

PROTECTOR OF THE CITY, OR
THE ART OF STORAGE IN EARLY GREECE*

For Oswyn Murray

Abstract: In the Late Geometric and Orientalizing periods, storage vessels with elaborate relief decoration were produced in several Aegean islands, most notably the northern Cyclades, Crete and Rhodes. This article interprets the amphora-shaped relief *pithos* as a function of prevailing social, economic and living conditions. It is argued that rather than being inspired by funerary or votive uses, the relief *pithoi* of the Tenian-Boeotian group are the material expression of the vital importance of food storage, which not only ensured subsistence but was an essential prerequisite for social differentiation. Relief *pithoi* were a form of conspicuous storage. Against this background, the unique iconography of the Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi* is revisited and the enigmatic fallen warrior on the Mykonos *Pithos* identified as a possible role model for seventh-century aristocrats.

ANCIENT Greek visual arts depicted the fall of Troy in many different contexts and media, but there are only a few Trojan Horses and even fewer representations that offer a full panorama of the means by which the Achaeans entered the city and of the resulting killing and enslavement of the inhabitants caught by surprise within its walls. It is, therefore, all the more remarkable that one of the most ambitious renderings of the Ilioupersis dates from the second quarter of the seventh century BC, a time when Greek figurative art was still at an early stage. The so-called Mykonos *Pithos*, a coarseware storage vessel decked out with the high neck and handles of an amphora, bears a representation of the Trojan Horse on its neck, and on its shoulder and upper belly scenes of supplication and slaughter arranged in three rows of metopes (PLATE 1a).¹ Since its accidental discovery during the digging of a well in Mykonos town in the summer of 1961, it has increasingly attracted the attention of scholars interested in Greek iconography and pictorial narrative, in addition to figuring prominently in introductions to Greek myth.²

While the identification of several scenes represented on the *pithos* remains disputed, it is the fallen warrior depicted in a metope of his own that has attracted the most controversy (PLATE 1b). Not least because of his prominent placement in the centre of the top row, he is felt to be a key figure of the composition.³ Robin Osborne writes in his interpretation of the Mykonos *Pithos*: ‘Whether the dead warrior is Greek or Trojan affects our reaction to and reading of the pot as a whole, and, similarly, the way in which we read the rest of the pot will affect the issue of identification.’⁴ In this paper, I attempt to show that it is our understanding of the pot as a whole, including its archaeological context and function, which should guide our identification of the enigmatic figure.

It is commonplace but easily forgotten that much of what we refer to as ancient art was created to embellish utilitarian objects, to set these in a frame of reference or underline their function. Ancient art may be appreciated and read without taking its original context into con-

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¹ Mykonos Museum 2240: height 1.34m; maximum diameter 0.73m. Published by Ervin (1963).

² For detailed discussions, see Hurwit (1985) 173-6,

figs 75-6; Morris (1995) figs 15.12a-d; Anderson (1997) 182-91, fig. 2; Osborne (1998) 54-7, fig. 25; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 139-42, fig. 61; Giuliani (2003) 81-95, figs 11a-f. For good illustrations, see Hampe and Simon (1980) figs 116-20, 122; Ekschmitt (1986) pls 35-8.

³ Ironically, the fragment containing this warrior went missing during the recovery of the vase and was finally returned to Mykonos via the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, which may have contributed to its being perceived as a missing link: Christiansen (1974); Caskey (1976) 36-7; (1980).

⁴ Osborne (1998) 56.

sideration, but in doing so, we disregard one of the links between the artefact and the society in which it was created, and with this an opportunity to come closer to its intended meaning. For the modern viewer, the Mykonos *Pithos* is foremost a portrayal of the brutality of war and its fatal consequences for the civilian population. But on a vessel designed for the storage of foodstuffs, such a message seems to make little sense. The following discussion aims to recreate the place of the Mykonos *Pithos* in ancient Greek life and thereby to reconstruct its implied audience. An appreciation of the medium ‘relief *pithos*’ as opposed to painted pottery, bronze relief or temple sculpture will bring us closer to the considerations that determined the subject choice of the Mykonos *Pithos*, and will serve as the starting point for a fresh look at the vessel’s iconography in the second part of this article.

‘THERE, TOO, STOOD GREAT JARS OF WINE ...
ARRANGED IN ORDER ALONG THE WALL’ (*Od.* 2.340-2)

The basic purpose of a *pithos* was the bulk storage of wine, oil, honey, grain and other foodstuffs; occasionally, it also served the collection of rainwater.⁵ Its shape was determined by the two main requirements of a storage vessel: maximum capacity and easy access to the contents. This was normally achieved by combining a large-diameter belly with a wide opening at the top. With some notable exceptions, the outer appearance of the vessels was of secondary importance, and the decoration either fairly simple or non-existent. Consequently, archaeologists have tended to pay little attention to *pithoi* and their contents. Many a jar will have shared the fate of those found at Rhitsona in Boeotia, on which the excavator commented: ‘... mending these huge crumbly vases, many of which are almost hopelessly disintegrated, is a particularly long and thankless task ...’.⁶ In marked contrast to their similarly ubiquitous smaller siblings, the transport amphorae, *pithoi*, especially outside Crete, are not normally sufficiently studied to sketch regional developments in type, size and placement, although they potentially hold important information on issues such as local economies, social stratification and domestic space, as well as the organization and technology of coarseware production. This is not to mention the fact that organic residue analysis carried out on *pithos* fragments can help to determine ancient diets.⁷

The Mykonos *Pithos* belongs to the eighth- and seventh-century group of Tenian-Boeotian relief *pithoi*, named for the findspots of relevant vessels and fragments, which include the Cycladic islands of Andros, Tenos, Mykonos, Delos and Keos, as well as Euboea and Boeotia, although the prominence of the latter provenance seems to be based largely on dealer information.⁸ Sherds of a *pithos* of this group have been found as far away as Policoro, ancient Siris in South Italy.⁹ By far the greatest number of complete and fragmentary *pithoi* of the Tenian-Boeotian group was recovered from Andros and Tenos, indicating that the northern Cyclades were the home of the potters-cum-croplasts to whom this particular tradition may be ascribed. Fragments from Attica, Naxos and Paros and a jar from Thera are decorated in similar techniques,

⁵ Caskey (1976) 19; Cullen and Keller (1990); Christakis (1999) 4; Cahill (2002) 71, 227-8; *pithoi* for the collection of rainwater: *ibid.* 109, 143.

⁶ Ure (1934) 52; compare the comments by Cahill (2002) 63 on the old excavations at Olynthus: ‘Indeed, to collect, sort and mend the quantity of coarse pottery the excavations must have produced would have been the work of squadrons of conservators for many lifetimes.’

⁷ Analysis of a number of Bronze Age *pithoi* showed that these contained (resinated) wine, olive oil, barley and

honey products (beer and mead?), pulses, grain and meat: Tzedakis and Martlew (1999) 95, 142-7, 159-61, 169, 178-9, 186.

⁸ See De Ridder (1898); Courby (1922) 66-82; Hampe (1936) 56-77; Schäfer (1957) 67-90; *BCH* 86 (1962) 962-3, fig. 6; Kontoleon (1969); Anderson (1975) xxv-xli, 1-28; Caskey (1976); Blome (1985); Ekschmitt (1986) 146-59; Caskey (1998); Simantoni-Bournia (1999); (2001).

⁹ Hänsel (1973) 242, 426-7, figs 16-17.

but differ somewhat in style.¹⁰ Obviously, the Tenian-Boeotian masters were part of a larger regional *koinê* of *pithos* potters, whose products stand out for their elaborate relief decoration.

From the earliest times, a common type of *pithos* ornament consisted of ropework applied in relief, inspired presumably by ropes tied around the vessels to facilitate handling and transport.¹¹ In the later eighth and especially the seventh centuries, pottery workshops on the Aegean islands explored more ambitious schemes of decoration. Mould-made representations of monsters and mythological figures are stuck onto the walls of many Cretan *pithoi* of the Orientalizing period.¹² A different decorative scheme prevailed in Rhodes, where bands of geometric and, more rarely, figural patterns were rolled onto the vessel with a cylindrical stamp.¹³ In a way, the technique of the Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi* remained the most primitive: figures and other ornaments were cut out of a thin layer of relatively fine clay and attached to the walls of the *pithoi* before these had completely dried. Details were rendered by incision or stippling; in addition, a variety of stamps could be used to indicate eyes and ears and to apply patterns to the dress and other elements of the design.¹⁴ Some seventh-century examples bear the impressions of numerous intricately carved stamps.¹⁵ Even if templates were used to facilitate the shaping of the appliqué, decorating a *pithos* in this way was very labour-intensive. It also resulted in more varied designs, as serial production of the ornament was not possible beyond the prefabrication of, for example, ten round hoplite shields.

Of the *pithos* makers of the Orientalizing period, those of the Tenian-Boeotian group invested the greatest amounts of time and care in embellishing their *pithoi*, and because of the extensive figure decoration, their products are the most interesting from an iconographic point of view. They are, however, part of a more general trend towards elaborate storage containers that swept across the islands of the Aegean from the late eighth century onwards and lost its impetus in the early sixth. The new interest in decoration concentrated on a specific shape: the traditional storage vessel with continuous contour line, more or less strongly pronounced belly, and multiple or no handles was superseded by a jar with the set-off neck and handles of a neck amphora.

At present, the earliest evidence for amphora-shaped *pithoi* comes from Geometric Crete, where a development from plump to more slender, high-necked versions may be traced.¹⁶ The borrowing of the amphora shape for *pithoi* can easily be explained by the fact that both are storage vessels. Amphora-shaped *pithoi* of moderate sizes may have been better suited to the purpose of private household storage, which would have required greater flexibility and containers that could more easily be moved than those used for bulk storage in the palace magazines of the Bronze Age.¹⁷ As the amphora was typically a container for wine and oil, however, one may also wonder whether at first only *pithoi* intended for liquid storage were given the new and perhaps more prestigious form. In any case, the relief *pithoi*, especially of the Tenian-Boeotian and Rhodian groups, take the assimilation to an amphora far beyond the practical level. The wish to enhance the outer appearance prevails over functional considerations: two vertical handles placed on the neck are not of much help in carrying a vessel that is some one and a half metres tall, especially if it is filled. In fact, the handles of these jars consist of fairly thin, curved

¹⁰ Attica: Themelis (1976) 2, 101, pl. 13; Caskey (1976) 30, pl. 5.30. Naxos: Simantoni-Bournia (1984). Paros: *BCH* 102 (1978) 734, 736 fig. 197; Bakalakis (1987). Thera: Kontoleon (1958) 132-3, *Beil.* 101-3.

¹¹ Cullen and Keller (1990) 186-200, fig. 2; Betancourt (1985) 91, 110, 112, pls 8a, 15a-b, 16d-e.

¹² Courby (1922) 40-53; Levi (1927-29); Schäfer (1957) 9-44; Hornbostel (1970); Eals (1971); Demargne (1972); Weinberg (1973); Anderson (1975) liv-lxxix, 41-61; Johnston (1984) 39-44; Palermo (1992).

¹³ Courby (1922) 54-65; Feytmans (1950); Schäfer

(1957) 45-66; Anderson (1975) xlii-liii, 29-40.

¹⁴ See Ervin (1963) 41-5.

¹⁵ E.g. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.506 and Antikenmuseum Basel BS 617; De Ridder (1898) pl. 6bis; Caskey (1976) pls 7.25-6, 8.28; Hampe and Simon (1980) fig. 435.

¹⁶ Levi (1969) 162-73; Palermo in Rizza *et al.* (1992) 87-92; Coldstream *et al.* (2001) 61, pl. 30a-b. See also Simantoni-Bournia (1998).

¹⁷ Palermo in Rizza *et al.* (1992) 88-9.

bands of clay that seem incapable of bearing much weight, and both the handle shape and the fretwork obscuring the front of the handle opening do not allow a firm grip.

With a broad neck and a voluminous belly, the new shape still fulfils the main functional requirements of a storage jar, and even has a wide horizontal rim to be shut tight with a flat stone or terracotta lid. The strongly tapering lower body lends structural stability and facilitates the ladling out of the remainders. On the other hand, the tight form with set-off neck and marked shoulder, again more prominent on Tenian-Boeotian and Rhodian *pithoi*, is in line with Late Geometric and Orientalizing amphorae from Euboea, Boeotia and the Cyclades, as well as other contemporary fineware shapes. The openwork ornament of the handles is paralleled on several large Protoattic amphorae.¹⁸ Judging by its initial similarity to wickerwork, this type of handle decoration may have been inspired by basketry. On the Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi*, it becomes more baroque as the seventh century progresses, including volutes that bring to mind the great bronze kraters of the sixth century.¹⁹ Overall, the amphora-shaped relief *pithoi* very clearly express the wish of their owners to exalt the outer appearance of the profane containers. This phenomenon has tentatively been explained with the display of *pithoi* in sanctuaries or their use in funerary contexts, an assumption that has not been without consequences for the interpretation of the relief imagery.²⁰ The following observations on the findspots and functions of archaeologically documented relief *pithoi* suggest instead that the motivation to embellish was at least initially closely connected with the vessels' role as storage jars.

The Mykonos *Pithos* was said to have contained human bones. The find of a large Geometric krater nearby suggests that the relevant part of the modern town of Mykonos served as a cemetery in the eighth and seventh centuries.²¹ The use of large storage vessels as containers for inhumation burials was a recurring phenomenon in Greece. A Tenian-Boeotian *pithos* with the representation of a mistress of animals was recovered from a grave in a suburb of modern Thebes, and a fragment of the same class of vessel comes from an Attic cemetery.²² Many Rhodian and a few Cretan relief *pithoi* served as coffins, and the relief *pithos* from Thera was found in a cemetery.²³ A use as grave markers has been suggested for the relief-decorated *pithoi* from Naxos, although no examples were found *in situ*.²⁴ At most of these places, the same kind of decorated *pithoi* are also attested in domestic contexts, which raises the question whether their funerary function was a primary one.

At several Cretan sites relief *pithoi* were placed in houses and sanctuaries. According to the Italian archaeologist Doro Levi, his excavations at Aphrati demonstrated that the use of *pithoi* in Crete had essentially remained the same from prehistoric to modern times: they held liquids and foodstuffs as well as domestic utensils, and only in exceptional circumstances, or as a secondary function after their employment in a domestic context, was the use for burial attested.²⁵ Except

¹⁸ Compare Simon (1976) pls III, IV, 15, 44-5.

¹⁹ As on the *pithoi* Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 617 and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.505; Caskey (1976) pl. 6.22-3; commented by Schäfer (1957) 89. A reference to metalwork may also be seen in the row of small, rivet-like bosses on Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.506; Fairbanks (1928) 145, 181 no. 529, pl. 53; Caskey (1976) pl. 6.24.

²⁰ Courby (1922) 36; Schäfer (1957) 91; Anderson (1975) 26; Simantoni-Bournia (1984) 53-4; Cullen and Keller (1990) 196; Palermo (1992) 52-3; compare also Hänsel (1973) 426; Caskey (1998) 479.

²¹ Ervin (1963) 38.

²² Athens, National Museum 5898; De Ridder (1898) 440 A; Brauron Museum: Themelis (1976) 2, pl. 13.

²³ Feytmans (1950); Ekschmitt (1986) 193-4, fig. 94.

²⁴ Simantoni-Bournia (1984) 53-4. In the past, several scholars assumed that the relief *pithoi* from Boeotia were grave markers: Fairbanks (1928) 145 wrote that they '... were doubtless made to be set up on graves like the large Dipylon amphorae'.

²⁵ See Schäfer (1957) 91; Anderson (1975) 58-9. Aphrati: Levi (1927-29) 58 – see also the description of excavated houses in the same volume, 38-57. Dreros: Demargne and van Effenterre (1937) 18-21, fig. 12; Marinatos (1936) 257, 260-5, pl. 28. Lyttos: *ADelt* 24 B' 2 (1969) 418, pl. 427a; *ADelt* 26 B' 2 (1971) 493-6, 499, pl. 512. Onythe: Platon (1954). Phaistos: Palermo (1992) 37, 39, 41, 52-3; *ASAtene* 70-1 (1992-93) 422. Plati: Dawkins (1913-14) 12-13, pl. 5. Prinias: Pernier

for examples excavated on the acropolis of Lindos and in the main sanctuary and houses of the small settlement at Vroulia, most Rhodian relief *pithoi* come from graves. However, Feytmans noted in her study of this material that several of the *pithoi* containing burials had a worn surface or showed traces of repair, indicating that they had fulfilled another task before.²⁶ Just as on the *pithoi* of the Tenian-Boeotian group, the relief decoration of these *pithoi* is restricted to the neck and upper belly of one side. The confinement of the decoration suggests that the vessels were designed to be aligned along a wall and set into a stand or partly buried, with the back and lower portion of their bodies hidden. The small foot would in any case have required some kind of support. The self-supporting Cretan relief *pithoi*, on the other hand, were often decorated down to the base. Interestingly, some Rhodian *pithoi* from funerary contexts also bore ornaments from rim to foot. As these showed no obvious traces of wear, Feytmans concluded that these particular examples were made specifically for burial.

The better-documented of the two main findspots of Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi* explains why the decoration was restricted to the upper front of the vessels, and confirms that their primary purpose was the storage of foodstuffs. The Australian excavations at Zagora on Andros, a settlement which flourished in the second half of the eighth century and was abandoned in the early seventh, shed light on the Geometric phase of the Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi*. By 700 at the latest, storage vessels at Zagora took the shape of an amphora and were embellished with appliqué reliefs and fretwork in the handle openings.²⁷ Some fragments that bear decoration outlined with pricked dots may go back to the middle of the eighth century, while others, including the representation of an archer, can be dated stylistically to the later part of the century.²⁸ Many rooms of the houses at Zagora were lined with benches on one, two or three sides, which held the greater part of the *pithoi* in use (FIG. 1).²⁹

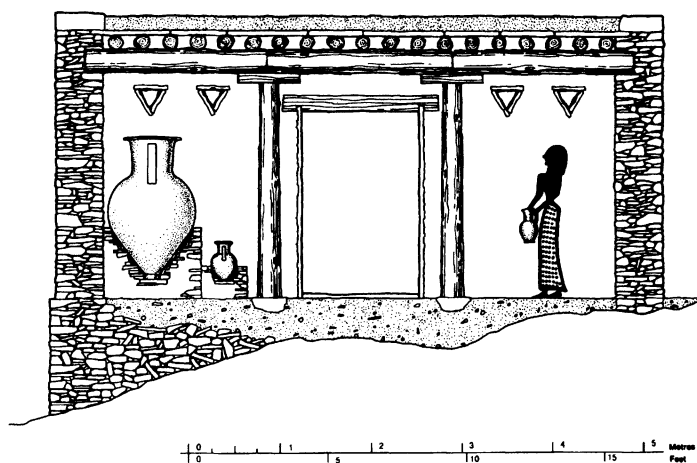


FIG. 1.
Reconstruction of a house at Zagora
(after the drawing by J.J. Coulton in
Cambitoglou *et al.* (1981) fig. 8)

(1914) 19-22, 25-6, 29, 64-70, 93. The cache of relief *pithoi* from Aphrati may have been connected with a sanctuary: *BCH* 95 (1971) 1048-50.

²⁶ Feytmans (1950) 141. Lindos: Blinkenberg (1931) 255-62, pls 40-2. Vroulia: Kinch (1914) 40, 102-4, 108-11, pl. 22.

²⁷ Cambitoglou *et al.* (1971) 54, figs 31-2; (1981) 39, 42-4 nos. 42-3, 53-5, figs 18-19; (1988) 183, pls 236-7 (all Andros Museum).

²⁸ Andros Museum 7, 133, 1145, 1155: Cambitoglou *et al.* (1971) 54, figs 29-30; (1981) 40, 42, 44 nos. 41, 49, 51, fig. 40; (1988) 182-3, pls 127, 226b. See also Caskey (1976) 21-6, pls 1.2-3, 2.4, 3.9.

²⁹ Cambitoglou *et al.* (1971) 19, 25-6, 44, 47, 51-2, fig. 18; Cambitoglou (1972) 262-3, 269, pl. 236α (the best preserved of the benches); Cambitoglou *et al.* (1981) 34-5, figs 8, 10, 13 (reconstructions); (1988) 80, 108, 123, pl. 9; Fagerström (1988) 133-7.

Building benches of stone to secure the *pithoi* may have been easier than carving holes in the rock of the cliff; moreover, the benches must have provided ideal storage conditions, as they would have kept the lower part of the *pithos* cool and dry. Different building phases may be distinguished: in the latest phase, there was a trend to expand houses with an all-purpose room equipped with storage benches into multiple-room homes. Some of the old units with storage benches were subdivided and transformed into designated storage spaces.³⁰ Others continued to serve multiple functions, as was the case in the complex sometimes presumed to have housed the ‘chieftain’ of the settlement, which had, however, an additional room dedicated to storage and food preparation, and a separate dining room.³¹

Xobourgo on Tenos has been the most prolific source of Tenian-Boeotian relief *pithoi*, including some Late Geometric fragments and several spectacular vessels of the Orientalizing period.³² Unfortunately, the brief reports of the excavations carried out by Kontoleon in the 1950s do not provide conclusive information on the original setting of the *pithoi*.³³ Discussion has mainly concentrated on a row of at least six rooms located immediately below a stretch of city wall, including a room that contained sixteen pits for the placement of *pithoi*, presumably not all of the same date and some actually put out of use by later construction. The fragments of three relief and two plain *pithoi* were found *in situ*. The row of rooms itself was originally assigned to the late eighth or early seventh centuries, largely because of the seventh-century *pithoi* found in it. However, Late Classical roof tiles and the technique of several walls indicate that the present architectural arrangement is mostly, and perhaps even entirely, of a younger date.³⁴

The existence of a ‘naiskos’-like inner room, together with other architectural features and the finding of two fifth-century terracotta reliefs with female protomes, suggested to Kontoleon that he had excavated a thesmophorion, a sanctuary of Demeter.³⁵ As the evidence from Crete and Rhodes can show, it is quite conceivable that *pithoi* stood in a sanctuary, to hold either votive offerings, provisions for communal feasting, or the remnants of sacrifice. However, a room with an anteroom and terracotta protomes in a neighbouring room do not necessarily make a sanctuary.³⁶ Perhaps we are dealing with plain dwellings, and the ‘naiskos’ with its off-centre doorway was used as an *andrôn* with three couches.³⁷ The ‘eschara’ built of upright stone slabs in the adjacent part of the unit would then be a simple hearth or, as it is placed next to the wall, a storage bin.³⁸ In yet another scenario, it was a cist grave that held the remains of one or more cremation burials. Petros Themelis has argued that the buildings excavated at Xobourgo were residences not for the living but for the dead, with small rooms housing chthonic cults and the relief *pithoi* functioning as ash urns.³⁹ The presence of houses or grave buildings on the lower terraces of the site would explain the traces of other ancient buildings found nearby, not all of which can have been sanctuaries. Addressing these structures as funerary buildings would be in accordance with their

³⁰ H24-H25-H32 and H26-H27: Cambitoglou *et al.* (1981) 35, fig. 9; (1988) 107-28, 155-8, pls 11-12.

³¹ H19-H20-H21-H22-H28: Cambitoglou *et al.* (1971) 30-1 (‘residence of an important person’); (1988) 79-106, 154-8, pls 9, 12 (not ‘especially grand’ but still ‘privileged’); Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 171-6 (‘dwelling of a powerful and rich individual’); Hoepfner *et al.* (1999) 167 (‘Fürstensitz?’).

³² Tenos Museum: Schäfer (1957) nos. T 2-16; Kontoleon (1969); Anderson (1975) nos. Te 2, 4-22, 25-30, 32, 63-81, 85-98, 101-13, 115-16, 144-57; Caskey (1976); Simantoni-Bournia (1999); (2001).

³³ The excavations were reported in *Praktika* from 1949 to 1958; summarized by Themelis (1976) 4-23.

³⁴ Kontoleon (1952) and (1953); Themelis (1976) 8-12; Mazarakis Ainian (1997) 177-8; Kourou (2002) 265.

³⁵ Kontoleon (1952) 531, 539-40; (1953) 262-3; compare Simantoni-Bournia (1984) 54.

³⁶ The graffito ΔH on pottery from the area would normally be assumed to stand for *dēmosion* rather than ‘Demetra’; cf. Kourou (2002) 265, pl. 68b. More significant is the new – and it seems, still tentative – interpretation of the Π-shaped structure in Room III as an altar: *ibid.* 265, pl. 67c.

³⁷ Hoepfner *et al.* (1999) 190-3. The authors’ assumption that their Unit 2 equalled one house even after the construction of the *andrôn* is problematic. As they themselves admit, there would hardly have been sufficient living space.

³⁸ Fagerström (1988) 83, 132.

³⁹ Themelis (1976) 14-15, 42-3.

setting *extra muros* and proximity to graves of various periods, but there are no convincing parallels for the mode of burial projected by Themelis, and no charred remains of human bones were noted during the excavation of the ‘thesmophorion’.⁴⁰

Even if we take for granted that the relief *pithoi* were originally associated with an early phase of the building or a predecessor structure, the function of the complex – and by extension, the function of the *pithoi* – cannot be determined with any certainty on the basis of the material that is presently known. This may change with the final publication of the recent restoration project carried out on the site, or with future excavation. In any case, the finds from Xobourgo draw our attention to an important characteristic of *pithoi*: their longevity. In the ‘thesmophorion’ and apparently also elsewhere on the site, seventh-century *pithoi* remained in use at least until the fourth century.⁴¹ To the Tenians of later periods, the surviving relief *pithoi* must have seemed incredibly ornate: in the Greco-Roman world, storage vessels were never again as lavishly decorated. They were still expensive, however. Price inscriptions on large, plain *pithoi* from Olynthus show that these cost as much as a house in a neighbouring town.⁴² In fifth-century Athens, even broken storage vessels were sold.⁴³ At Xobourgo, as well as elsewhere in the Greek world, archaeologists have observed the careful mending of these containers with lead clamps.⁴⁴ For the Roman period, Cato (*De agricultura* 39) gives advice on how to repair *dolia* so that they are again suitable for holding wine. The value of a *pithos* was due to the skill demanded by the construction and firing of such a huge vessel. Tellingly, the ancient Greek proverb ἐν πίθῳ κερ-αμείαν ἐπιχειρεῖν μανθάνειν meant ‘attempting to run before you can walk’ (Pl. *Grg.* 514e).⁴⁵

If one considers the large quantity of liquid or dry goods that a typical *pithos* could hold, it becomes clear why ancient households invested in these expensive containers. Some of the above-mentioned *pithoi* at Olynthus had a capacity of more than 1000 litres. The capacity of the relief *pithoi* has never been systematically measured, but a rough calculation based on height, maximum diameter and diameter of the mouth suggests that the Mykonos *Pithos*, which is of an average size for Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi*, could hold *c.* 270 litres. This would supply a medium household with olive oil for about a year or, alternatively, provide the head of the household with a goodly amount of wine, while at least four to six such *pithoi* would have been needed to store grain sufficient for twelve months.⁴⁶ Depending on the family size, between six and ten storage vessels of the size of the Mykonos *Pithos* would have held a yearly supply of basic foodstuffs. Judging from the number of *pithos* emplacements in their storage benches, several houses at Zagora were fairly well equipped with storage facilities. Acquiring ample provisions and keeping them safe must have been one of the main preoccupations of the inhabitants of this settlement, which was situated at some distance from the more fertile valleys of the island and, taking into account the defensive wall, plagued by occasional raids from land or sea. In the house often seen as the chieftain’s residence there were at least sixteen emplacements for storage vessels, including some smaller ones. Either there were more mouths to feed or surplus goods to be stored. Perhaps the extra *pithoi* held wine and provisions to feast the community, just as Odysseus’ possessions on Ithaca sustained Penelope’s suitors.

⁴⁰ The presence of seemingly domestic structures near or in a necropolis can have various reasons. Yet another explanation of the ‘thesmophorion’ envisages the periodical gathering place of a cult association: Lauter (1985) 169-70.

⁴¹ Similar longevity of *pithoi* is attested in Crete: Levi (1969) 155; *BCH* 100 (1976) 728; Palermo (1992) 39, 41.

⁴² Robinson and Graham (1938) 313-16, fig. 31; Robinson (1946) 205, pl. 173.2; Cahill (2002) 228.

⁴³ Amyx (1958) 168-70.

⁴⁴ Kourou (2002) 266.

⁴⁵ Compare Pl. *Lach.* 187b; Ar. *fr.* 469; Poll. 7.163; Zenob. 3.65.

⁴⁶ These are very rough calculations based on the household sizes and consumption figures discussed by Foxhall and Forbes (1982) (six family members); Gallant (1991) esp. 72-4, 96 (smaller household varying with life cycle). Slaves are not included. See also Christakis (1999) 6-8, 11-14; Cahill (2002) 226-7.

In Dark Age and Geometric Greece, *pithoi* could act as a direct measure of a person's wealth and standing in the community. Lined up in the back or along the sides of the main or only room of a house, they were protected from intruders but on display for guests and retainers enjoying the wine or feeding on the food contained within them.⁴⁷ The *pithos* into which ancient storytellers made King Eurystheus leap out of fear of the Erymanthian boar illustrates that a centrally located storage jar was a normal concept even to Greeks of the Archaic period.⁴⁸ As the finds from Zagora suggest, it was in this domestic context that *pithoi* received more and more elaborate decoration, becoming tangible expressions of a culture of conspicuous storage. They retained their symbolic value even when relegated to separate storage areas, as in the last building phase of some houses at Zagora, and the tradition of relief decoration persisted through the seventh century. Here we may call to mind the storage jars of Minoan Crete: the painted *pithoi* from Phaistos and the 'Medallion' *pithoi* from Knossos, for example, bore comparatively rich ornament, even though they were placed in storerooms.⁴⁹ While the seventh-century finds from Xobourgo give the impression that relief *pithoi* were a frequent sight in this settlement, there is some evidence from Crete of the late seventh and early sixth centuries indicating that not everybody could afford ornate *pithoi* or that such vessels were reserved for the more prominent parts of the house.⁵⁰

The main formal characteristics of the relief *pithoi* taken together with the evidence of their findspots suggests that they were elaborately decorated storage vessels and as such a function of the economic, social and living conditions prevailing in the settlements of the Aegean islands during the eighth and seventh centuries. Just like plain *pithoi* in other periods, they were too expensive to be thoughtlessly discarded and could be recycled for various purposes. From antiquity, we know of *pithoi* – including an example of the Tenian-Boeotian group – re-used as well-linings and chimney pots; more exceptionally, it appears that they could also serve as a trap for besiegers, a kneading trough for the poor (Ar. *Plut.* 546), a dwelling for the homeless (Ar. *Eq.* 792) or as the home of the Cynic philosopher Diogenes (Diog. Laert. 6.23; Lucian, *Hist. conser.* 3).⁵¹ Creative use of old *pithoi* can still be observed in the Aegean islands today, where in addition to chimney- and flower pots, they may be transformed into a grill or oven. Recycling would not normally have influenced the appearance of the vessels. Where *pithoi* were commonly re-used in a funerary context, however, certain specimens may well have been custom-made for this purpose and their iconography chosen accordingly. Similarly, a *pithos* might have been decorated with an eye to placement in a sanctuary. In sum, while we cannot exclude that some Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi* were made for dedicatory or funerary purposes, we may assume that the primary function of the greater majority was food storage.

⁴⁷ Hoepfner *et al.* (1999) 167-8 speak of displaying material wealth: 'Nicht ein Stauraum, sondern ein Schauraum war aus dem Oikos geworden.' The drawing on p. 166 presents a fanciful but not completely unrealistic reconstruction of *oikos* H19 at Zagora, uniting in one image variations on known relief *pithoi* (all later than the abandonment of the settlement, except for the example with geometric motifs, wrongly depicted without neck). See Halstead and O'Shea (1982) for the basic interrelation of surplus storage and social stratification.

⁴⁸ The earliest known representations date from the sixth century: *LIMC* 5 (1990) Herakles 1698*, 1705-6*, 2105*, 2115*, 2120-2*, 2124*, 2128*, 2131* (boar), 2616* (Cerberus). Diod. 4.12.2 has a *pithos* of bronze, although many representations show the earthenware *pithoi* of their time partly sunk into the ground.

⁴⁹ Cullen and Keller (1990) 191 comment: 'As the containers of the palace's wealth, both the literal and symbolic foundations of power, *pithoi* not surprisingly received considerable surface decoration.'

⁵⁰ The *pithoi* from a kiln site near Prinias were all relatively plain, as seems to have been the case with the jars in the storerooms at Onythe, although other rooms in the same houses yielded fragments of relief *pithoi*: Rizza *et al.* (1992) 85 and Platon (1954). The existence of plain, often handleless *pithoi* next to relief-decorated ones is also mentioned for Zagora, Xobourgo (date not indicated, but probably later) and Rhodes: Cambitoglou *et al.* (1971) 52-6; (1981) 39-45; (1988) 181-4; Kontoleon (1953) 260; Feytmans (1950) 141.

⁵¹ Caskey (1976) 19-20. *Pithos* well-heads or linings: Lang (1949); Sapouna Sakellaraki (1995) 82. *Pithos* trap(?): *ADelt* 23 B' 1 (1968) 24-8.

‘FOR YOU ALONE GUARDED THEIR GATES AND HIGH WALLS’ (II. 22.507)

Let us assume that the Mykonos *Pithos* was a storage vessel re-used for burial. What do we see differently if we look at it as a container for food, the essential prerequisite of survival, as a container for wine, the prime ingredient of ancient Greek feasting, and, as a result of these functions, as an indicator of wealth and standing in the community? First and foremost, we see the negation of the economic security and social stability that the proudly decorated *pithoi* stood for. Lives are brutally destroyed, free women are reduced to slaves, and a community is shattered: the figures in the metopes act in isolation, women and children have nobody to turn to for help.⁵² How could this happen?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to understand as much as possible of the logic underlying the decoration of the Mykonos *Pithos*. Like the other vessels of its kind, the *pithos* is decorated on just one side, but it stands out both for the close thematic unity of the reliefs on neck and belly, and for the scope of the thematically related scenes. A thematic relationship of the decoration on the two parts has also been argued for other Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi*; on several specimens, however, only the neck carries a more ambitious figure scene, while files of deer, horses, horsemen or warriors march around the belly.⁵³ A composition consisting of a total of 20 metopes as boasted by the Mykonos *Pithos* is as yet unique among the relief *pithoi* from the northern Cyclades and unparalleled on Greek vases of the Orientalizing period in general. Instead, the arrangement of the scenes anticipates the decoration on shield band reliefs and the friezes of Doric temples, of which only the latter would eventually achieve a comparable unity of theme.

The immediate cause for the downfall of Troy is, of course, the wooden horse represented on the neck, shown as tall as the height of the panel allowed (PLATE 1c). The wheels at its hooves and the heads of seven warriors peeping from square windows in its flanks and neck make it clear beyond doubt that this is the ruse devised by Odysseus to smuggle Achaean warriors into the city of Troy.⁵⁴ More ambiguous are the actions of the seven additional figures surrounding the horse. Are these Achaeans or Trojans? A possible Trojan attacker could be seen in the central warrior on the groundline raising his spear. As he is not confronting the horse or any other opponent, however, he is more likely an Achaean getting ready to charge.⁵⁵ It seems, then, that all the figures of the neck panel are to be understood as Achaeans, one of whom is about to attack. Accordingly, the warriors are most often seen as disembarking from the horse, with those still inside handing armour and weapons to the companions who have already climbed out. As nobody is reaching for the proffered helmet, shield or scabbards, however, these were probably added as attributes to characterize the figures inside as warriors.⁵⁶ In fact, the figure with helmet, shield and spear in hand, shown stepping on the horse's tail and back, appears to be mounting rather than leaving the horse. Are the Achaeans entering the horse at one end and leaving it at the other?

Depending on what we expect of an image, these two actions are not mutually exclusive, and can be viewed together as a representation of the ruse. Hurwit feels that he ‘can almost intuit the entire operation from the nearly circular distribution of warriors outside the horse, from the figure at the bottom left clockwise up and around to the attacker below the horse's belly’.⁵⁷ It has

⁵² As noted by Osborne (1998) 55.

⁵³ See Caskey (1976) 32-3.

⁵⁴ Early representations of the wooden horse are discussed in Ervin (1963) 52; *LIMC* 3 (1986) *Equus Troianus* 17*-18*, 22*-4; Morris (1995) 227, 229, 231, 240, figs 15.13-14: inspired by Near Eastern siege machines?

⁵⁵ This figure and the one in the right-hand corner are the only ones in the panel to face left, which prompted

Schefold (1964) 43 to identify them as Trojans, but *cf.* Schefold (1993) 149.

⁵⁶ As already suggested by Kannicht (1982) 82, and now Giuliani (2003) 81.

⁵⁷ Hurwit (1985) 174; *cf.* Giuliani (2003) 83, who argues that the neck panel does not depict successive actions but rather variations on the theme of a warrior ready to fight.

long been recognized that even though they did not repeat the protagonist or any other figure, Greek artists, especially of the later eighth to sixth centuries, tended to pack more than one action or even episode into a single frame. This technique allowed them to represent more of a story in one image, i.e. to illustrate a series of successive actions, or to illustrate an action as well as hint at its causes and consequences.⁵⁸ In the case of the Mykonos *Pithos*, the wooden horse would have ‘to be thought of as being outside and inside the walls simultaneously’: the Achaeans board the horse in the Greek camp and climb out inside the city of Troy.⁵⁹ The apparent simultaneity has given this mode of representation the name ‘simultaneous method’.⁶⁰ This designation somewhat unhappily perpetuates the misconceptions of the modern viewer, for whom all actions represented in a single scene happen contemporaneously, as in a snapshot. In the present paper, the term ‘synoptic’ is preferred: different actions or elements from different episodes may be seen in one panel, but the timeframe in which they are to be understood is determined by visual convention.⁶¹

As a synoptic narrative, the representation on the neck of the Mykonos *Pithos* is unusual for the degree to which it ignores not only unity of time, but also of space. The actions of the warriors (mounting, hiding inside the horse, getting ready to fight) turn the wheeled horse into a vehicle and move it in our minds from the Achaean camp, through a gate in the high wall and on into the city of Troy. Like the contraction of time, the contraction of spatial distance is, of course, a common tendency of synoptic images, as is demonstrated, for example, by numerous black- and early red-figure ransom scenes with Hector’s body tucked away under the couch of Achilles.⁶² It is rarer to find a figure engaged in two or more actions carried out in different places, which actually is just a variant of those representations that show a figure involved in actions taking place at different moments in time. As an early and simple example one may cite a Late Geometric warrior throwing a spear and attacking with a sword, i.e. using both a medium range and a short range weapon.⁶³ The popular Archaic image of Neoptolemos who employs the body of Astyanax as a weapon against Priam combines the two cruel deeds of Neoptolemos hurling the boy from the walls of Troy and slaying his grandfather at the altar. In this case, however, the image sums up the hero’s transgressions to a point where we seem to be dealing with a single act.⁶⁴

In a geographic setting closely related to the Mykonos *Pithos*, the rendering of Achilles’ mutilation of Hector’s corpse on a hydria of the Leagros Group compresses the plain of Troy into less than a chariot’s length.⁶⁵ Hector’s corpse is dragged both away from his parents, looking on with horror from the city, and around the grave of Patroclus near the Greek camp,

⁵⁸ See Robert (1881) 13-24; Wickhoff (1895) 8-9; Weitzmann (1947) 12-14; Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967); Meyboom (1978); Snodgrass (1982); Boardman (1990); Snodgrass (1998) 55-66; Stansbury-O’Donnell (1999) 89-91; Giuliani (2003) 286-8.

⁵⁹ Hurwit (1985) 174.

⁶⁰ Weitzmann (1947) 13-14, 33-4.

⁶¹ The term appears to have been coined by J.M. Hemelrijk in *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 166, 169. It was taken up by Snodgrass (1982) 5 and (1998) 57 and, among others, Boardman (1990) 58 (with reservations); Shapiro (1994) 8; Stansbury-O’Donnell (1999) 5-6, 89, 206 n.83. Giuliani (2003) 162-3, 287 uses ‘polychron’.

⁶² Commented by Robert (1881) 19, who states on p. 20: ‘Dieselbe Unbestimmtheit, wie hinsichtlich der Zeit, herrscht in dieser ersten Kunstperiode auch hinsichtlich des Ortes der Handlung.’

⁶³ As on the oinochoe in Athens, Agora Museum P 4885: Snodgrass (1982) 19-20, fig. 14; (1998) 30-1, 63, fig. 11.

⁶⁴ See Touchefeu (1984). Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967) 76-7 and Snodgrass (1982) 9-10 tentatively suggest a synoptic explanation of this iconography; Giuliani (2003) 203-9 stresses the dramatic effect of the unified deed. Contrast the hydria by the Kleophrades Painter, who preferred to allude to the killing of Astyanax by placing the boy’s corpse in Priam’s lap: Naples, National Archaeological Museum 81669 (H 2422), see *ARV* ² 189.74; *Para* 341; *Add* ² 189; *LIMC* 2 (1984) Astyanax I 19*; Boardman (1976) 7-8, fig. 3 on p. 10; Simon (1976) 105-6, pls 128-9.

⁶⁵ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.473: *Para* 164.31*bis*; *Add* ² 96; *CVA* Boston 2 (1978) 24-5, pl. 82 (USA 916); *LIMC* 1 (1981) Achilleus 586*. First published and discussed by Vermeule (1965); see also Shapiro (1994) 27-32, fig. 16; Stansbury-O’Donnell (1999) 126-7, fig. 52.

indicated by a columnar porch and a burial mound, respectively. This synoptic *tour de force*, then, makes use of topographical markers to illustrate the progress of the chariot or rather the different settings in which Hector's body is maltreated, whereas it is the actions of the surrounding figures that move the wooden horse on the Mykonos *Pithos*. As these comparisons show, the neck panel of the Mykonos *Pithos* is unique not in employing a synoptic strategy, but in the effect achieved, namely the representation of a journey. A Corinthian aryballos of the earlier sixth century depicts Achaean warriors climbing out of the wooden horse and starting to fight.⁶⁶ The Mykonos *Pithos*, in contrast, not just refers to but actually attempts to portray the story of the Trojan Horse, with very simple but efficient means.

There can be little doubt that the scenes on the belly of the *pithos* are related to the Trojan Horse, i.e. they depict the fall of Troy. In general terms, the relationship of neck to belly may be described 'as preparation and execution, the ruse of the horse above forming a prelude to the murder and enslavement below'.⁶⁷ But how closely connected are the two parts? The Achaeans who have descended from the horse are already within the walls of Troy where they will commit the atrocities illustrated below, so neck and belly are geographically contiguous. Chronologically, there appears to be a gap, which perhaps may be filled by the fallen warrior centrally placed on the shoulder: before the attackers could turn their full attention to the civilians, they would have had to deal with whatever resistance the remaining able-bodied men of the city could put up in their surprise.⁶⁸ In terms of numbers, no direct correspondence may be established between neck and belly: there are fourteen warriors depicted in and around the horse, as opposed to one fallen and eighteen shown attacking women and children in the metopes.

Compared to the neck panel, the scenes in the metopes are fairly simple, but no two of them are identical. Seventeen out of the total of 20 contain two- or three-figure compositions with a warrior attacking a woman or mother and child. Again, unity of time is not an issue: in two metopes, we see a warrior either drawing his sword or pushing it back into the scabbard, a mother attempting to fend off the attacker, and a fatally wounded child (PLATE 3a).⁶⁹ Does each metope depict a different warrior? In this case, the *pithos* would anticipate the 'panoramic' representations of the Ilioupersis in red-figure vase painting of the first half of the fifth century, for example on the well-known hydria by the Kleophrades Painter and the cup by Onesimos in the Villa Giulia, which employ continuous friezes.⁷⁰ In fact, some warriors are bearded while others are not. The question remains whether certain figures appear more than once. Perhaps the zone with figure decoration on the belly was perceived as one entity despite its subdivision into metopes. Its composition should then have been guided by principles similar to those followed in the synoptic neck panel, i.e. one should not expect figures to be repeated. Most scholars seem to take for granted that each metope depicts another attacker and victim, adding up to one harrowing vision of carnage.

⁶⁶ Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 186: *LIMC* 3 (1986) *Equus Troianus* 17*. The fragment of a Corinthian *kotyle* appears to show warriors entering the horse: Reichert-Südbeck (2000).

⁶⁷ Anderson (1997) 182.

⁶⁸ On Attic vases with Ilioupersis scenes, this stage of the sack is often abbreviated to corpses lying on the ground, but Onesimos and the Brygos Painter more explicitly depict the struggle and defeat of unarmed Trojan men. See the cup by Onesimos in Rome, Villa Giulia, formerly Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.362, 84.AE.80, 85.AE.385.1-2: *Add* 2 404; Williams (1991); *LIMC* 8 (1997) *Ilioupersis* 7*; Anderson (1997) 234-45, figs 8a-c, and the cup by the Brygos Painter in Paris, Louvre G 152: *ARV* 2 369.1, 1649; *Para* 365; *Add* 2 224;

LIMC 8 (1997) *Ilioupersis* 8*; Anderson (1997) 228-31, figs 7a-b. Fighting and corpses were also represented in Polygnotos' painting in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi: Paus. 10.25.5-6, 26.4, 27.1-3; *LIMC* 8 (1997) *Ilioupersis* 25.

⁶⁹ Ervin's Metopes 9 and 15: Ervin (1963) 48-50, 58-9, pls 24a, 26b; Anderson (1997) 186 n.15. In Metope 1, the woman pierced by a sword is still pleading: Ervin (1963) 47, 58, pl. 21b.

⁷⁰ See nn.64 and 68, and for a discussion of these and other examples Pipili (1997) and Mangold (2000) 120-32. The term 'panoramic' is taken from Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 137-9, fig. 58; similarly Shapiro (1994) 162.

It has been proposed that the metopes on the belly were arranged in chronological order. The only casualty of serious fighting is depicted in the top row, where the Achaeans are still fully armed. In the course of the sack, they abandon their protective armour and long-range weapons, and the number of civilian victims, especially children, increases. At a second glance, the temporal progression from top to bottom rows is not so clear.⁷¹ The arrangement of the metopes is perhaps better understood thematically, and is indeed roughly parallel to the sequence of events in Priam's vision of the fall of Troy, as narrated in Book 22 of the *Iliad* (62-5):

υἱάς τ' ὄλλυμένους ἐλκηθείσας τε θυγάτρας,
καὶ θαλάμους κεραϊζομένους, καὶ νήπια τέκνα
βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ ἐν αἰνῆι δηϊότητι,
ἐλκομένας τε νυοὺς ὀλοῆις ὑπὸ χερσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

sons killed and daughters carried off,
and marriage chambers ravaged, and infant children
flung to the ground amid the horrible rage of battle,
and daughters-in-law dragged away by the deadly hands of the Achaeans.

With the exception that some women are killed rather than carried off, the metopes on the belly of the Mykonos *Pithos* could be taken as an illustration of this passage.⁷² However, Priam envisages only the dire fates of his family members. On the *pithos*, in contrast, violence is repeated metope after metope, creating the impression that merciless killing and enslavement have encompassed the entire city. It is often emphasized that the *pithos* illustrates the brutality of war in a general way, and thereby differs strongly from the literary texts and later pictorial representations, which tell the fall of Troy by recounting the stories of selected members of the family of Priam. Accordingly, some scholars have been wary of recognizing specific figures among those depicted in the metopes.⁷³ However, a broader vision of the fall of Troy does not necessarily exclude the representation of individual figures. Just as the chorus of Trojan women frames the fates of Hecuba, Cassandra, Andromache and Helen in Euripides' play, anonymous women may be depicted next to named ones on the belly of the Mykonos *Pithos*.

In a few metopes, there are peculiar details that seem to go beyond simple variation and may be understood as clues to the identities of the figures involved. The most obvious case is the veiled woman in a metope of the middle row (PLATE 2a). Threatened by a bearded warrior who has drawn his sword with one hand and grabs her by the wrist with the other, she holds her diaphanous veil with both hands. Most scholars have followed Ervin Caskey in interpreting this scene as the encounter between Menelaos and his estranged wife Helen.⁷⁴ The woman's gesture is usually understood as revealing her bust, in accordance with Aristophanes' comment in the *Lysistrata* (155-6) that Menelaos was dissuaded from killing Helen by a glance at her naked

⁷¹ Cf. Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 139-42; Giuliani (2003) 90. The heavily armed warriors in the narrow top row are somewhat formulaic; moreover, there is another fully armed warrior in the rightmost metope of the bottom row.

⁷² Ervin (1963) 56-9; Anderson (1997) 186. The woman in Metope 1 is stabbed; of the others, at least those in Metopes 10 and 16 (or is the former holding a child?) are seriously threatened: Ervin (1963) pls 21b, 24b and 27a.

⁷³ Recently and most decidedly Mangold (2000) 28-9, 83, 132; Giuliani (2003) 84-95; see also Morris (1995) 226.

⁷⁴ Metope 7: Ervin (1963) 48, 61-2, pl. 22; followed by Schefold (1964) pl. 35b; Friis Johansen (1967) 28; Fittschen (1969) 185 SB 102; Christiansen (1974); Hampe and Simon (1980) 80, fig. 122; Kannicht (1982) 83-4, fig. 15; Hurwit (1985) 174; Ekschmitt (1986) pl. 38; *LIMC* 4 (1988) Helene 225*; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 78-80 no. 62, fig. 120; Anderson (1997) 187-8; Dipla (1997) 125-6, fig. 7; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 141-2; Hedreen (2001) 44-5, 47, fig. 15b.

breasts.⁷⁵ It is true that several Attic representations of the recovery of Helen are erotically charged.⁷⁶ The gesture on the Mykonos *Pithos*, however, is basically the unveiling, or rather modest veiling, characteristic of many brides and wives in Greek art.⁷⁷ A fragment of a 'Melian' vase depicting a divine couple on a chariot indicates that this display of a veil could signal marital status in seventh-century Cycladic representations.⁷⁸ Seen in this way, Helen's gesture is foremost a device that allowed potter and viewer to distinguish her from the other women captured at Troy, none of whom had previously encountered her attacker or was to be his regular wife. In addition, it may have fulfilled a narrative function, either reminding Menelaos of what had been or telling the viewer what would be. The fact that the metope in question is not centrally placed does not invalidate the identification of Helen, as has been argued, but underscores the overall theme of destruction: Helen's role in bringing about the war and her individual escape are irrelevant in this context.⁷⁹

The next encounter of Helen and Menelaos that may be recognized with reasonable certainty occurs on a black-figure amphora by Lydos. Although a century younger than the *pithos*, it follows a very similar iconographic scheme.⁸⁰ It may seem problematic to use parallels with later canonical renderings to identify scenes from the seventh century. Indeed, the iconography of the Tenian-Boeotian *pithoi* is often highly unconventional and includes some 'false starts', such as a horse-bodied Medusa and a man-bull Minotaur.⁸¹ When they had no models at hand, the coroplasts appear to have applied common sense. It is reasonable to conceive of the mother of a human and a horse (Hes. *Theog.* 280-1) as partly horse-bodied, just as the man-bull is a more successful creation than the bull-man who was to become the archetypical Minotaur, 'a peculiarly unfortunate creature combining the weakness of a man with the limited intelligence and inarticulateness of a bull'.⁸² Ariadne's thread allows us to recognize the unusual monster. On the Birth *Pithos* from Xobourgo, water being heated in a tripod while Athena is springing from the head of Zeus characterizes the scene as a birth, and wings suggest that the participants are superhuman.⁸³ The same scenes, however, also contain elements that are familiar from later representations. A flash of lightning appears near Zeus's raised hand, and his throne faces right, with Eileithyia standing behind its back. Perseus, about to decapitate Medusa, averts his gaze and is equipped with hat, boots and *kibisis*. Even small details such as the duck-headed finial on the back of Zeus's throne and the lizard depicted near Medusa are not unique to the *pithoi*.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ Compare Eur. *Andr.* 627-31. According to scholia on the relevant passages from the *Andro-mache* and *Lysistrata*, a similar motif occurred already in Ibycus and in Lesches' *Little Iliad* (*fr.* 19 Bernabè).

⁷⁶ At least in the sense that a small winged figure of Eros intervenes: *LIMC* 4 (1988) Helene 265*, 268, 272*, 272bis*, 276*, 277*, 279, 279bis*, 280, 283*; discussed by Dipla (1997).

⁷⁷ Hedreen (2001) 44-5. On the 'veil-gesture', see Oakley and Sinos (1993) 7, 25-6, 30, 32, 44, figs 62-6, 69, 71, and the important qualifications by Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 98-110.

⁷⁸ Berlin, Antikensammlung F 301: *LIMC* 2 (1984) Aphrodite 1286* (Aphrodite and Ares?). Compare *Il.* 22.468-72: veil given by Aphrodite to Andromache on her wedding day.

⁷⁹ Anderson (1997) 187-8; cf. Mangold (2000) 83-4; Giuliani (2003) 87-89, fig. 11e.

⁸⁰ Berlin, Antikensammlung F 1685: *ABV* 109.24; *Add* 2 30; *LIMC* 2 (1984) Astyanax 1 9*; *LIMC* 4 (1988) Helene 210; Shapiro (1994) 163-5, fig. 116; *LIMC* 8

(1997) Ilioupersis 2, Menelaos 46; Mangold (2000) 21, 83, 121, 159 no. I 19/ IV 1, fig. 10.

⁸¹ Paris, Louvre CA 795 and Basel, Antiken-museum BS 617/ Kä 601: De Ridder (1898) 448-57, pls 4-5; Hampe (1936) 58-67 R 1, pls 36, 38; Caskey (1976) 32, figs 14, 22; *LIMC* 4 (1988) Gorgo, Gorgones 290*; *LIMC* 6 (1992) Minotauros 33*; Schefold (1993) 77-8, 117-18 figs 60, 103; Snodgrass (1998) 84-6, figs 31-2.

⁸² Woodford (1992) 581.

⁸³ Tenos Museum: Kontoleon (1969) 228-9, pls 53, 55; *LIMC* 2 (1984) Athena 360*; Ekschmitt (1986) 150-4, figs 73-4; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 144-5 no. 166, fig. 259; Schefold (1993) 52-3, fig. 26. The heated debate about Zeus's (missing) beard seems resolved by the careful analysis of further *pithos* fragments depicting a similar scene; the conventional interpretation is also corroborated by a new find from Keos. See Caskey (1998); Simantoni-Bournia (2001).

⁸⁴ Compare *LIMC* 2 (1984) Athena 346*, 348*, 353*; *LIMC* 4 (1988) Gorgo, Gorgones 39*, 272* and *JHS* 13 (1892) 238-9, fig. 10.

Because their main function was domestic storage, the relief *pithoi* would not normally have travelled much beyond the place where they were produced. This probably explains why their ingenious iconographical solutions did not catch on. On the other hand, the parallels cited above clearly show that the Cycladic potters-cum-coro-plasts themselves were not completely unaware of the artistic developments of their time. Accordingly, similarities between the metopes of the Mykonos *Pithos* and later renderings of particular episodes of the Ilioupersis are potentially significant.

A metope in the bottom panel is a case in point (PLATE 2b). It shows a bearded warrior who grabs a woman's wrist with one hand and with the other swings a child by its ankles. In contrast to the other metopes that involve the killing of a child (PLATES 2c and 3a), it is made explicit that the warrior will carry off the woman. And unlike his companions who attack the children with the sword, this warrior is unarmed and his victim killed by being smashed to the ground. This combination of events recalls the fates of Hector's wife and son, Andromache and Astyanax, the one led away and the other cast from the city wall by Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, according to one literary tradition.⁸⁵ In the *Iliad* (24.734-5), Andromache predicts Astyanax' being seized by the arm and hurled from a tower in the event of the city's fall, and Astyanax held by the ankles and brandished at his grandfather Priam occurs frequently in Attic vase painting from the mid-sixth century onwards.⁸⁶ Priam's vision quoted above shows that to be thrown to the ground was a common form of infant death during the sack of a city. The particular motif of hurling from a wall, however, may contain a reminiscence of infant sacrifice connected with city sieges in the Levant, a desperate measure to propitiate the gods, and a way of death not inconceivable for Astyanax, whose name closely links his fate to that of his city.⁸⁷ On the *pithos*, in any case, the motif occurs only once and in combination with the mother's abduction, which suggests that it is more than just a variation on the theme of infant slaughter.⁸⁸

The third metope that has attracted particular attention is situated on the left end of the bottom row and contains a single woman facing away from the other figure scenes (PLATE 3b). She holds her arms in front of her breast, with the hands crossed. This gesture has been taken to indicate fear, and the woman has been described as Cassandra pursued by Ajax, represented by the lone warrior in the rightmost metope of the row above.⁸⁹ A woman in a very similar pose

⁸⁵ *Little Iliad* fr. 21.1-5 Bernabé; cf. Touchefeu (1984) 929-30 for a discussion of the text sources. The identification of Astyanax in Metope 17 is supported by Ervin (1963) 60-1, pl. 27b; Friis Johansen (1967) 28, fig. 2a; Fittschen (1969) 183-4 SB 101; Kannicht (1982) 83; Hurwit (1985) 174; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 81-2, fig. 124; Schefold (1993) 147, 150, fig. 152; Shapiro (1994) 163; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 141-2. Other scholars reject the idea that the scene in question is specific: Vermeule (1979) 114-15, figs 29-30; *LIMC* 1 (1981) Andromache I 53; *LIMC* 2 (1984) Astyanax I 27*; Anderson (1997) 188-9; Mangold (2000) 28-9; Giuliani (2003) 86-7, fig. 11d.

⁸⁶ See n.64. Following Dugas (1960) 65-74, Mangold (2000) 27-33 argues that the iconographic motif of throwing against an altar was developed for Troilus and then adopted for the representation of the combined deaths of Priam and Astyanax. Early depictions show Troilus' death by the altar, but even though the boy may be held upside down, he is usually killed by the sword and not swung. In my opinion, the evidence of the literary

sources makes it more likely that the hurling motif was first employed for Astyanax and thence occasionally borrowed for Troilus.

⁸⁷ See Morris (1995) for the eastern background to the death of Astyanax, which for her provides an explanatory model not just for the metope in question, but generally for the infant slaughter depicted on the Mykonos *Pithos*.

⁸⁸ At least in the current state of preservation, the child in this metope lacks the genitalia that identify the other children on the *pithos* as boys. Schmaltz (2002) 30-4 argues that it was meant to be a girl and therefore not deemed worthy of being killed by sword. It is, however, highly unlikely that a girl would be represented in this context (compare *Il.* 6.58-9), and if it were, one would expect her to be dressed, as pointed out by Giuliani (2003) 336 n.20.

⁸⁹ Metope 13: Ervin (1963) 49, 62, pl. 25b; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 80-1 no. 65, fig. 123. Anderson (1997) 189 rejects their interpretation.

appears on a *pithos* fragment from Xobourgo.⁹⁰ Otherwise, one is hard put to find parallels for the woman's gesture, which makes the suggestion that her hands were tied a very attractive one. Fetters have been tentatively made out on the Mykonos *Pithos*, but are not indicated on the fragment.⁹¹ The Archaic sarcophagus from the Troad with the sacrifice of Polyxena shows the human victim with crossed-over, presumably bound hands. As has been pointed out in a recent article, it thereby provides not only a fairly close parallel but also a name for the female figure on the Mykonos *Pithos*.⁹² This interpretation could also explain the woman's placement at the margins: Polyxena will meet her death in another context. Because of the curve of the vessel, the woman and the single attacker on the other side are not visible at the same time. If they were connected in spite of this and their respective orientations, the beardless warrior ought to be Neoptolemos – to whom we have just assigned the role of the bearded slayer of Astyanax. As the cup by the Brygos Painter can show, however, Polyxena could also be led to her fate by another Achaean, especially if Neoptolemos was already occupied with killing her father and nephew.⁹³

At this point, we have reviewed what can reasonably be said about the reliefs of the Mykonos *Pithos* without taking into account the metope with the fallen warrior. Two conclusions may be drawn from the preceding discussion. The Master of the Mykonos *Pithos* was both interested in and highly capable of representing larger narrative sequences. More controversially, I would argue that he consciously introduced elements that would allow his contemporaries to name some of the figures on the belly of the vase. In doing so, he need not have wished to emphasize the individual fates, but confirmed what one would have presumed after seeing the wooden horse on the neck: this *pithos* depicts the sack of Troy.

When the fragment missing from the top row surfaced in the early 1970s, its first publication attempted to fill the above-mentioned chronological gap between the neck and belly of the *pithos*. Christiansen related the fallen warrior to the representation of Helen and Menelaos and suggested that he was Deiphobos, the most prominent of the remaining Trojan warriors to be killed in the night of the sack and, according to the *Little Iliad*, Helen's husband after Paris' death.⁹⁴ Ervin Caskey argued that there was insufficient distinction in weaponry between the fallen and the Achaean warriors, and that the full set of weapons retained by the former could easily be explained if he was Echion.⁹⁵ The Achaean Echion perished when he leapt out of the wooden horse ahead of his companions. Accordingly, the dead hero's placement in the metope immediately below the horse fits well, but the heavily bleeding wound at his neck is puzzling. The only ancient source mentioning Echion, Apollodorus (*Epit.* 5.20), implies that he was killed by the height of his jump, and we would have to assume that a different version of the story, involving a military encounter, was represented on the *pithos*. Despite this inconsistency and the hero's general obscurity, the identification of Echion has met with wide approval, presumably because it provides a link between neck and belly, and at the same time a kind of key event appropriate for the central placement of the metope.⁹⁶ As reconstructed by Caskey, the hero's death becomes one of the preconditions for the fall of Troy.

⁹⁰ Tenos Museum: *LIMC* 1 (1981) Achilleus 280*; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 53-4 no. 25, fig. 77; Schefold (1993) 137-8, fig. 137*bis*. Simantoni-Bourmia (1999) 159-60, 162-3 no. 10, pl. 5*b* suggests that this belly fragment formed part of a larger composition depicting the sack of Troy.

⁹¹ Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 54, 80-1.

⁹² Schwarz (2002) 41-5, pl. 10.

⁹³ As on the cup by the Brygos Painter: see n.68; *LIMC* 1 (1981) Akamas et Demophon 11*; *LIMC* 7 (1994) Polyxene 23; Schwarz (2001) 46-7, pl. 11.

⁹⁴ Procl. *Chrest.* 206 Seve = *Little Iliad Argumentum* 1 Bernabé; Christiansen (1974). Onesimos' cup in Rome (n.68) shows that the slain Deiphobos could represent the destruction of the active fighting generation of Priam's family during the sack of Troy: Williams (1991) 50-1, fig. 8*e*. The context suggests that the fallen warrior on Lydos' amphora in Berlin (n.78) may also be Deiphobos.

⁹⁵ Caskey (1976) 36-7, fig. 19; (1980).

⁹⁶ Hurwit (1985) 175-6, fig. 76; *LIMC* 3 (1986) Deiphobos 25, Echion 1*; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 78-9 no. 61, fig. 5 on p. 85; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 140-2.

The argument that the defeated warrior has the same equipment as the Achaeans and should therefore be one of them is unfounded. Some Late Geometric battle scenes employ different shield forms to distinguish opposing parties, but starting with the earliest identifiable scenes of Achaeans and Trojans in the seventh century, we find the same types of armour and weapons on both sides.⁹⁷ In the battle illustrated on the fragments of an early seventh-century *pithos* from Eretria, participants on both sides are equipped with Boeotian shields (PLATE 3c).⁹⁸ In Archaic vase painting, a Boeotian shield is occasionally introduced for one participant in a duel, and more generally to emphasize one or more particular heroes, mostly Achilles and the greater Ajax.⁹⁹ On the relief *pithos* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the huge crouching warrior with Boeotian shield involved in a cattle raid is generally thought to be Achilles.¹⁰⁰ This comparative evidence suggests that had the dead warrior on the Mykonos *Pithos* been given a Boeotian shield, he might just as well have been taken for an Achaean, and for Achilles in particular. In fact, his round shield is one reason why Hedreen's recent interpretation of the figure as Achilles is doubtful. Building on the idea that the fallen warrior is a key figure of the composition, Hedreen's suggestion follows logically from his statement that the death of Achilles was 'the essential requirement for the sack of Troy'.¹⁰¹

Considering that the warrior in question is placed in a metope on the belly of the *pithos*, he ought to be a key not to the success of the Achaeans, which is actually provided by the wooden horse on the neck, but to the suffering of the civilian population illustrated in the neighbouring metopes. The fact that he is defeated associates him with the women and children. As a Trojan, he fills the logical and chronological gap between the disembarkation of the Achaeans on the neck and the murder and enslavement of Troy's population on the belly. For Anderson, the warrior provides in addition a close visual link to the neck panel: he is the victim of the Achaean raising his spear in front of the horse. The battle between the intruders and the remaining men of the city is 'encapsulated in the image of the victorious Greek and the dead Trojan below him'.¹⁰² The figure of a defeated Trojan explains why there are no men to protect the women and children. In accordance with his interpretation of the belly metopes as mostly generic scenes of carnage, Anderson does not give a name to this victim of a 'generic confrontation'.

At this point, it needs to be stressed that the Master of the Mykonos *Pithos* chose an approach different from that of other Tenian-Boeotian coroplasts depicting battle scenes. The slightly earlier fragments from Eretria and the roughly contemporary Ilioupersis *Pithos* from Xobourgo illustrate multiple casualties of war devoured by vultures, rendered with gory detail and a brutal directness very much in line with the slaughter of women and children on the Mykonos *Pithos* (PLATE 3c).¹⁰³ On the Mykonos *Pithos*, by contrast, there is but one fallen warrior who has not become 'the prey of dogs and vultures', the fate most dreaded by any warrior and even old King Priam in the *Iliad* (22.66-76). This warrior seems to embody the piles of victims common in the Geometric and early Orientalizing periods, but he lies collapsed with all the splendour of his

⁹⁷ Brought to the point by Erskine (2001) 59: 'In the world of archaic poets and artists ... the Trojans were warriors and heroes, no different from their Achaean counterparts except that they were always destined to lose.'

⁹⁸ Eretria Museum 16620-1: Kontoleon (1969) 226, pl. 46. The situation is less clear on the highly fragmentary Ilioupersis *Pithos* reconstructed by Simantoni-Bournia (1999).

⁹⁹ E.g. *LIMC* 1 (1981) Aias I 34*; cf. Boardman (1983) 31.

¹⁰⁰ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.505: Fairbanks (1928) 180-1 no. 528, pl. 52; Hampe (1936) 71-2, pl. 39;

Caskey (1976) 33, 35, fig. 31; *LIMC* 1 (1981) Achilleus 389*, Aeneas 23; Ahlberg-Cornell (1992) 53 no. 24, fig. 75: 'ideogram of Achilleus'; Schefold (1993) 136-7, fig. 135.

¹⁰¹ Hedreen (2001) 180-1, fig. 15c.

¹⁰² Anderson (1997) 190-1; similarly Giuliani (2003) 84-6, fig. 11c.

¹⁰³ Eretria Museum 16620-1, Tenos Museum, and also Athens, National Museum 2459: Kontoleon (1969) 226, pls 46-7; Ekschmitt (1986) 154-6, figs 75a-b; Sapouna Sakellaraki (1995) 82, fig. 62; Simantoni-Bournia (1999) 159-60, 163-4 nos. 8, 12, pls 3a, 6b, 7-8. Compare the scenario envisaged in *Il.* 4.237-9.

armour and weapons covering his body. A figure singled out in this way is hardly meant to be anonymous, especially in a composition that depicts individuals elsewhere. There is in fact one Trojan who was seen as the – and sometimes even the only – protector of the Trojan women and children, who died of a wound at the collarbone, and whose body, although maltreated, did not in the end fall victim to vultures but was buried appropriately, preserving his image as one of the greatest heroes. This was Hector, son of Priam.¹⁰⁴

Priam's vision of the fall of Troy quoted above was inspired by his fear that Hector might die in the confrontation with Achilles, and he is concerned not only for his own family, but asks Hector to save the men and women of Troy rather than risk his life against the Achaean hero (*Il.* 22.56-8). Hector's care for Troy and for the women and children of the city is mentioned in several books of the *Iliad*, but is most clearly brought out in the speeches of his mother, father, wife and sister after his death.¹⁰⁵ He defended Troy and its inhabitants, who greeted him as a god, he was the guardian and the glory of the city, and the whole community mourns his death. As Andromache says, wailing over the recovered corpse (*Il.* 24.728-30):

... πόλις ἦδε κατ' ἄκρης
πέρσεται· ἦ γὰρ ὄλωλας ἐπίσκοπος, ὅς τέ μιν αὐτὴν
ρύσκειν, ἔχες δ' ἀλόχους κεδνάς καὶ νήπια τέκνα·

... our city will be utterly
destroyed, for you who watched over it are no more – you who were
its saviour, the guardian of our noble wives and infant children.

Hector's role as protector of the city is already contained in his and his son's names. The son, called Skamandrios by his father, was called Astyanax, 'Lord of the City', by the other Trojans, because 'Hector alone guarded Ilios', or, as Andromache says to her dead husband: 'you alone guarded their gates and high walls' (*Il.* 6.402-3 and 22.506-7). The son's name actually provides an etymology for that of his father; as was already remarked by Plato (*Cra.* 393a), 'Hector' means more or less the same as 'Astyanax', i.e. 'Holder [of the City]'.¹⁰⁶ Hector's close ties with the fate of Troy are also implicit in some topographical peculiarities of his fatal encounter with Achilles. He awaits the Achaean hero outside the Scaean Gate, as if to block his entrance into the city. Then, fear overcomes him, and as he runs from Achilles, he is chased three times around the walls of Troy (*Il.* 22.165-6). His circling Troy three times in flight may be construed as a ritual weakening of the previously impregnable city, just as Achilles' dragging of Hector's corpse three times around the bier and later the burial mound of Patroclus satisfies the latter's spirit (*Il.* 23.13 and 24.14-18).¹⁰⁷ Ironically, Hector's outstanding role as a protector appears to contain the reason for his ultimate failure. As Calvert Watkins has shown, the two Lycian rebukes of Hector in the *Iliad* (5.471-7 and 17.140-8) reflect old Hittite ideals of kingship, especially the ruler's ability to unite and rally support from different groups. Seen in this light, Hector's being alone 'is no glory but his downfall'.¹⁰⁸

Returning to the Mykonos *Pithos*, the icon of the defeated guardian of the city epitomizes in a single image the previous history of the war, and explains why there is nobody to prevent the

¹⁰⁴ *Il.* 22.324-7 (location of fatal wound); 24.18-21, 411-23 (preservation of corpse); 785-804 (funeral).

¹⁰⁵ *Il.* 22.408-11, 416-28, 431-6, 477-514; 24.201-16, 239-46, 253-64, 486-506, 704-6; compare 16.830-6.

¹⁰⁶ Nagy (1999) 145-7; Watkins (1998) 208-11. Morris (1995) 240 suggests a connection between the name Astyanax and the title of a divine protector of Troy.

¹⁰⁷ Compare Hdt. 1.84: carrying his lion-offspring along the walls of Sardis, King Meles rendered them impregnable.

¹⁰⁸ Watkins (1998) 204-6, 211.

Achaean intruders of the neck panel from committing the cruelties illustrated on the belly. If the fallen warrior is Hector, his inclusion interrupts the temporal progression from neck to belly.¹⁰⁹ But I would argue that it is a more serious anachronism to expect even a very gifted artist, as the Master of the Mykonos *Pithos* undoubtedly was, to observe strict temporal progression as a principle of composition at a time when there was often no obvious connection between different panels on a vessel, and the predominant strategy of narration was a synoptic one, disregarding the unity of time and space. Instead, the representation of Hector fits very well into the logic of a visual narrative that refers back and forth to convey the gist of a story. In some synoptic images, most famously the Attic black-figure cup with Circe, different figures introduce different episodes.¹¹⁰ This is, in a way, Hector's function on the belly of the Mykonos *Pithos*, except that he appears as an explanatory element complementing the main focus, which is on the slaughter and enslavement of the Trojan women and children. Again, we find a similar technique employed in vase painting of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods, where objects or attributes refer to aspects of the story not otherwise represented, such as the wine cup held by Polyphemus as he is blinded by Odysseus, a broken hydria in scenes of Achilles pursuing Troilus, or a discarded weapon depicted below Heracles wrestling the Nemean lion.¹¹¹

The fortification walls at Zagora and Xobourgo leave little doubt that war was a reality for the inhabitants of these settlements in the Geometric and Archaic periods, at least in the form of occasional raids. In the same direction point clay plaques from the temple at Zagora, produced in the same technique and presumably by the same workshops as the *pithoi*. One of these fragmentary *pinakes* shows a warrior, the other a woman who appears to be mourning, with a small warrior *pinax* depicted next to her.¹¹² Like these votive plaques, the Mykonos *Pithos* addresses the theme of war from a particular angle. By combining the image of a slain warrior with images that focus on the terrible consequences of a city's fall, the *pithos* emphasizes the role of the protector of the community. If it is Hector we see in the central metope, he is not the victim of Achilles' outrage, familiar from Attic vases of the late Archaic and early Classical periods, his corpse dragged naked behind Achilles' chariot or lying bleeding under Achilles' couch, but Hector the great warrior and protector of the city of Troy. In the *Iliad*, the role of a ruler (or his son of fighting age) as guardian of the city and especially of its female and infant population is not restricted to Hector, but alluded to elsewhere, notably in Phoenix' story of Meleager (*Il.* 9.590-4).

Risking one's life in the defence of women and children is a crucial element of the warrior's code of honour in the poetry of Callinus (*fr.* 1) and Tyrtaeus (*fr.* 10-12). As Callinus sang, the one who fights 'on behalf of his land, children and wedded wife against the foe' is like a 'demi-god' and a 'tower' to the people. Tyrtaeus' poems bring out more strongly the community spirit of the phalanx, but reserve heroic honours for the fighters in the front-line.¹¹³ Sarpedon's well-known statement in *Il.* 12.310-28 shows that these honours could include material privileges such as provision with meat and extra wine as well as land allotments.¹¹⁴ The interconnection of a man's prowess in battle, his standing in the community and his wealth, which we find

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Hurwit (1985) 176; Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 139-42.

¹¹⁰ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.518: *ABV* 198; *Para* 80; *Add²* 53; *CVA* Boston 2 (1978) 30-2, pl. 88 (USA 922); *LIMC* 6 (1992) Kirke 14*, Odysseus 140. As noted by Himmelman-Wildschütz (1967) 74-5, 81, pl. 4: 'Jede Figur trägt sozusagen ihre eigene Erzählung am Leibe.' See also Snodgrass (1982) 5-7, fig. 2; (1998) 57-61, fig. 24; Giuliani (2003) 186-190, Fig. 36.

¹¹¹ E.g. *LIMC* 1 (1981) Achilleus 288* and following;

LIMC 6 (1992) Kyklops, Kyklopes 17*; *LIMC* 5 (1990) Herakles 1882*.

¹¹² Andros Museum 1328 and 1810: Cambitoglou *et al.* (1981) 91 nos. 288-9, fig. 49; (1988) 168, 170, 228.2, pl. 273a-b.

¹¹³ See Murray (1993) 131-6.

¹¹⁴ Compare *Il.* 4.341-6, 8.161-3: feasting at public expense; *Il.* 9.576-80, 20.184-6: land allotments. On the latter, see also Donlan (1989).

expressed in early Greek poetry, explains why a *pithos* was felt to be the appropriate place to advertise the importance of leadership by illustrating the suffering of a city that had lost its protector. While it is highly unlikely that this representation of the fall of Troy follows a particular epic version of the Ilioupersis, its take on the myth reflects the same aristocratic ideology as expressed by epic poetry.¹¹⁵

As a form of conspicuous storage, the relief *pithoi* signalled wealth and power derived from the control of surplus. The figure decoration of the Mykonos *Pithos* sets this statement in an ideological frame of reference, as it relates economic prosperity to the status attained by a brave warrior affording protection to the community. In this way, the function and iconography of the Mykonos *Pithos* may be read together as parts of a coherent whole, a testimony to social relations and ideologies prevailing in small island settlements such as Zagora and Xobourgo.

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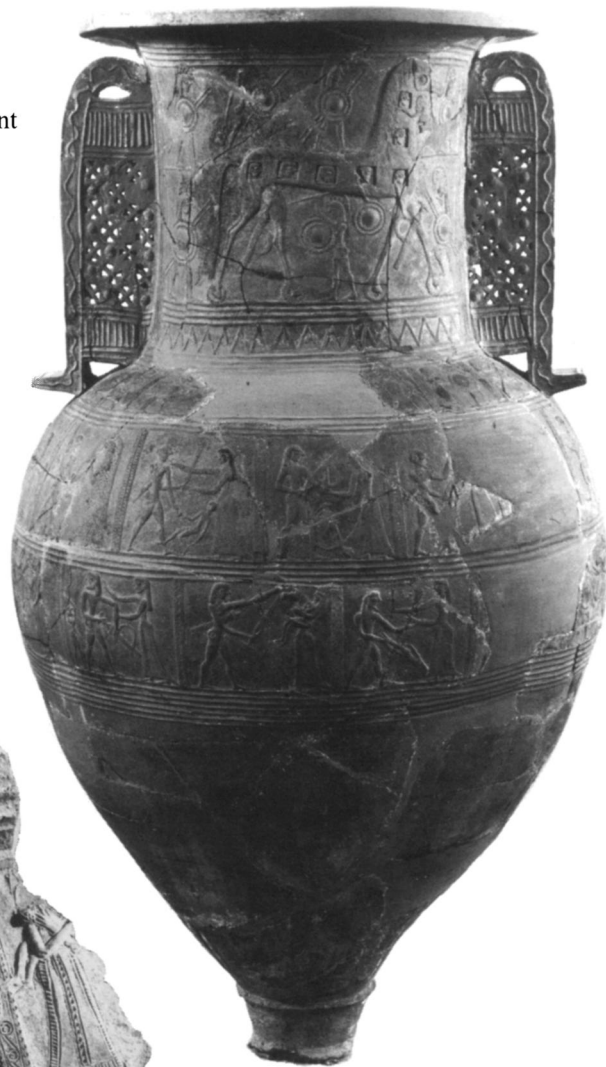
¹¹⁵ See Morris (1986); Scodel (2002) 173-212 shows how the Homeric poems support an aristocratic order while pursuing a 'deliberately inclusive strategy'.

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(a) The Mykonos *Pithos*,
Mykonos Museum 2240
(before reinsertion of fragment
with fallen warrior)
(photograph: DAI Athens,
Mykonos 69 (Czako))



(b) Mykonos *Pithos*: fallen warrior
(fragment before reinsertion into *pithos*)
(photograph: DAI Athens, 85/83)



(c) Mykonos *Pithos*, neck
panel: Trojan Horse
(photograph: DAI Athens,
Mykonos 70 (Czako))





(a) Mykonos *Pithos*, Metope 7
Menelaos and Helen
(photograph: DAI Athens,
Mykonos 81 (Czako))



(b) Mykonos *Pithos*, Metope 17
Death of Astyanax?
(photograph: DAI Athens,
Mykonos 90 (Czako))



(c) Mykonos *Pithos*, Metope 14
(photograph: DAI Athens,
Mykonos 87 (Czako))



(a) Mykonos *Pithos*, Metope 15
(photograph: DAI Athens,
Mykonos 88 (Czako))



(b) Mykonos *Pithos*, Metope 13
Polyxena?
(photograph: DAI Athens,
Mykonos 86 (Czako))

(c) Fragmentary *pithos* from Eretria
Fallen warriors and vultures
Eretria Museum 16620-1
(photograph: P.G. Themelis)

