always been happy. Hanfmann⁷⁰ in his magisterial discussion of Horae in 1951 wrote: 'If there is any special meaning intended, it probably concerns the welcome change in the diet of Phineus—from now on he will enjoy fresh and wholesome food such as the Horae bring'. Equally unconvincing is Schefold,⁷¹ who still speaks of 'the beautiful young serving women'—he means the Horae—'who stand gazing in amazement at the aerial pursuit ...' By contrast Erika Simon⁷² instinctively hit the right note: 'Die Horen als gütige, schenkende Göttinnen bilden den Gegensatz zur Raffgier der Harpuiai. Die archaische Menschen dachten in solchen starken Antithesen, archaische Künstler stellten sie dar'. The Horae are certainly there to make an antithesis with the Harpies, for only these two groups are named as groups, while the Boreads are identified individually. The Boreads already make the antithesis with the Harpies, and one is justified in asking why the painter felt that he needed the extra emphasis of the Hours, which after all no other painter followed. The explanation is that the Hours have a more precise significance.

The Horae at this period were not just givers of good. The precise interpretation is given us by Pindar sixty years later. In the 13th *Olympian*, he lists the Hesiodic Hours (v.17) and their qualities. They are *Eunomia*, *Dike* and *Eirene*: Order, Right and Peace; they are the 'golden daughters of Lawfulness (Themis)' and he continues (8-10);

ἐθέλοντι δ' ἀλέξειν
 *Υβριν, Κόρου ματέρα θρασύμυθον.

'and they are ready to drive off Hybris, who is the mother of greed, whose words are impudent'.

One could scarcely have a better commentary on this picture than Pindar's words, and equally one could not have a better commentary on Pindar than this picture. The Horae are restorers of *Dike*, defenders against *Hybris*, and they are positioned next to the table, for as

⁶⁹ See the references assembled by W.J. Slater, 'Peace, the symposium and the poet', *ICS* vi 2 (1981) 206-14; *id.*, 'Symposium at Sea', *HSCP* lxxx (1976) 161-70. There is a vast bibliography on the symposium, including its iconography, in O. Murray (ed.), *Symptica: a symposium on the symposium* (Oxford 1990) 321-38.

⁷⁰ G.M.A. Hanfmann, *The season sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks: Dumbarton Oaks Studies* ii (Cambridge, Mass. 1951) i 80-1, but *cf.* 97: 'they stand like guardians between the flight of the Harpies and the recovery of Phineus, holding a flower like a symbol of benediction towards the Boreads and heralding a new era for Phineus'.

⁷¹ K. Schefold, *Gods and Heroes in Late Archaic art*, trans. A. Griffiths (Cambridge 1992) 193. We deliberately quote this new translation.

⁷² E. Simon, *Führer* 85.

⁶⁵ See Hampe-Simon (n.64) 26; Keck, *Studien* 159; Schefold 181. If one takes into account the remaining space, the following are possibilities: Philomachos, Promachos, Axiomachos, Hoplomachos, Monomachos, Neomachos, Pezomachos or Theomachos.

⁶⁶ For the story see Hampe-Simon (n.64) 21 ff.; Schefold 181 ff.

⁶⁷ *LIMC* i (1981) s.v. Amphithea (G. Berger-Doer) 723 no. 1. She and her daughters play practically no role in Greek art; *cf.* *LIMC* i (1981) s.v. Argeia (G. Berger-Doer) 588 no. 3.

⁶⁸ On crouching suppliants, *cf.* H. Möbius, *AM* xli (1916) 217; W. Wrede, *AM* xli (1916) 270 ff. One can compare also the suppliants crouching on the ground around Oedipus and the Sphinx on an amphora in Stuttgart 65/15; Keck, *Studien* 277 s.v. no. 8. Perhaps the picture of Adrastus is supposed to remind us of that version of the myth, according to which Polyneikes and Tydeus together beg Adrastus to be allowed to join the expedition of the Seven, *cf.* the scholion on Aeschylus, *Septem* 574(b). The aspect emphasised here, viz. the reception of suppliants or guests by a monopsiast whose prominence shows him to be the master of the house, should be compared with the portrayal on the well known hydria Berlin F 1890 (J. Burow, *Der Antimenesmaler* = Kerameus vii (Mainz 1989) no. 61 with the commentary 64 ff.) and the late example of Poseidon, lying on a *kline* and welcoming Theseus, on the Kadmos painter's kalix-krater Bologna 303 (Beazley, *ARV*² 1184 f., 6; M. Robertson, *The art of vase-painting in classical Athens* (Cambridge 1992) 248 fig. 254).

Pindar goes on to say one of the things they give is Aglaia, the joy of celebration.

Simon was right to see the antithesis between Horae and Harpies, and to make the comparison with lyric poetry. Just as clear is the antithesis between Harpies and Boreads. But the other archaic antitheses are here too. We have also the disturbed meal versus the restored meal. We have disorder versus order, right versus wrong, Dike versus Hybris. The picture shows the restoration of order, and its symbol is the restoration of the disturbed meal and all that it implies. That is, we have the restoration of sympotic order, its preservation from hybris, a major theme of Greek poetry,⁷³ and one supremely suited for a grand drinking cup to decorate a symposium.

It is possible to derive from this interpretation a better understanding of the rest of the inside too (PLATE VI). On the right a silen discovers a fountain, and one supposes that it has become wine because of the advent of Dionysus in a chariot drawn by a lion and a panther.⁷⁴ In fact, wine-fountains and the changing of water into wine are characteristic signs of Dionysiac influence.⁷⁵ Our oldest representation of this miracle is the Phineus cup,⁷⁶ where the wine is presumably meant for the animals that pull the chariot of Dionysus; a lion, a panther, and two deer are united in the service and the harmony of the god.⁷⁷

⁷³ See e.g. N.R.E. Fisher, *HYBRIS* (Warminster 1992) 69: 'In Hesiod, *hybris* is used repeatedly as a contrast to *dike*, to indicate behaviour, violent, criminal, and antisocial', with further bibliography; and specifically for symposia, 92 ff., and 194 ff.

⁷⁴ It is true that it is not absolutely certain that a wine-fountain is meant, especially since the vine growing round the lionshead fountain can be found with springs, that obviously produce water. However, the emotional gestures of the silen leading in front of the chariot of Dionysus as well as the Dionysiac theme of the whole vase suggest that wine must be intended. The vine is used as an argument e.g. by Keck, *Studien* 89. On the fountain-house of the Phineus cup see B. Dunkley, *BSA* xxxvi (1935/6) 204 no. 354. But Dionysus is a fertility god in a wider sense, and according to Pausanias iv 36.7 there was near Kyparissa a spring called Dionusias which Dionysus is supposed to have caused to appear by striking the ground with his thyrsos.

⁷⁵ M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich 1973) i³ 589. Most famous was the localization of the chariot-ride of Dionysus and the wine-fountain on Naxos, cf. G.M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic black-figure vase-painting* (Ann Arbor 1992), esp. 67 ff. Even the followers of the god can cause wine to appear. Euripides describes how a maenad makes wine spring forth by striking the ground with her narthex: *Bacchae* 706 ff.; cf. J. Roux, *Euripide: Les Bacchantes* (Paris 1972) ii 465 ff.; J. Vürtheim, *CQ* xiv (1920) 92 ff.

⁷⁶ The Gela painter shows three enthusiastic silens gathered round a wine-fountain with a mule's head spout, from which a pithos is being filled. One silen draws wine, another makes off with a skyphos, a third approaches with a drinking horn. An altar indicates that the place where this takes place must be a Dionysiac sanctuary: Beazley, *Paralipomena* 215; Beazley, *Addenda*² 119.

⁷⁷ See M. Steinhart, *AA* (1992) 499 ff. On *louteria* see R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutiké* = *BEFAR* cc (Paris 1962) 77 ff. Horses drink from *louteria* on a Northampton amphora; München 586, CVA München (6) Taf. 297; on a neck-amphora in Boston, 01.8060: CVA Boston (2) Plate 78. Oxen: Amsterdam 8196: J.M. Hemelrijk, *BABESCH* xlix (1974) 118 ff.; Orvietto 2765: M.R. Wojcik, *Museo Claudio Faina di Orvietto. Ceramica attica a figure nere* (Perugia 1989) 241 f. no 120; column-krater in Milan: Coll. 'H.A.' 316: CVA Milan, Coll. 'H.A.' (2) Pl. III 1.2.

On the left silens approach nymphs whom they have discovered in a spring, this time of water. This idyllic bathing scene resembles closely only two other vase-paintings of the sixth century in its rendition of nature.⁷⁸ In the Phineus cup, besides the natural setting and the motif of the bathers, the bold portrayal of the crouching nymphs is noteworthy, since it only really finds its successor in Attic red-figure and later art.⁷⁹ The spring and the palm tree that hint at the fruitfulness of the Dionysiac landscape do not represent a pure picture of nature, since the water comes from a lionshead spout, but may be taken reasonably to mean that Dionysus as a god of fertility tends to be connected also with water.⁸⁰ One may assume that the fountain of water represents the fruitful Dionysiac landscape. Yet the attempt of the two silens to approach the spring suggests other possibilities of interpretation.

In the foundation-myth of Nicaea in Bithynia it was recorded how Dionysus tried to ravish a water-nymph in that area. When she rejected his advances, he changed the water into wine and was able by this means to achieve his purpose.⁸¹ His followers clearly have the same intent here. Water changes to wine at the approach of Dionysus, and his disreputable followers immediately seek to indulge in their amiable combination of sex and alcohol. Though silens and nymphs cheerfully indulge in sex in literature and art, yet the overtones of violence are often present; and on the outside of the Phineus cup there is a *symplegma* of silen and nymph, but also a nymph fleeing from a threatening silen (PLATE V). In Attic pottery we can find from the time of Sophilos the motif of the aggressive silen and the nymph who flees or defends herself.⁸²

⁷⁸ On a lost cup of the Hunt-painter three females bathe in what could be a river or a lake, and which is surrounded by trees and vines. We can recognize the bathers as nymphs, just as on the Phineus cup (*Jagdmalerei*, formerly Kassel S 49a. Similarity with the Phineus cup was noted already by W. Klein (n.1) 217. Cf. now Pipili, *Laconian Iconography* 37. On the appellation 'Nymphs' see Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery* 85; A. Furtwängler in: *FR* i 218; Klein (n.1) 125). Related to it is the picture on an amphora of the Priam painter in Rome (Rome, Villa Giulia: Beazley, *Paralipomena* 146,8 ter; Beazley, *Addenda*² 90): the viewer looks out through a grotto indicated by jagged rocks at a diving tower flanked by two trees; women stand on it ready to dive or wash or swim in the water.

⁷⁹ On the motif, see J.D. Beazley, *Greek vases in Poland* (Oxford 1928) 68; R. Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite* (Munich 1954). Cf. the *pelike* of the Nikoxenos painter, Athens 1425 (Beazley *ARV*² 223,6) and the *lekythos*, Würzburg K 1831 in E. Simon (ed.), *Minoische und Griechische Antiken. Die Sammlung Kiseleff im Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg* ii (Mainz 1989) 94 no. 157.

⁸⁰ On exotic palms outside sanctuaries see H. Baumann, *Die griechische Pflanzenwelt* (Munich 1982) 58 f., 213. D. Burr Thompson and R.E. Griswald, *Garden lore of ancient Athens: excavations in the Athenian Agora: picture book* viii (Athens 1963) 26. On the interpretation of the palm in the sense proposed here see already Furtwängler in *FR* i 215.

⁸¹ W. Leschhorn, *Gründer der Stadt: Palingenesia* xx (Stuttgart 1984) 365; P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et Géographie dionysiaques: recherches sur l'oeuvre de Nonnus von Panopolis* (Clermont-Ferrand 1991) 148-54; L. Gierth, *Griechische Gründungssagen als Zeugnisse historischen Denkens vor dem Einsetzen der Geschichtsschreibung* (Diss. Freiburg i. Br. 1970, pub. 1971) 15.

⁸² Sophilos, fr. Istanbul 4514; Carpenter, *Dionysian imagery* Plate 18a; cf. A. Schöne, *Der Thiasos* (Göteborg 1987) 133 ff.

If we now consider the story told by Herodotus 6.137 of Pelasgians who attacked the daughters of the Athenian at the Enneakrounos fountain and forced them 'through hybris', we can conclude that the silens here who molest the nymphs are symbols of that same hybris. In fact we may have something like a combination of two traditions, silens who molest nymphs—e.g. at fountains—and the Herodotean ambush by the Pelasgians, on an Attic red-figure bell krater in Tübingen: two silens are harassing a girl who is occupied in drawing water from a well.⁸³ Dionysiac tranquillity and drunken hybris are opposites, to some extent combined in the nature of Dionysus himself.⁸⁴ As a dignified lord of wine and of the cultured symposium, he can be shown nonetheless as the master of the undignified and animal-like silens, who represent here the misuse of wine and its resulting hybris.

It is one more example of how poets and artists of the archaic period tended to conceptualize their thought about the universe in terms of oppositions, just as Homer sees his world in terms of peace and war, or life and death. But essentially the two stories are parallel. Yet the myth of Phineus has by itself nothing to do with Dionysus. It has been made into a 'Dionysiac' theme by the artist, in the same way as Pelops in Pindar's *Olympian* 1 is converted into a 'redendes Beispiel' for the victor Hieron, or better still, how Meleager in Book 9 of the *Iliad* is 'made' into a negative exemplum for Achilles by the speaker Phoenix. In a surprisingly similar way an archaic artist like the Phineus painter can take a myth and 'make' it express whatever he wishes.

Since there is no other evidence for the Horae as bringers of specifically sympotic order, save for the passage of Pindar quoted above, it is worth mentioning a curious Augustan epigram from Cyrene, which has been the subject of many studies.⁸⁵ Under the relief of a banqueter, which is so unusual that it has been suspected of being a reworked *Totemahlrelief*, we read in prose:

Year 33 (= 2 AD). Under the priest Pausanias Philiskos, born Epiphanes, when all had ceased their grief, Lucius Orbius, son of Lucius, keyholder of the gate, <honoured> the liberator from war.

⁸³ R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Jdl* ci (1986) 55; Tübingen s./10 1343. Illustrated in *Alltag und Fest in Athen* (Ausstellungskatalog Freiburg 1987) 52 f. no. 23. On the pictorial tradition see N. Himmelmann (n. 60) 66 with n.80.

⁸⁴ 'Dionysus as the embodiment of opposites—Otto's construct—remains to this day the most successful attempt to deal with the multiple identities of Dionysus'. Thus A. Henrichs, 'Human and Divine in Dionysus' in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone (eds.), *The masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca 1993) 13–43 at p.31.

⁸⁵ *SEG* ix 63; xii 25; xiii 6; xvi 6; xvii 810; Olivieri, *Documenti antichi dell'Africa italiana* fasc. i,2 (Rome 1933) no. 66 with Tavola XV fr. 22a; L. Robert, *Hellenica* i 7–17, ii 142–4, xi/xii 546; *Bull.Ép.* (1965) no. 468. The decisive reading and interpretation were made by W. Peek, 'Griechische Versinschriften aus der Cyrenaika', *Abh. Sächs. Ak. Wiss. Leipzig* lxiii, 4 (Berlin 1972) 13, following J.M. Reynolds, *PCPhS* ix (1963) 2 ff.

There follow the distichs:

When the fury of the Marmaric war was over, the city of the men of Battus rejoiced greatly. Then Lucius, who manages the key to the gate, carved <him> reclining and drinking cheerfully, and placed him by the porch on the way in. 'Friendly Horae'—has the crisis that is now at an end not held up the priest Pausanias enough?

ἽΩραι φίλαι, οὐχ ἄλις ἔσχεν
Παυσανταν ἱερῆ καιρὸς ὁ παυσάμενος;

The text of the last line—καιρὸς ὁ παυσάμενος—has been much debated but seems now to be settled. Obvious are the two puns on the name of the priest Pausanias, 'stopper of woe'. He may not have been a warlord, but he was certainly priest of Apollo. He can now, after the war, resume the banqueting for which his kind was famous,⁸⁶ and to which the relief testifies. The odd mention of the Horae has been explained by Louis Robert as a reference to the well known function of the Horae as keepers of gates, in this case to the sanctuary of Apollo.⁸⁷ Another explanation connects the words φίλαι ἽΩραι with a phrase in Aristophanes' *Peace* which suggests that the phrase is some sort of common exclamation, when one eats a fine fruit; it could then be used therefore especially at a festive occasion: 'C'est la saison'.⁸⁸ Indeed the Hours are connected with Apollo in Cyrene by both Pindar and Callimachus, perhaps in relation to the Karneia; and their nearby cult would be sufficient explanation.⁸⁹ This may all be true, but it will seem an extraordinary coincidence that just as the high priest Pausanias and his friends are going to have the chance to resume their disturbed meals, the Hours should be there to supervise the return of social order and merriment.

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Plate V: Phineus cup. Würzburg L 164. Photo K. Oehrlein.

Plate VI: Phineus cup. Würzburg L 164. After *FR* pl. 41.

Plate VII a: Amphora by the Phineus painter, Beaulieu-sur-Mer, Villa Kerylos. Photo Chr. Avon.

Plate VII b: Skyphos-krater by the Phineus painter. Copenhagen, National Museum, Chr. VIII 496. Photo of the National Museum, Copenhagen, Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities.

Plate VIII a: Attic Neck Amphora by the Leagros Group. The Zimmermann Collection. Photo B. Frehn.

Plate VIII b: Attic Cup by Makron. Paris, Louvre G 153. Photo M. Chuzeville.

⁸⁶ L. Robert, *Hellenica* i (1940) citing Athenaeus 549E; A. Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique: Libykai Historiai* (Paris 1987) 442.

⁸⁷ L. Robert, *Hellenica* i 15 ff.; Brink on Horace *AP* 199.

⁸⁸ *Ar. Pax* 1165, cited by Robert (n.87) 16.

⁸⁹ Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.60 (nurses of Aristaios-Apollo); Callimachus, *H. Apoll.* 81 ff., which may imply that they played some part in the Karneia festival.

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Chalcidian cup by the Phineus painter. Würzburg L 164.





Chalcidian cup. Würzburg L 164

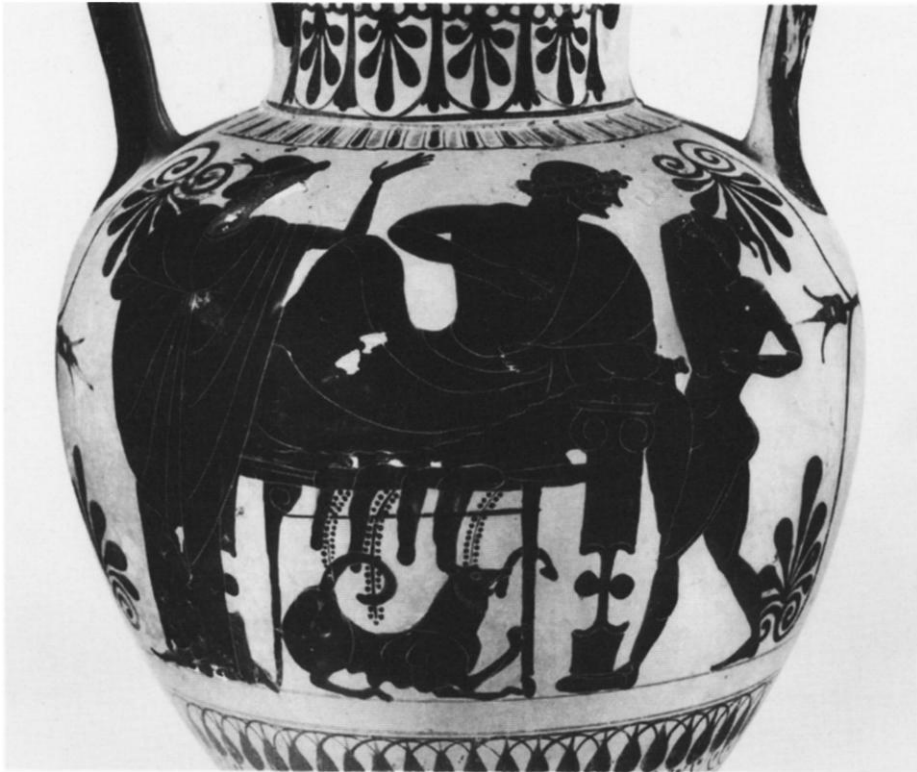




(a) Chalcidian amphora by the Phineus painter. Villa Kerylos, Beaulieu-sur-Mer.



(b) Chalcidian skyphos-krater by the Phineus painter. Copenhagen, National Museum Chr. VIII 496.



(a) Attic amphora by the Leagros Group. The Zimmermann Collection.



(b) Attic cup by Makron. Paris, Louvre G 153.