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# Appropriation and Innovation in Archaic Lakonian Art

**By**

**Patrick James Coleman**

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Dr. John F. Kenfield III

and approved by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

**Appropriation and Innovation in Archaic Lakonian Art**

by PATRICK COLEMAN

Dissertation Director:

Dr. John F. Kenfield III

This dissertation argues that the artists of Archaic Lakonia – the region of ancient Greece controlled by Sparta – developed innovative approaches to narrative imagery by appropriating, modifying, and combining Corinthian, Attic, and Near Eastern precedents. It focuses on ways in which foreign compositions were changed and juxtaposed by the Lakonian vase painters who decorated the circular interiors of black figure kylikes, but the scant related remains of Archaic Spartan architectural sculpture are also addressed. This dissertation concludes that Spartan artists adjusted borrowed conventions in order to suit local viewers in specific contexts and contradicts the prevalent view that Lakonian art is derivative and provincial.

## Preface

During the spring 2005 semester I wrote a paper on the controversial terracotta "metopes" from Sparta for John Kenfield's course on Archaic architectural sculpture. That project established my interest in Lakonian art and eventually grew into chapter 3 of the present work. I am grateful to Stavros Xanthakos at the Sparta Archaeological Museum for allowing me to examine and photograph those metopes, and I enjoyed presenting my ideas about them at the University of Southern California's Art History Department's 12th annual graduate student symposium, which was held in March 2008.

I presented a version of section 6.2 of this dissertation at the Florida State University's Department of Art History's 26th annual graduate student symposium in October 2008. That paper, as well as all of the others given at the same symposium, is printed in volume 26 of *Athanor*. I also presented a version of section 7.4 at the 9th annual Mark Roskill symposium at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst in March 2009.

I would like to thank Nancy Pagano at the Lancaster Public Library in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Nancy, who is in charge of all Interlibrary Loan requests, consistently did an excellent job of finding the obscure German archaeological publications that are referenced throughout this dissertation.

It goes without saying that although this dissertation has benefitted from the suggestions of my committee members, I alone am responsible for any errors. Also, I hope that readers will not be overly frustrated by the fact that I have not used a consistent system of transliterating Greek names and terms.

## Table of Contents


Abstract ii
Preface iii
Table of Contents iv
List of Figures vi

1 Introduction
1.1 Thesis 1
1.2 Historiography 1
1.3 Current View of Lakonian Vase Painting 4
1.4 Influences 8
1.5 Organization and Methods 11

2 Borrowed Compositions
2.1 Introduction 13
2.2 The Ambush of Troilos 13
2.3 Apollo and Python 20
2.4 The Capture of Silenos 23
2.5 Additional Adaptations 25
2.6 The Master of Horses 28
2.7 Conclusion 34

3 The Terracotta Metopes
3.1 Introduction 35
3.2 Description 36
3.3 Debate over Function 40
3.4 Contemporary Parallels 44
3.5 Iconography 49
3.6 Conclusion 57

4. Connections to Free Painting
4.1 Introduction 58
4.2 Free Painting and Vase Painting in the Archaic Period 61
4.3 Lakonian Vase Painting and Free Painting 63
4.4 Three-dimensionality in Lakonian Vase Painting 66
4.5 Conclusion 70

5 Exergues 1
5.1 Introduction 71
5.2 Thematic Relationships in Other Fabrics 73
5.3 Syntagmatic Relationships in Lakonian Kylix Tondos 79
5.4 Paradigmatic Relationships in Lakonian Tondos 85
5.5 Conclusion 89

6 Exergues 2
6.1 Introduction 90
6.2 Columns 90
6.3 Floral Ornaments 104
6.4 The Lakonian Riders 109
6.5 Lotus and Palmette Complexes Outside Exergues 114
6.6 Conclusion 117

7 Exergues 3
7.1 Introduction 118
7.2 Roosters 119
7.3 Fish 125
7.4 Boar Hunting 129
7.5 Conclusion 144

8 Other Combinations of Images
8.1 Introduction 145
8.2 Rhodes 10.711 145
8.3 Exteriors 149
8.4 Conclusion 151

9 Conclusion 152

Catalog of Lakonian Vases Discussed 155

Concordance Tables
1 By Catalog Number 164
2 By Stibbe 1972 Catalog Number 166
3 By Pipili 1987 Catalog Number 167
4 By Stibbe 2004 Catalog Number 168

Bibliography 169

Figures 209

Curriculum Vita 237

## List of Figures

1.1 Lakonian kylix by the Arkesilas Painter. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 189. From Vulci. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Arkesilas weighing Silphion. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: Pomegranates frieze above lotus bud frieze; handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 194. Reproduced from Kaltsas 2006, 129.

1.2 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Once London, Erskine Collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Herakles and Hermes leading Cerberus from the Underworld. Exergue: Opposed roosters. Exterior: handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 194; Pipili 1987, cat. # 12; *LIMC* 5, 91 Herakles 2605; *LIMC* 5, 329 Hermes 518; *LIMC* 6, 26 Kerberos 25, pl. 13. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 72.

2.1 Drawing of a Middle Corinthian bottle by Timonidas. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 277. From Cleonae. Ca. 600-575 B.C. Ambush of Troilos. *LIMC* 1, 76-77 Achilleus 251; *LIMC* 1, 814 Antenor I 16; *LIMC* 7, 511 Priamos 28, pl. 399. Reproduced from Amyx 1988, pl. 84.

2.2 Lakonian kylix by the Boreads Painter. Samos K 1199. From the Samian Heraion. Ca 575-570 B.C. Interior: Ambush of Troilos. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: At least one pomegranate frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 123; Pipili 1987, cat. # 82; *LIMC* 1, 78 Achilleus 262. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 42.

2.3 Lakonian kylix by the Boreads Painter. London, British Museum B 7.4.10-12. From Naukratis. Ca. 570-565 B.C. Interior: Ambush of Troilos. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 156; 156; Pipili 1987, cat. # 83; *LIMC* 1, 77 Achilleus 255. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 27.

2.4 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Cerveteri. Ca. 560 B.C. Interior: Ambush of Troilos. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: Pomegranate frieze over lotus bud frieze; lotus buds at handles. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 291; Pipili 1987, cat. # 84. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 28.

2.5 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Once Samos. From Samos. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Ambush of Troilos. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: Pomegranate frieze over lotus bud frieze over rays; lotus buds at handles. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 294; Pipili 1987, cat. # 85. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 100.

2.6 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 190. From Nola. Ca. 560 B.C. Interior: Blinding of Polyphemos. Exergue: Single fish facing left, circle with dot. Exterior: Pomegranate frieze over empty frieze over rays; handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 289; Pipili 1987, cat. # 89; *LIMC* 6, 954-955 Odysseus 67; *LIMC* 8, 1014 Polyphemos I 18, pl. 668. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 32.

2.7 Lakonian dinos by the Rider Painter. Paris, Louvre E 662. From Cerveteri. Ca. 545-535 B.C. Herakles fighting Centaurs; komos; ambush of Troilos; real and fantastic animals. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 313; Pipili 1987 cat. # 86; *LIMC* 1, 77 Achilleus 256, pl. 82; *LIMC* 8, 693 Kentauroi et Kentaurides 254, pl. 446. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 29.

2.8 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Paris, Louvre E 669. From Gravisca. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Apollo and Python. Exergue: Hare and two rosettes. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays and pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 303; Pipili 1987, cat. # 141; *LIMC* 1, 77, Achilleus 257; *LIMC* 4, 301 Gorgo, Gorgones 167, pl. 174; *LIMC* 5, 866 Kadmos I 11. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 51.

2.9 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Tarquinia and Villa Giulia II 7762. From Gravisca. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Apollo and Python. Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays and pomegranates around stem. Pipili 1987, cat. # 142; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 197. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 58.

2.10 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung WS 4. From Samos. Ca. 560 B.C. Interior: Capture of Silenos. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 292; Pipili 1987, cat. # 98; *LIMC* 8, 847 Midas 8, pl. 569. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 39.

2.11 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Kavala. From Kavala. Undated. Interior: Silenos captured. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Not preserved. Pipili 1987, cat. # 99; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 143; *LIMC* 8, 848 Midas 33. Reproduced from Daux 1962, 837.

2.12 Lakonian kylix by the Hoplite Painter. Taranto. From Satyrion. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Hoplite advancing toward a building. Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Pomegranates and rays preserved. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 298. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 68.

2.13 Lakonian kylix by the Typhon Painter. Rome, Villa Giulia 57231. From Bisenzio. Ca. 560-555 B.C. Interior: Capture of Silenos in two sequential registers. Exergue: confronted lions. Exterior: Handle palmettes over rays. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 342; Pipili 1987, cat. # 97; *LIMC* 8, 847 Midas 7, pl. 569. Reproduced from Brommer 1941, 49.

2.14 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Bonn, private collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komast at fountain house. Exergue: Birds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 336. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 85.

2.15 Lakonian kylix in the manner of the Naukratis Painter. London, British Museum B 2. From Capua. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Man between horses. Exterior: Handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 96; Pipili 1987, cat. # 96; *LIMC* 8, 556 Despotes Theron 27. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 38.

2.16 Lakonian kylix by the Boreads Painter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.121. Provenance unknown. Ca. 565 B.C. Interior: Bellerophon and the Chimera. Exterior: Handle palmettes over rays; pomegranates around stem. Pipili 1987, cat. #57; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 84; *LIMC* 7, 228 Pegasos 223, pl. 169. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 19.

2.17 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. Pratica di Mare E 1986. From Lavinium. Ca. 565-560 B.C. Interior: Symposiasts and Komasts in two registers (see figure 5.7). Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Hunting, possibly Bellerophon and the Chimera. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 19; Pipili 1987, cat. # 55. Reproduced from Castagnoli et. al. 1975, 367.

2.18 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Catania. From Catania. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Bellerophon. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 318; Pipili 1987, cat. # 56. Reproduced from Rizza 1960, 253.

3.1 Terracotta metope. Sparta, Archaeological Museum. From Sparta. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Two warriors. Photo by author.

3.2 Terracotta metope. Sparta, Archaeological Museum. From Sparta. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Mounted warrior and *hippotrophos.* Photo by author.

3.3 Fragment of terracotta metope. Sparta, Archaeological Museum. From Sparta. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Mounted warrior and *hippotrophos.* Photo by author.

3.4 Fragment of terracotta metope. Sparta, Archaeological Museum. From Sparta. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Woman's (?) face. Photo by author.

3.5 Drawing of a Protocorinthian aryballos by the Ajax Painter. Paris, Louvre CA 617. From Thebes. Ca. 700-675 B.C. Exterior: Abduction of Helen by Theseus. *LIMC* 1, 377 Aigisthos 38; *LIMC* 3, 582 Dioskouroi 174; *LIMC* 3, 849 Eris 15; *LIMC* 4, 507 Helene 28, pl. 295; *LIMC* 4, 512 Helene 56a; *LIMC* 6, 74 Klytaimestra 9; *LIMC* 7, 236 Peirithoos 44. Reproduced from Schefold 1966, 42.

3.6 Corinthian red-ground column krater. Vatican, Astarita collection 565. Provenance unknown. Ca. 560 B.C. Exterior: Embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus to negotiate the return of Helen. Reproduced from Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 196.

3.7 Plaques 1-4 from room G in the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, Nimrud. Ca. 883-859 B.C. British Museum. Seated king attended by men and Geniis. Reproduced from Ataç 2006, 80.

3.8 Bronze Phoenician bowl. Paris, Louvre AO 4702. Reportedly from Sparta. Ca. 750-700 B.C. Seated goddess approached by votive procession. Reproduced from Markoe 1985, 328.

4.1 Painted pinax. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16464. Ca. 535 B.C. From the Pitsa cave in Corinthia. Sacrifical procession. Reproduced from Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 225.

4.2 Lakonian kylix by the Arkesilas Painter. Vatican 16592. From Cerveteri. Ca. 550 B.C. Interior: Punishments of Prometheus and Atlas. Exergue: Column. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 196; *LIMC* 3, 4 Atlas 1, pl. 6; *LIMC* 7, 539 Prometheus 54, pl. 424; *LIMC* 8, 41 Tityos 43. Reproduced from Kaltsas 2006, 130.

4.3 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Paris, Louvre E 670. From the Campana collection. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Dioskouroi hunting the Calydonian boar. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Ornamental frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 220; Pipili 1987, cat. # 69; *LIMC* 2, 948 Atalante 95; *LIMC* 6, 418 Meleagros 35. Reproduced from Kaltsas 2006, 124.

4.4 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.15. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550 B.C. Interior: Herakles and the Cretan bull. Exergue: Column flanked by birds. Exterior: Ornamental frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 300; Pipili 1987, cat. # 8; *LIMC* 5, 61 Herakles 2317, pl. 74. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 104.

4.5 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. London, British Museum B 3. From Sicyon. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Komasts. Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 308; and Pipili 1987, cat. # 206d. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 109.

4.6 Transitional Corinthian oinochoe by the Polyteleia Painter. Switzerland, private collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 640-625 B.C. Reproduced from Amyx 1988, pl. 27.

5.1 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 64.1459. Provenance unknown. Ca. 575-565 B.C. Interior: Winged figure. No exergue. Exterior: Lotus buds at handles; rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 9; Pipili 1987, cat. #172; *LIMC* 3, 129 Boreadai 32, pl. 106. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 5.

5.2 Lakonian kyix by the Naukratis Painter. Paris, Louvre E 667. From the Campana collection. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Symposiasts around a floral ornament. No exergue. Exterior: Pomegranates around lip; lotus bud frieze; animal frieze with eagles, sphinxes, roosters, waterbirds, and floral complexes under the handles; lotus buds. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 13; Pipili 1987, cat. # 194; *LIMC* 3, 905 Eros 636, pl. 645. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 71.

5.3 Attic black figure oinochoe by Lydos. Once Berlin, Staatliche Antikensammlung F 1732. From Vulci. Ca. 550-540 B.C. *ABV* 110 # 37, 685; *Paralipomena* 44, 48; *Addenda*[2] 30; *LIMC* 2, 294 Apollon 922; *LIMC* 2, 481 Ares 42, pl. 362; *LIMC* 4, 410 Halios Geron 1, pl. 237; *LIMC* 5, 692 Iolaos 46; *LIMC* 7, 965 Kyknos I 61; *LIMC* 6, 834 Nereus 126; *LIMC* 7, 393 Phobos 2, pl. 330; *LIMC* 7, 464 Poseidon 167, pl. 367. Reproduced from Markoe 1989, pl. 3.

5.4 Attic black figure kalyx-krater by Exekias. Athens, Agora AP 1044. From Athens. Ca. 530 B.C. *ABV* 145 # 19; *Paralipomena* 60; *Addenda*[2] 40; *LIMC* 1, 321 Aias I 48, pl. 237; *LIMC* 2, 144 Aphrodite 1509; *LIMC* 2, 286 Apollon 832, pl. 257; *LIMC* 5, 127 Herakles 2902; *LIMC* 5, 322 Hermes 417; *LIMC* 7, 464 Poseidon 165, pl. 367. Reproduced from Markoe 1989, pl. 5.

5.5 Middle or Late Protocorinthian olpe by the Chigi Painter. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Monte Aguzzo. Ca. 650-640 B.C. Exterior: Hunting and hoplite combat. Reproduced from Boardman 1998, 94.

5.6 Attic black figure volute krater by Kleitias. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209. From Chiusi. Ca. 570-560 B.C. *ABV* 76 #1, 682; *Paralipomena* 29; *Addenda*[2] 21. Reproduced from Boardman 1991, 42.

5.7 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. Practica di Mare E 1986. From Practica di Mare. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Symposiasts and Komasts in two registers. Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Hunting, possibly Bellerophon and the Chimera (see figure 2.17). Stibbe 1972, cat. # 19; Pipili 1987, cat. # 195 and 204a. Reproduced from Castagnoli et. al. 1975, 365.

5.8 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. London, British Museum B 4. From Naukratis. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Artemis Orthia. Exterior: Animal frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 23; Pipili 1987, cat. # 101; *LIMC* 3, 921 Eros 842b; *LIMC* 6, 168 Kyrene 11. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 40.

5.9 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Taranto 20909. From Taranto. Ca. 540 B.C. Interior: Symposium over waterbird, lions and eagles. Exergue: Komasts. Exterior: Pomegranate, animal frieze with roosters, lions, and eagles. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 312; Pipili 1987, cat. # 198, 204d; *LIMC* 3, 467, Dionysos 512. Reproduced from Stibbe 1974, 193.

5.10 Lakonian kylix by the Arkesilas Painter. Samos K 1203, K 1541, K 2402, and Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 478x, 460x. From the Samian Heraion. Ca. 555 B.C. Interior: Symposium and komos in concentric registers. Exterior: Pomegranates over frieze with man catching roosters over lotus buds. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 191; Pipili 1987 cat. # 196 and 204b; *LIMC* 3, 905, Eros 637. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 73.

5.11 Lakonian kylix by the Boreads Painter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 50.11.7. From Italy. Ca. 570-565 B.C. Interior: Introduction of Herakles to Olympus. Exergue: Boar. Exterior: Handle palmettes over rays; pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 140; Pipili 1987, cat. # 23; *LIMC* 4, 714, Hera 459, pl. 433; *LIMC* 5, 124, Herakles 2861; *LIMC* 5, 549-550, Hyakinthos 49. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 12.

5.12 Lakonian kylix in the manner of the Naukratis Painter. Bryn Mawr P-81. From Castel Campanile. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Hoplite combat. Exergue: Confronted lions. Exterior: Rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 93. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 31.

5.13 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Paris, Louvre E 671 and Switzerland, private collection. Louvre fragment from Campana collection. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Hoplite combat. Exergue: Confronted lions. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 214. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 71.

5.14 Lakonian kylix in the manner of the Naukratis Painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 384. From Vulci. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Zeus and Hera (?) seated and conversing. Exergue: Confronted lions. Exterior: Rays. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 95; Pipili 1987, cat. # 133; *LIMC* 4, 686-687, Hera 236. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 48.

5.15 Lakonian kylix by the Boreads Painter. London, British Museum B 6. From Naukratis. Ca. 570-565 B.C. Interior: Youth with pomegranate approaching seated figure. Exergue: Lion. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 154; Pipili 1987, cat. # 158; *LIMC* 6, 168 Kyrene 10. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 60.

6.1 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Tocra 932. From Tocra. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Interior: Zeus seated on a column approached by eagles and a snake. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 285; Pipili 1987, cat. # 131; *LIMC* 8, 321 Zeus 44, pl. 221. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 46.

6.2 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. San Antonio, San Antonio Museum of Art 2005.1.63. Provenance unknown. Ca. 545 B.C. Interior: Komasts around a krater. Exergue: Column flanked by birds. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe, 2004 cat. # 134. Photo by Rachael Goldman.

6.3 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Zurich, collection of Carl Hirschmann. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komasts around a krater. Exergue: Floral ornament. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Pipili 1987, cat. # 209h; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 340. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 89.

6.4 Attic red figure stamnos by the Villia Giulia Painter. London, British Museum E 451. From Vulci. Ca. 470-450 B.C. *ARV*$^2$ 621 # 35; *Addenda*$^2$ 270. Reproduced from www.britishmuseum.org.

6.5 Attic red figure stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 90.155a-b. Provenance unknown. Ca. 450 B.C. *ARV*$^2$ 621 # 34; *Addenda*$^2$ 270. Reproduced from Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 272.

6.6 Attic red figure stamnos by the Eupolis Painter. London, British Musuem E 452. From Vulci. Ca. 450-440 B.C. *ARV*$^2$ 1073 # 9; *Paralipomena* 448; *Addenda*$^2$ 326. Reproduced from Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 248.

6.7 Attic red figure stamnos by the Eupolis Painter. Paris, Louvre G 407. From Vulci. Ca. 450 B.C. *ARV*$^2$ 1073 # 10; *Addenda*$^2$ 326; *LIMC* 3, 427 Dionysos 43, pl. 300. Reproduced from Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 273.

6.8 Attic black figure skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 498. From Attica. Ca. 525-475 B.C. *LIMC* 3, 427 Dionysos 36. Reproduced from Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 278.

6.9 Ivory Aegeanizing pyxis lid. Paris, Louvre. From tomb 3, Minet el-Beidha, Syria. 13th century B.C. Reproduced from Barnett 1982, pl. 24.

6.10 Ivory fibula catch plate. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15502. From Sparta. Ca. 660 B.C. *LIMC* 2, 625 Artemis 17, pl. 443. Reproduced from Kaltsas 2006, 71.

6.11 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 1999.99.45. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Komasts dancing around an aulos player. Exergue: Column flanked by birds. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Reproduced from Warden 2004, 89.

6.12 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 192. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Komasts and volute krater topped with an oinochoe. Exergue: Birds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 228; Pipili 1987, cat. # 206e. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 80.

6.13 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Florence, Museo Archeologico 3879. Possibly from Cerveteri. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Three komasts. Exergue: Waterbirds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 227; Pipili 1987, cat. # 209f. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 80.

6.14 Lakonian kylix by the Hoplite Painter. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 3144. Provenance unkown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Two nude drinkers. Exergue: Birds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 294. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 67.

6.15 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Rome, Sinopoli Collection. Supposedly from Taranto. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komasts. Exergue: Birds and lotus bud. Exterior: Pomegranates, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 337. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 86.

6.16 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Bochum, Ruhr-Universität. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komasts and aulos player. Exergue: Waterbirds. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 335. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 84.

6.17 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Leiden I 1961/6.1. From Italy. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Waterbirds around an eagle. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 231. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 80.

6.18 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Zurich art market as of 2004. Provenance unknown. Ca. 540 B.C. Interior: Waterbirds around an eagle. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 136. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 41.

6.19 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Netherlands, private collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 555-545 B.C. Interior: Waterbirds around an eagle. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 137. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 42.

6.20 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Interior: Komasts and kitharode. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Vegetal frieze, handle palmettes, rays. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 182. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, 49.

6.21 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Vatican, Guglielmi Collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Komasts and kitharode. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 272. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 90.

6.22 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Paris, Louvre E 666. From the Campana collection. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Herakles and the Cretan bull. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 304; Pipili 1987, cat. # 11. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 5.

6.23 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1995.841. Provenance unknown. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Herakles and the Cretan bull. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 195. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 57.

6.24 Lakonian kylix by the Arkesilas Painter. Rome, Villa Giulia. Possibly from Cerveteri. Ca. 565-560 B.C. Interior: Herakles and Amazons. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Ornamental frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 193, Pipili 1987, cat. # 14. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 7.

6.25 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. London, British Museum B 1. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Lotus and Palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 306; Pipili 1987, cat. # 214. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 76.

6.26 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Paris, Louvre E 665. From the Campana collection. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Lotus and Palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 307; Pipili 1987, cat. # 215. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 76.

6.27 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 382. From Vulci. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Flying figure. No exergue. Exterior: Black bands only. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 29; Pipili 1987, cat. # 173. Reproduced from Stibbe 1974, 195.

6.28 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. Florence, Museo Archeologico 3882. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570 B.C. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 71; Pipili 1987, cat. # 205a. Reproduced from Stibbe 1974, 195.

6.29 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. Paris, Louvre E 664. From the Campana collection. Ca. 570 B.C. Interior: Sphinx. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Black bands only. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 7; *LIMC* 8, 1153 Sphinx 37, pl. 796. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 4.

6.30 Lakonian bone figurine. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15333. From Sparta. Ca. 670-650 B.C. *LIMC* 2, 631 Artemis 88b, pl. 449. Reproduced from Kaltsas 2006, 67.

6.31 Lakonian bronze statuette. Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7547. From Amyklai. 6th century B.C. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 78.

6.32 Lakonian lakania by the Arkesilas Painter. Sparta. From Sparta. Ca. 555 B.C. Priestess and riders. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 205. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 68.

6.33 Lakonian kylix by the Hoplite Painter. Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 292. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 67.

6.34 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Art market as of 2004. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Waterbirds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 135. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, frontispiece.

6.35 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. St. Petersburg, Hermitage 183. From Canino. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Snake. Exterior: Ornamental frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 302; Pipili 1987, cat. # 213. Reproduced from Stibbe 1974, 187.

6.36 Lakonian aryballos by the Rider Painter. Cambridge MA, private collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570 B.C. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 233. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 62.

6.37 Lakonian amphora by the Naukratis Painter. Toledo, OH, Toledo Museum of Art 64.53. From Vulci. Ca. 570-555 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 41. Reproduced from Vermeule 1967, 420.

6.38 Lakonian volute krater by the Naukratis Painter. Paris, Louvre E 661. From the Campana collection. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 42. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 21.

6.39 Lakonian hydria by the Naukratis Painter. Paris, Louvre S 3996. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570-550 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 44. Reproduced from Rolley 1963, 479.

6.40 Side A, Lakonian hydria by the Hunt Painter. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15272. From Rhodes. Ca. 555-550 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 219; Pipili 1987, cat. # 209c. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 75.

6.41 Side B, Lakonian hydria by the Hunt Painter. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15272. From Rhodes. Ca. 555-550 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 219; Pipili 1987, cat. # 209c. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 76.

7.1 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Samos K 1189. From Samos. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion. Exergue: Roosters flanking a lotusbud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 212; Pipili 1987, cat. # 1; *LIMC* 5, 17 Herakles 1764, pl. 33. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 1.

7.2 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 3404. From Tarquinia. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Procession of warriors carrying a dead warrior. Exergue: Confronted roosters. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 218. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 74.

7.3 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Art Museums 1995.18.14. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Pegasus. Exergue: Confronted roosters. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 350. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 93.

7.4 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Sydney, Sydney University Nicholson Museum AC 15. Provenance unknown. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Cockfight with hen and chicks. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Only rays around stem preserved. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 129. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 34.

7.5 Lakonian kylix by the Arkesilas Painter. Samos K 1203, K 1541, K 2402, and Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 478x, 460x. From the Samian Heraion. Ca. 555 B.C. Interior: Symposium and komos in concentric registers. Exterior: Pomegranates over frieze with man catching roosters over lotus buds. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 191; Pipili 1987 cat. # 196 and 204b; *LIMC* 3, 905, Eros 637. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 58.

7.6 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Würzburg 166. From the Feoli collection. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Symposiast. Exergue: Confronted roosters. Exterior: Pomegranates, handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 298; Pipili 1987, cat. # 201. Reproduced from Van der Grinten 1966, fig. 7.

7.7 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Washington, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution 440201. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Rooster and lotus bud. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 318. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 73.

7.8 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Rome, private collection. Supposedly from near Policoro. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Rooster and lotus bud. No exergue. Exterior: Lotus buds. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 319. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 73.

7.9 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Art market as of 2004. Supposedly from a grave near Taranto. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Rooster. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 321. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 75.

7.10 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. Basel, Antikenmusuem and Sammlung Ludwig. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570 B.C. Interior: Rooster and three rosettes. No exergue. Exterior: Lotus buds at handles, rays, pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 9. Reproduced from Stibbe1973, 40.

7.11 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Bern, Bernishces Historisches Museum X 74-760. Provenance unknown. Ca. 555-545 B.C. Interior: Sea creature. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 132. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 35.

7.12 Lakonian kylix by the Naukratis Painter. Zurich, private collection. Supposedly from Cerveteri. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Pegasus. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 17. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 9.

7.13 Ivory plaque. Sparta Archaeological Museum 15353. From Sparta. 7th century B.C. Reproduced from Dawkins 1929, pl. 109.

7.14 Lakonian kylix by the Rider Painter. Swiss art market as of 2004. Supposedly from Cerveteri Ca. 570-560 B.C. Interior: Symposiasts. Exergue: Confronted fish. Exterior: Lotus buds at handles, rays, pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 184. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 52.

7.15 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 82.1. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komasts and aulos player. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 339. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 88.

7.16 Attic black figure siana cup by the Painter of Boston C.A. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.154. Provenance unknown. Ca. 560 B.C. *LIMC* 5, 885 Kaineus 10, pl. 565. Reproduced from Padgett 2003, 167.

7.17 Attic black figure dinos by the Group of the Dresden Lekanis. Athens, Agora P 334. Ca. 600-550 B.C. *LIMC* 2, 941 Atalante 1, pl. 687; *LIMC* 8, 549 Canes 8, pl. 353; *LIMC* 6, 404 Meilanion 1; *LIMC* 6, 416 Meleagros 6; *LIMC* 7, 278 Peliou Athla 2; *LIMC* 8, 1113-1114 Silenoi 29, pl. 751. Reproduced from Young 1935, 433.

7.18 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Leipzig T 302 and Florence 85118. Supposedly from Italy. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Waterbirds and lotus buds. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 225; Pipili 1987, cat. # 70. Reproduced from Stibbe 1972, pl. 79.

7.19 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 383. Supposedly from Italy. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Waterbirds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 262; Pipili 1987, cat. # 71. Reproduced from Stibbe 1973, 42.

7.20 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Taranto, Museo Nazionale and Rome, Villa Giulia. From Satyrion. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Waterbird and lotus bud. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 328. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 79.

7.21 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Basel, Antikenmuseum. From the Moretti Collection. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. #350; Pipili 1987, cat. # 72. Reproduced from Pipili 1987, 23.

7.22 Lakonian kylix by the Hunt Painter. Tolfa, Museo Etrusco. From the Pian Li Santi necropolis. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Boar attacked by dogs. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 162. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 47.

7.23 Lakonin kylix by the Rider Painter. Taranto, Museo Nazionale. From Satyrion. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays, pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 183. Reproduced from Stibbe 2004, pl. 51.

7.24 Lakonian kylix by the Allard Pierson Painter. Cyrene. From Cyrene. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Not preserved. Pipili 1987, cat. # 74; Stibbe 2004, ca. # 359. Reproduced from Schaus 1985, pl. 10.

7.25 Detail, boar hunting frescos from Tiryns. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5878-5882. 13th century B.C. Reproduced from Immerwahr 1990, pl. 68.

7.26 Detail, boar hunting frescos from Tiryns. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5878-5882. 13th century B.C. Reproduced from Immerwahr 1990, pl. 69.

7.27 Detail, boar hunting frescos from Tiryns. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5878-5882. 13th century B.C. Reproduced from Immerwahr 1990, pl. 70.

7.28 Mycenaean seal from Vaphio. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1772. Reproduced from Matz and Beisantz 1964, 260.

7.29 Drawing of relief from room C, North Palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh. London, British Museum. 668-627 B.C. Reproduced from Weissert 1997, 354-355.

8.1 Lakonain kylix by the Boreads Painter. Rhodes 10.711. From Ialysos. Ca. 560 B.C. Interior: Return of Hephaistos; Ademetos or Dionysos. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays, lotus buds around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 190; Pipili 1987, cat. #'s 77 and 149; *LIMC* 1, 221 Admetos I 17; *LIMC* 3, 470 Dionysos 550; *LIMC* 4, 639 Hephaistos 132; *LIMC* 5, 874 Kadmos I 59. Reproduced from Van der Grinten 1966, fig. 8.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Thesis

Lakonian vase painting is often characterized as a provincial, slavish, and occasionally incompetent derivative of Corinthian, Attic, Ionian, and Near Eastern influences. Lakonian artists, however, seldom simply imitated their appropriations. They frequently adapted borrowed compositions to original subjects, changed the narrative systems of imported scenes, and combined multiple models in order to develop imagery specifically suited to Spartan viewers. In addition to modifying foreign precedents, Spartan vase painters also sometimes established qualifying relationships between images. Together, these achievements demonstrate the overlooked innovative quality of narrative Lakonian art.

## 1.2 Historiography

Lakonian pottery was first recovered during the early nineteenth century. Vases were primarily taken from Etruscan tombs and provenances were seldom recorded.[1] The fabric was initially attributed to Cyrene through the association of a seated king labeled Arkesilas on a cup found at Vulci (catalog # 23, figure 1.1) with the two Cyrenian kings of that name mentioned by Herodotus.[2] Early discussions of the figural scenes that tend to occupy the tondos inside Lakonian cups recognize the

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[1] See Lane 1933-1934, 182 and Stibbe 1972, 1.

[2] The vase is now known as the name vase of the Arkesilas Painter. The kings of Cyrene named Arkesilas are discussed in Herodotus 4.160-164.

influence of Corinthian narrative painting, Ionian decorative motifs, and Phoenician metalwork.[3]

Excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta unearthed a complete sequence of Lakonian pottery, enabling the correct identification of its source.[4] Droop subsequently established a relative chronology and speculative absolute chronology for the fabric based on slips, shapes, and decorative motifs.[5] Lane expanded on Droop's work and reorganized the chronology stylistically.[6] Lane also identified individual painters using Beazley's system of Morellian analysis, providing an essential basis for the study of Lakonian pottery.[7] Shefton later augmented Lane's work.[8]

Early studies maintain that Lakonian vase painters in general, and the Hunt Painter in particular, were inept. Pernice, Dugas and Laurent, for example, each

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[3] For examples of early studies, see Puchstein 1880, Puchstein 1881, Studniczka 1890, Pottier 1893, Pernice 1901, Dugas and Laurent 1907, Dugas 1907, Dugas 1912 and Dugas 1928. For commentary on early literature pertaining to Lakonian vases, see Pfuhl 1923, 229-232.

[4] See Droop 1907/1908, 44-45.

[5] Droop 1910 and J. P. Droop, "II: The Lakonian Pottery," in Dawkins 1929, 52-116. Others had previously introduced Sparta as a possibility; see Puchstein 1880, 185 and Dugas 1907, 37 and 44-45.

[6] Lane 1933-1934. See 99-101 for a discussion of his general approach, and 128-129 for his method of stylistic dating

[7] Lane 1933-1934. Although Beazley's system has been questioned in recent decades, his attributions and chronology remain intact and are essential to any study of Greek vase painting. For summaries of the criticisms and defenses of Beazley's system, see, among others, Sparkes 1996, 107-113 and Robertson 1992, 2-6.

[8] Shefton 1954.

name clumsy compositions among the fabric's defining characteristics.[9] Webster goes so far as to assert that when adapting compositions to the circular interiors of cups all Lakonian artists would simply "clap a frame over a frieze without consideration for what they put in or leave out."[10]

The pivotal figure in the study of Lakonian vase painting is Stibbe, whose catalogs update previous literature and establish definitive workshops and chronologies based on a close study of shapes, ornamentation, and style.[11] His conclusions are developed in subsequent studies and have been strengthened by new discoveries.[12] Stibbe was also the Hunt Painter's first apologist, claiming that the artist's "porthole" compositions, such as an image of Herakles and Hermes leading Cerberus from the underworld where only tiny portions of the hero and god are visible (catalog # 49, figure 1.2), were experiments in using the inconvenient circular frame as a window that limited what the viewer could see.[13] Hurwit later built upon the concept that the frame and the figures occupied "distinct, layered planes" by comparing the Hunt Painter's cropped scenes to a frieze viewed through a colonnade.[14] Papadopoulos also vindicates the Hunt Painter. He points out that the

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[9] Pernice 1901, 191 mentions the fabric's characteristic "Missverhältnis zwischen Raum und Bild," and Dugas and Laurent 1907, 396 state that "Au pont de vue de la composition, la décoration des coupes est assez malaisée."

[10] Lane 1933-1934, 143; Webster 1939, 105-106; Papadopoulos 1998, 98.

[11] Stibbe 1972 and Stibbe 2004.

[12] For example, see Pompili 1986a, reviewed by Carter in *AJA* 93 (1989): 472-476.

[13] See Stibbe 1972, 137 and Papadopoulos 1998, 98.

[14] Hurwit 1977, 7-8.

principal attributes of the truncated protagonists of the Cerberus cup are intact and suggests that "Herakles and Hermes are not inadvertently cut off" by the tondo but instead are "emphasized by a clever turn of iconographic grammar."[15]

Stibbe's framework also enabled Pipili's seminal typological discussion of Lakonian iconography, which concludes that the Naukratis Painter and the Boreads Painter, the earliest masters of sixth-century B.C. Lakonian vase painting, closely followed established Corinthian iconography and may have trained in Corinth.[16] Pipili also confirms Ionian influence and demonstrates that Lakonian artists emulated Attic models during the second half of the sixth century B.C.[17]

Stibbe and Pipili provide the essential foundation for further study of Lakonian vase painting. Consequently, references to their works are given in the catalog and list of figures below. A concordance is also included.

### 1.3 Current View of Lakonian Vase Painting

The five major Lakonian black figure vase painters from the sixth century B.C. are referred to as the Naukratis Painter (active ca. 580/575 – 550 B.C.), the

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[15] Papadopoulos 1998, 99.

[16] Pipili 1987, 84. The Naukratis Painter used a three-stroke Corinthian style iota on a vase and may have been Corinthian, although the same character was used in several other cities, including Cyrene, where the vase was found; see Pipili 1998, 83 and Schaus 1979, 102-106. Powell notes that Lakonian painters emphasized different subjects than their Corinthian counterparts; see Powell 1998, 121.

[17] Pipili 1987, 84. Lakonian artists relied on Corinthian and Attic models for subject matter, iconography, and style, but typically used East Greek decorative motifs; see Shefton 1989, 62-63.

Boreads Painter (active ca. 575 – 565 B.C.), the Arkesilas Painter (active ca. 565 – 555 B.C.), the Rider Painter (active ca. 570 – 540 B.C.) and the Hunt Painter (active ca. 565/560 – 530 B.C.).[18] Minor painters called the Painter of the Fish of Taranto (active ca. 590 – 570 B.C.), the Typhon Painter (active ca. 560 – 555 B.C.), the Hoplite Painter (active ca. 550 – 530 B.C.), the Allard Pierson Painter (active ca. 550 – 520 B.C.), the Miniature Painter (active ca. 540 – 520 B.C.), the Chimera Painter (active ca. 530 – 520 B.C.), the Cyrene Painter (active ca. 530 – 520 B.C.) and the Painter of Samos 1044 (dates indeterminable), are also identified.[19] Each workshop primarily produced cups with interior figural scenes.[20]

Lakonian black figure was generally exported to markets that had close ties to Sparta.[21] Between 580 and 575 B.C. the primary destination was Sparta's colony Taranto, which was already part of an established trade route; from there vases traveled throughout southern Italy and Sicily.[22] From 575 to 550 B.C. the production

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[18] The dates are Stibbe's; see Stibbe 1972, 49, 90, 109, 124, and 153.

[19] The dates are Stibbe's. See Stibbe 1972, 178, 186, 189, 191 and 192; and Stibbe 2004, 104 and 126. The Evangelidis Painter, the Painter of Lakania 1016 in Sparta, and the Spiral Frieze Painter – workshops identified by Stibbe in 1972 to which only one vase was attributed – are no longer recognized; see Stibbe 2004, 4.

[20] For a discussion of the production of primarily sympotic shapes, see Faustoferri 1986. Nafissi posits that the initial boom in Lakonian artistic production during the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. resulted from demand for luxury items by the large number of Spartan hoplites receiving guaranteed incomes from redistributed Messenian land; see Nafissi 1989, 75.

[21] Papadopoulos suggests that around ninety percent of Lakonian black figure was exported; see Papadopoulos 1998, 104 note 126.

[22] For Lakonian exports to Taranto during this period, see Nafissi 1986, 159. For comments on the relationship between Sparta and Taranto over time, see Nafissi 1999.

of Lakonian black figure rose dramatically and exports mainly went to Samos, Naukratis, and Cyrene.[23] Demand at these sites was apparently far greater than in southern Italy, which nevertheless continued to import some vases. Both exports and production of Lakonian black figure declined rapidly after 550 B.C. and ended altogether between 530 and 520 B.C.[24] Lakonian vases without figural decoration, however, continued to be exported after 520.[25]

Speculation regarding the cause of this decline has produced several theories. One is that the rise of Spartan "austerity" stifled artistic production.[26] Another is that Persian expansion disrupted markets for Lakonian wares.[27] A third credits poor relations between Sparta and Samos, a principal trading partner and controller of a significant portion of Mediterranean shipping, resulting from Polykrates' tyranny, which began in 540 B.C. and was the target of a Spartan military expedition in 525 B.C.[28] Attic market dominance, which caused the contemporary

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[23] Nafissi 1986, 159-171.

[24] See Nafissi 1986, 171-172.

[25] See Hodkinson 1998, 100-102.

[26] See, for example, Dickins 1908, 67; Holladay 1977, 115; Hodkinson 1998, 95-97; and Cartledge 2002, 134-135.

[27] See Stubbs 1950; Huxley 1962, 73; and Hodkinson 1998, 95.

[28] See Rolley 1982, 75-78. Huxley attributes Sparta's attack on Samos to Polykrates' support of Persian aggression in Egypt; see Huxley 1962, 74. In support of this theory, Pipili points out that Lakonian dedications were prevalent at the Samian Heraion during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., but became significantly less numerous around 540 B.C. and ended altogether by 525 B.C.; see Pipili 1998, 85. Nafissi and Hodkinson, however, doubt that the loss of one market, even the most

decline of Corinthian vase painting, could also have been responsible.[29] Some or all of these factors may have contributed to the demise of Lakonian black figure.

Roughly two thirds of the extant Lakonian black figure kylikes were found in sanctuaries of deities associated with fertility.[30] Over half of these vases come from the Samian Heraion, and Venit and Pipili suggest that Samians were responsible for the Lakonian cups dedicated to Aphrodite in Naukratis.[31] Several vases were found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, and the sanctuaries of Demeter and Persephone in Tocra and Cyrene also each produced a few.[32] Although evidence from modern excavations does not necessarily reflect the distribution of vases in antiquity, it is likely that Lakonian kylikes were generally made for use in dining that took place during festivals held at sanctuaries.[33]

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important one, would cause the collapse of the entire industry; see Nafissi 1989, 73-74 and Hodkinson 1998, 96.

[29] See Huxley 1962, 73; Nafissi 1989, 77; and Cartledge 2002, 134.

[30] Pipili shows that 155 of the vases by the five major painters listed in Stibbe's 1972 catalog were found in sanctuaries, as opposed to 44 that were found in graves and 37 that lack provenance; see Pipili 1998, especially 87. Lane draws the same conclusion, although fewer vases were known during his time; see Lane 1933-1934, 178-182. These studies only consider vases with figural decoration.

[31] Pipili lists eighty-nine vases from the Samian Heraion and eighteen from Naukratis; see Pipili 1998, 85-87 and Venit 1985, 391-394.

[32] Pipili lists thirteen from Sparta, eight from Tocra, and four from Cyrene. She also lists two from Selinus, eleven from Olympia, one from Catania, five from Kavala and four from elsewhere; see Pipili 1998, 85-92.

[33] Nafissi highlights the danger in attributing too much to studies that only document vases with "artistic" representations on them, as well as the conceit that what archaeologists have found reflects the scale of ancient export; see Nafissi 1986, 149-151 and Nafissi 1989, 69.

**1.4 Influences**

Lakonian artists were clearly directly influenced by the style and iconography of Corinthian vase painting and certainly borrowed decorative motifs and vase shapes from Ionia.[34] They were also probably familiar with Phoenician art; the general impact of Phoenicia on Archaic Greece is well documented, and archaeological, art historical and literary evidence demonstrate direct contact between Phoenicia and Sparta during the Archaic period.[35] Sparta exported iron and imported ivory via Phoenicians operating on Crete and Kythera immediately after

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[34] See Pipili 1987, 84; Powell 1998, 120; and M. Pipili, "Lakonian Pottery," in Kaltsas 2006, 124. Pipili suggests that the "characteristic high-stemmed Laconian cup" popularized by the Naukratis Painter reveals Ionian influence and was designed to appeal to eastern markets; see Pipili 1998, 85. Shefton shows that Samian and Lakonian artists heavily influenced one another between 560 and 550 B.C.; see Shefton 1989, 63 and Pipili 1998, 83. Only the Hunt Painter, the last active major Lakonian vase painter, appears to have also drawn from Attic precedents; see Stibbe 1972, 122**;** Pipili 1987, 84; and Powell 1998, 120.

[35] Several scholars view the Phoenicians as the strongest external influence on early Greece; see, among others, Dawkins 1929, 24; Markoe 1985, 117; and Boardman 1999, 54. Contact between Phoenicians and Greeks probably occurred as early as the ninth century B.C. at Thasos, Pithekoussai, Cos, and Crete, which were all important stopping points for Mediterranean commerce, and Phoenician goods that predate the Greek presence in Al Mina were found in Athens and Lefkandi, the first Greek cities to export pottery; see Drews 1979, 45 and Coldstream 1982, 264-68. For discussions of Homer's and Herodotus' treatments of Phoenician trade routes and settlements, see Bunnens 1979, 92; Coldstream 1982, 261-263; and Markoe 1985, 126. Phoenician influence on Greek art is clear. Late Geometric and early Protocorinthian painters used motifs found on Phoenician metal bowls, and Phoenician metalwork inspired the use of incision in early black figure; see Payne 1931, 7; Coldstream 1982, 266-268; Markoe 1985, 120-21; and Boardman 1999, 14. Phoenician seals dating to the Geometric period were found at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta; see Boardman 1963, 7 and Dawkins 1929, 378-98. A Phoenician bronze bowl showing votive processions approaching a seated goddess from two sides, Louvre AO 4702, is supposedly from Sparta, and since the majority of such bowls found in mainland Greece come from sanctuaries, it may also have been among the Phoenician objects in the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia; see Markoe 1985, 117, 123, and 207 and catalog # G8.

conquering the Eurotas valley in the eighth century B.C., and the large number of contemporary Lakonian and Near Eastern dedications at the Samian Heraion suggests that Spartans were in contact with Phoenicians on Samos.[36]

Phoenicians introduced elements of Neo-Assyrian art to Greece, and are probably responsible for the Near Eastern influence visible in Lakonian art.[37] The life size mold made terracotta masks that were found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and have been dated from the mid seventh to the early sixth centuries B.C. are closely related to Phoenician and Near Eastern prototypes, and the Lakonian

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[36] For a discussion of early contact between Sparta and Phoenicia, see Drews 1979, 46-47. Dawkins suggests that the ivory used for the mid seventh- to early sixth-century B.C. carvings found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta was imported from Syria, and that the supply was cut off when Tyre submitted to Nebuchadnezzar in 573 B.C., a date consistent with Boardman's chronology for the carvings; see Dawkins 1929, 203 and Boardman 1963, 5. Nafissi points out that the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Kythera, which is near the coast of Lakonia, was founded by Phoenicians; see Nafissi 1989, 76 and Herodotus 1.105. Herodotus 3.39-60 and Pausanias 3.12.10 both suggest close contact between Sparta and Samos in the Archaic period, and Cartledge proposes that a "special relationship" was formed when Samos aided Sparta during the seventh-century B.C. Messenian war; see Cartledge 1982. The earliest Lakonian vase not from either the mainland or Sparta's colony Taranto is a fragmentary Subgeometric krater now scattered between museums in Berlin and Samos and was found on Samos, as were several vases that predate the widespread export of Lakonian pottery; see Cartledge 1982, 253. Over a quarter of Lakonian black figure comes from Samos, and the Arkesilas Painter and Naukratis Painter each produced vases specifically for dedication at the Heraion; see Cartledge 1982, 253 and Pipili 2000, 416-418. Cartledge asserts that the epithet "Spartiate" inscribed after the name Eumnastos on a mid sixth-century B.C. bronze lion found at the Heraion demonstrates that the dedicator was a full citizen of Sparta and that such inscriptions imply more than a commercial relationship; see Cartlege 1982, 255-56. For Near Eastern dedications at the Samian Heraion, see Kyrieleis 1993, 145-48 and Pipili 2000, 409. For a discussion of general Ionian influence in Lakonia, see Hibler 1993, 199-200.

[37] Corinthian floral motifs, including the solid rosette, and changes in how horses were depicted have been traced to Assyrian art; see Payne 1931, 53 and 69; and Hopkins 1934, 345. Although difficult to prove, the decoration and orders of Greek architecture may also have been inspired by the Near East; see Jenkins 2006, 19.

"hero reliefs" display a combination of Egyptian and Near Eastern elements best explained by Phoenician influence.[38]

Phoenicians may have influenced more than art in Lakonia. Drews and Oliver argue that that the Spartan *gerousia* and diarchy were adapted from Phoenician practices in the eighth century B.C., and Carter, noting that the name Artemis was not connected to Orthia until the Flavian period, suggests that the Spartan goddess was an adaptation of the Near Eastern deity Tanit/Astarte/Asherah and was brought to Lakonia by Phoenicians around the same time.[39]

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[38] Dickins categorizes the seventh- and sixth-century B.C. masks, which have only been found in Sparta and the Spartan colonies Thera and Taranto, as "warriors," "youths," "portraits," "satyrs," "gorgoneia," "caricatures," and "old women," but Carter distinguishes only between "grotesques" and "heroes," stating that the former were based on apotropaic Near Eastern depictions of the decapitated Humbaba used in Phoenician cult practices associated with Tanit or Astarte and that the latter were "more freely adapted from Semitic models"; see G. Dickins, "Terracotta Masks," in Dawkins 1929, 163-186; Hopkins 1934, 345-49; Barnett 1960, 147-58; Carter 1987, 355-374; Boardman 1999, 77; and E. Zavvou, "53: Terracotta Mask," in Kaltsas 2006, 140. The Chrysapha relief, a "hero relief" from ca. 560 B.C., combines Egyptian details, such as a bearded snake associated with the protection and resurrection of the deceased in Egyptian reliefs and papyri, and Near Eastern elements, such as slippers with upturned toes, in a composition reminiscent of Egyptian images of deceased rulers approached by offering bearers and Near Eastern representations of kings receiving tribute that Lakonian sculptors would have known from Phoenician ivories; see Kyrieleis 1969; Guralnik 1974; Reade 1983, 51; Morrow 1985, 38; Hibler 1992, 119; Hibler 1993, 199 note 17; and Salapata 1993, 195 note 53. Egyptian influence is also apparent in the composition of the Arkesilas Painter's name vase (catalog # 23, figure 1.1), which resembles paintings of Osiris judging the dead; see E. Buschor, "Tafel 151: Lakonische Schale in Paris: Arkesilas," in Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-1932 vol. 3, 213; Lane 1933-1934, 162; Stibbe 1972, 117; Simon 1960, 60; and M. Avisseau-Broustet, "28: Lakonian Cup," in Kaltsas 2006, 128.

[39] For Phoenician influence on Spartan government, see Oliver 1960, 53 and Drews 1979, 47-57. Much of their evidence for Phoenician government, however, comes from Latin accounts of Carthaginian politics. For the Near Eastern origin of Orthia, see Carter 1987, especially 374-378. Dawkins thought the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia dated to the tenth century B.C., long before Lakonian contact with Phoenicia,

**1.5 Organization and Methods**

The next chapter demonstrates that Lakonian vase painters sometimes used a single Corinthian composition to depict a variety of thematically related subjects but did not always retain the original's narrative system. Lakonian architectural sculpture reflects the same process, as shown by an examination of the controversial Spartan metopes in the following chapter. Chapter four argues that Spartan artists borrowed from "free" painting long after it stopped influencing vase painting in Corinth and Athens. Chapter five analyzes individual vases that are decorated with multiple scenes from a single story, and chapter six illustrates how Lakonian vase painters used paradigmatic relationships between images to constrain interpretations of their work. Chapter seven demonstrates that non-narrative exergue motifs could be conceptually related to the scenes above them, and chapter eight examines other ways in which Lakonian vase painters combined images. Together these observations indicate that artists in Archaic Sparta thoroughly understood the prototypes they appropriated and developed sophisticated and original approaches to narrative imagery.

Throughout this study Lakonian innovations are demonstrated primarily through iconographic analyses that exhibit a traditional reliance on ancient texts, although semiotic and structuralist approaches are also sometimes used. The role of the Lakonian black figure kylix as a commodity used by elite Spartans in religious

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but Boardman convincingly dates it to the eighth century B.C.; see Dawkins 1929, 18-19 and Boardman 1963, 3. Although Near Eastern influence on Greek religion is well documented, the adoption of a Phoenician deity in Sparta indicates an unusually close relationship; see Barnett 1960, 143.

contexts is also emphasized. These methods were chosen for their ability to support the thesis of this work while responding directly to the objects studied, not because of a belief that they are the only valid means of inquiry.

# 2 Borrowed Compositions

## 2.1 Introduction

Lakonian vase painters usually based the mythological scenes they painted inside cups on the essentially rectangular frieze-like compositions found on the exteriors of Corinthian vases. Adapting these precedents to tondos sometimes required significant modifications, and the narrative systems employed by the originals were frequently changed. Spartan artists also used familiar compositions to depict thematically related subjects for which no precedent was available. Furthermore, they occasionally created new compositions through the combination of existing models. By demonstrating that Lakonian artists thoroughly understood their appropriations and introduced their own innovations, these adaptations of borrowed images contradict traditional views of Lakonian black figure.

## 2.2 The Ambush of Troilos

Achilles' ambush, pursuit, and killing of the Trojan prince Troilos, a story told in the *Kypria*, was frequently represented in Greek black figure vase painting, and Lakonian versions of the event illustrate several of the ways in which Spartan artists adapted appropriated imagery.[40] The earliest definitive representations of the

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[40] Zancani Montuoro 1954, 289. The story survives in Apollodoros, *Epitome* 3.32, which simply says that Achilles ambushed the youth and killed him at the sanctuary of Thymbraean Apollo. It also appears in Proclus, *Chrestomathia* 1, a summary of the *Kypria* that simply says that Achilles killed Troilos. For a discussion of the evolution of the story, see M. Mayer, "Troilos," in Roscher 1884-1937, V 1215-1220. Although the ambush, pursuit, killing, and fight over the body of Troilos were all popular subjects in black figure vase painting, images of the ambush and pursuit are the

ambush are Corinthian and are exemplified by a Middle Corinthian bottle signed by Timonidas (figure 2.1), that depicts a single, suspenseful moment before Achilles attacks.[41] Achilles, facing left, crouches on one knee behind a fountain house that is partially obscured by a tree.[42] He is armed with a crested helmet, a shield decorated with a gorgoneion, greaves, and two spears. Troilos holds two horses while Polyxena collects water from a lion-headed spout on the other side of the building. Priam, a bearded man, and a woman carrying water complete the scene. All of the figures are labeled, including the horses.[43] A vertical band of chevrons behind Achilles delimits the scene so that the horizontal figural register surrounding the bottle functions as a rectangular frieze.

Lakonian versions of the story use compositions like Timonidas' but re-conceptualize depictions of space and time in order to adapt the scene to tondos.[44]

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most numerous, perhaps because of their inherent suspense. Brommer lists 69 representations of the ambush and 43 of the pursuit, but only 21 of Troilos' death or the fight over his body, thereby demonstrating the relative popularity of each episode; see Brommer 1973, 357-366. Also see Zancani Montuoro 1954, 289; and Pipili 1987, 27.

[41] The bottle is Athens, National Museum 277, from Cleonae, ca. 600-575 B.C.; see Amyx 1988, 201. For the primacy of Corinthian versions of the subject, see Pipili 1987, 27. Corinthian and Attic painters generally depicted only a single moment of the story, as shown in Brommer 1973, 357-363.

[42] This is the earliest representation of a fountain house; see Dunkley 1935-1936, 170.

[43] For a discussion of the inscriptions, see Amyx 1988, 563-564.

[44] The ambush of Troilos is the most frequently represented mythological event in extant Lakonian vase painting. It may have been represented in Sparta as early as 600 B.C. on a fragmentary ivory relief, although a definitive identification of the scene is not possible; see Freyer-Schauenberg 1966, 38-39; Fittschen 1969, 172; Kemp-Lindemann 1975, 97-98; and Pipili 1987, 27. The process of adapting an

The earliest extant examples are two fragmentary kylikes by the Boreads Painter (catalog # 16, figure 2.2 and catalog # 19, figure 2.3). A youth leading horses is preserved on each vase, and one cup also has a kneeling warrior. The artist, unable to simply copy long Corinthian registers, divides the action between two short registers by leaving Achilles and the fountain house in the principal zone and placing Troilos and his horse in the exergue. [45] As Pipili points out, he also saves space by eliminating all but the most essential figures.[46]

Two cups that were decorated by the Rider Painter about a decade later emulate the Boreads Painter's adaptations.[47] On the more complete vase (catalog # 33, figure 2.4), which is now in the Villa Giulia in Rome, Achilles, armed and posed as on Timonidas' bottle, faces a small building in the main register.[48] The flat-roofed, masonry, prostyle structure in this image is clearly a fountain house, but some

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existing composition recalls Markoe's description of Phoenician metalsmiths who were "within set limitations… free to extract and recombine the various elements and components of a given composition"; see Markoe 1985, 71.

[45] See Stibbe 1972, 102 and Pipili 1987, 27-29. Zancani Montuoro, Stibbe, and Schefold all make the same observation when discussing the Rider Painter's two depictions of the ambush of Troilos, which are addressed below; see Zancani Montuoro 1954, 293; Stibbe 1972, 165; and Schefold 1992, 227.

[46] Achilles and Troilos are obviously the most important characters, although Polyxena may have been present as well; see Pipili 1987, 27-29.

[47] Stibbe is confident that the Rider Painter knew the Boreads Painter's composition; see Stibbe 1972, 165 and Stibbe 1986, 29.

[48] Zancani Montuoro suggests that the building, which is no taller than the crouching Achilles, may be further back in space; see Zancani Montuoro 1954, 292. This can't be the case, however, since Archaic Lakonian images were primarily concerned with telling stories, not representing visible reality, and there is no reason to believe that Lakonian artists experimented with perspective or that their viewers could have understood it if they had.

scholars have suggested alternate identifications.[49] Pipili, for example, asserts that the building actually represents Apollo's sanctuary, and that the Rider Painter chose to place the ambush there as in a variation of the story preserved by Apollodoros that is seemingly illustrated on Attic black figure vases that show the murder occurring over an altar.[50] First, Pipili points out that Achilles is in front of the building, not behind it as in Corinthian versions.[51] She also identifies the bird on the roof as a raven and claims that it provides further evidence that a sanctuary is shown since ravens were sacred to Apollo and could symbolize prophesy.[52] However, Dunkley points out that a flat-roofed, prostyle fountain house appears on a much later Attic red figure kylix, and even Pipili herself admits that snakes like the one peeking out from behind the column typically guard fountains, so the building is certainly a fountain house.[53] In the exergue, Troilos rides a galloping horse and is

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[49] John Kenfield pointed out to me that columns that taper from top to bottom and flat roofed buildings were both common in the Aegean Bronze Age.

[50] Pipili 1987, 29 and Apollodoros, *Epitome* 3.32. Lowenstam 2008, 36-37 illustrates two Attic black figure "Tyrhennian" amphorae that show Achilles murdering Troilos over an altar: Timiades Painter, Munich, Museum Antiken Kleinkunst 1426, ca. 560 B.C. (*ABV* 95 # 5; *Paralipomena* 36; *Addenda*$^2$ 25; *LIMC* 1, 87-88, Achilleus 364, pl. 94) and Prometheus Painter, Florence, Museo Archeologico 70993, ca. 560 B.C. (*ARV* 95 # 6; *Paralipomena* 36; *Addenda*$^2$ 25; *LIMC* 1, 87 Achilleus 360, pl. 93).

[51] Pipili 1987, 29.

[52] Pipili 1987, 29 and Jessen 1955, 301.

[53] See Dunkley 1935-1936, 170-171, who illustrates the Attic red figure kylix attributed to the Kachrylion Potter, London, British Museum E 13 (*ARV*$^2$ 109, 1626; *Addenda*$^2$ 173; *LIMC* 1, 85, Achilleus 342, pl. 242) and Pipili 1987, 29. Grabow associates snakes with prophesy in Lakonian vase painting, and if she is correct, the snake here would reiterate the prophetic theme indicated by the raven; see Grabow 1998, 102-103, who alternately suggests that the snake on this vase represents a forgotten part of the story.

clearly trying to escape, not merely traveling to the fountain.[54] A hare, which Pipili suggests is a symbol of speed since hares sometimes accompany winged figures on Attic black figure vases, runs to the left beneath the horse.[55] Polyxena faces her brother, holds a vase in her hand, and balances a water jug that extends above the groundline of the main register on her head.

A slightly later fragmentary kylix by the Rider Painter had a nearly identical composition (catalog # 35, figure 2.5). Some differences visible in photographs of the lost vase include an additional bird, which looks out at the viewer and has been questionably identified as an owl, sitting with the raven on the fountain house roof; an eagle flying behind Achilles; a sheathed sword hanging from the building; and increased prominence for the snake.[56] Schefold suggests that the rooster in the exergue is a reference to love-gifts given by men to boys and is meant to evoke the erotic aspect of Achilles' pursuit of Troilos that is usually taken as a Classical or

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[54] Pipili discusses the fact that Troilos is riding, not leading a horse; see Pipili 1987, 29. Zancani Montuoro posits that the artist chose to depict flight in the exergue since a galloping horse fits the semicircular space; see Zancani Montuoro 1954, 292.

[55] Pipili points out that hares sometimes accompany both winged and fleeing figures in Attic vase painting and are also frequently found in Attic images of the pursuit of Troilos; see Pipili 1987, 29.

[56] Stibbe identifies the frontally facing bird as an owl, and Zancani Montuoro calls the curvilinear object it sits on a tree branch and identifies the sword. Stibbe also points out that the eagle, which is shown alongside Herakles in earlier vases, presumably as a reminder that his father was Zeus, accompanies any hero in the Rider Painter's work; see Stibbe 1972, 152 and Zancani Montuoro 1954, 292.

Hellenistic addition to the story.[57] Pipili rejects this idea, pointing out that roosters were common pets for boys and were sacred to Apollo.[58]

According to Pipili, the Rider Painter did not merely divide an appropriated monoscenic image – that is, one that depicts a single point in time – between two registers like the Boreads Painter did. Instead, he placed an episode subsequent to the ambush in the exergue, thereby making the subjects of the two zones of his tondos temporally and spatially distinct.[59] However, the Rider Painter's tondos are not purely synoptic, as Pipili suggests.[60] As in true synoptic scenes, which conflate multiple sequential events in a single image, each character is only shown once. Also, the agitated Polyxena does synoptically perform several independent actions simultaneously: traveling, gathering water, and warning her brother.[61] Although Polyxena propels the story because she physically connects the two zones and is temporally indefinite, she alone does not establish the vase's narrative technique. The narrative also occurs in a sequence of images, a system that is similar to what Snodgrass and others call "cyclic," since Achilles and Troilos are shown at different,

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[57] Schefold 1992, 227. The erotic aspect suggested in fragments of early tragedies was almost certainly not part of the Archaic version of the story; see Zancani Montuoro 1954, 293 note 3; M. Mayer, "Troilos," in Roscher 1884-1937 V, 1217; and Lesky, *RE* 2nd Series VII A, 605.

[58] Pipili 1987, 29-30.

[59] Pipili 1987, 29.

[60] See Pipili 1987, 29 note 264. Synoptic methods are sometimes called "simultaneous," as in Meyboom 1978, 56.

[61] Pipili praises the Rider Painter, who she elsewhere calls "incompetent," for his ability to convey Polyxena's excitement; see Pipili 1987, 29. Also see Zancani Montuoro 1954, 293, where Polyxena's state is further discussed.

single points in time and space and occupy separate compartments within the image.[62] This category is not a perfect fit either, though, since Classical and later narrative cycles tend to depict the protagonist within each individual frame, and the Rider Painter's figures are not repeated.[63]

Pipili believes that the Rider Painter imitated images he did not understand and used other artists' work "at random."[64] If she is correct, the modifications of precedent discussed above could have been accidental. However, the Rider Painter's grasp of the Corinthian convention for representing the ambush of Troilos, and consequently the intentionality behind his tondos' departures from it, are demonstrated by a dinos where he places the event in a single, frieze-like register between depictions of Herakles fighting centaurs and a komos scene (catalog # 47, figure 2.7).[65] Achilles crouches behind the fountain house, here a small masonry structure with a pitched roof and disk acroterion, and Troilos, mounted and holding the reins of his sister's horse while it drinks from a basin on the ground, approaches from the left as Polyxena balances a pitcher on her head.[66] In this image the Rider Painter closely follows the precedent exemplified by Timonidas, and uses the same monoscenic approach.

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[62] For discussions of cyclic narratives, see Meyboom 1978, 56; Snodgrass 1998, 5; and Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 139-142.

[63] See Snodgrass 1998, 5.

[64] Pipili 1987, 95 note 353.

[65] See Stibbe 1986, 29.

[66] For a discussion of the roof and acroterion, see Dunkley 1935-1936, 170.

However, the Rider Painter's dinos does depict a slightly different moment. Whereas Timonidas shows Polyxena gathering water before Achilles is discovered and trusts the viewer to understand the warrior's threat to the youth, the Rider Painter indicates the instant when calm turns to panic. On the dinos, Polyxena turns back to make eye contact with her brother, her lips slightly parted and her hands outstretched in the act of warning, but Troilos has not yet begun to flee, and Achilles has yet to spring.

### 2.3 Apollo and Python

The Rider Painter also used the tondo composition that the Boreads Painter had adapted from Corinthian ambush of Troilos scenes on cups that do not depict the same event.[67] A crouching warrior with a crested helmet and a round shield adorned, like Achilles' shield on Timonidas' vase, with a gorgoneion, faces a small building in the main register of a well-preserved kylix in the Louvre (catalog # 40, figure 2.8).[68] As on the vase from Samos (catalog # 35, figure 2.5), two birds perch atop the building, although neither looks out at the viewer, and an eagle flies behind the warrior. A second, smaller eagle appears in front of the helmet crest.

Differences between the Louvre cup and its predecessors include that the warrior aims his spear, which is held above his head, at the menacing, bearded snake coiled around the column, and that a second snake, also bearded, crawls up the back of the building. Furthermore, the masonry, prostyle, gabled-roof building is

[67] See Pernice 1901, 192 and Stibbe 1972, 170.

[68] Boitani calls the building a temple; see Boitani 1990, 36.

more ornate than its counterparts on the earlier vases. It has a checker-patterned frieze course and its column has an elaborate three-segment capital, a two-section base, and vertical lines and zigzags that echo the snakes' decoration.[69] The exergue contains the familiar hare, here running to the right and accompanied only by two rosettes, but there are no human figures other than the warrior.

Based on the compositional precedent, Shefton, Rolley, Charboneaux and Grabow identify the scene as Achilles ambushing Troilos, supposing that the Rider Painter simply omitted Troilos and Polyxena.[70] However, the warrior is clearly attacking the snake, not hiding.[71] Puchstein and van der Grinten interpret the scene as Cadmus fighting the dragon, although no definitive Archaic representations of Cadmus exist, and later images always show the hero dressed as a traveler and fighting in a wilderness or rocky area armed only with a stone or sword.[72]

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[69] Stibbe suggests that these features are meant to emphasize the building; see Stibbe 1986, 30.

[70] Shefton 1954, 302; Rolley 1959, 280; and Grabow 1998, 103-104. Charboneaux suggests that this is an excerpt from a scene of Achilles ambushing Troilos, and that the truncation is what makes the scene "barely intelligible"; see Charboneaux 1971, 76. However, it is difficult to imagine that the Rider Painter, even if he were truly inept, would accidentally omit one of the two essential characters in the story.

[71] See Stibbe 1972, 170; Stibbe 1986, 29-30; and Pipili 1987, 50.

[72] See Puchstein 1881, 239; Hauser 1907, 9; van der Grinten 1966, 22; and Pipili 1987, 50-51. For early representations of Cadmus, Pipili cites Vian, who points out that Cadmus is most often shown with Hermione; see Vian 1963, 45-47. Also see Brommer 1973, 479-480, where fifteen vases with the theme are listed. Pipili also cites Euripides, *Phoenissae* 663, which states that Cadmus slew the dragon with a stone while gathering water.

Hauser, arguing that the ornate building is a temple, convincingly identifies the scene as Apollo fighting Python.[73] Although the earliest certain depictions of this event are Classical and show Apollo as a young archer fighting a partially anthropomorphic monster, Archaic literary accounts do not mention the god's age, and prominent Lakonian cult statues, including those at Amyklai and on mount Thornax, show him armed with a helmet, a shield, and a spear.[74] Furthermore, the vase, and another less carefully executed and poorly preserved yet iconographically identical cup by the same artist now divided between the Villa Giulia in Rome and Tarquinia, was found in a sanctuary honoring Apollo and other deities at Gravisca (catalog # 45, figure 2.9).[75]

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[73] Hauser 1907, 9; also see Stibbe 1972, 170.

[74] The earliest representations of Apollo and Python appear on Attic black figure lekythoi from ca. 470-460 B.C., including one in the manner of the Pholos Painter, Louvre CA 1915 (*Paralipomena* 294; *Addenda*[2] 139; *LIMC* 2, 303, Apollon 998 pl. 269) showing Apollo, dressed in a himation, firing his bow from atop the omphalos near a tripod at a serpent with the torso of a man; see Ghali-Kahil 1966, 484-486 and Pipili 1987, 51. For the typical equipment of Apollo in black figure vase painting, see Woodward 1932, 35. Noting that the monster in this depiction wears a ureus, Ghali-Kahil suggests that the story was adapted from the Egyptian myth of a combat between Horus and Seth, gods equated with Apollo and Typhon, respectively, in Herodotus 2.144.2, and points out that Typhon and Python were related monsters; see Ghali-Kahil 1966, 488-489. In Archaic and Classical literary descriptions of the event, including the Homeric hymn to Pythian Apollo, where the monster is called a female dragon, and Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1239-1248, where the monster is called a male serpent, Apollo's age is not mentioned; only later accounts, including Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2.707 and Hyginus, *Fables* 140, state that the god was very young when he slew Python; see Stoessl, *RE* 24, 606-609; Fontenrose 1959, 13-22; and Ghali-Kahil 1966, 487. The statue of Apollo at Amyklai is described in Pausanias 3.19.2. For the statue on mount Thornax, see Pausanias 3.10.8.

[75] Bonfante 1986, 70 and Pipili 1987, 51. Pipili cites Torelli, who points out that Aphrodite was the most honored deity at Gravisca, followed by Hera, Demeter, and Apollo; see Torelli 1977a, 427-445. Dedications to each deity are listed in Torelli 1982, 309-313. On the vase divided between Rome and Tarquinia, the building and

It appears as though the Rider Painter, responding to demand from a specialized market for representations of a mythological event for which no Corinthian precedents were available, selected a familiar model that required minimal adjustment to plausibly depict a new subject.[76] If Pipili is correct that the hare appears as an animal sacred to Apollo and the birds on top of the building are symbols of prophesy signifying that the structure will house an oracle, then the artist reused as many elements of the existing composition as he could possibly relate to the new subject.[77]

## 2.4 The Capture of Silenos

The Rider Painter also slightly modified the Boreads Painter's adapted composition in order to depict the capture of Silenos by the agents of king Midas. A fragment of a kylix tondo from Samos shows a shaggy satyr and the left arm of a pursuer moving right toward a masonry, prostyle fountain house (catalog # 34, figure 2.10).[78] As in images of the Troilos myth, a raven sits atop the building, which

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column are less ornate than those on the Louvre version, and the warrior's shield, here undersized, bears a lotus bud pattern rather than an elaborate, multicolored gorgoneion. Only one bird sits on the building's roof, and only one eagle is preserved, appearing between the column and the masonry part of the building. Stibbe points out that the artist's "carelessness" is apparent on the exterior decorations as well; see Stibbe 2004, 82.

[76] Pipili warns against assuming a connection between the subject of a vase painting and the sanctuary where it was found; see Pipili 1987, 51.

[77] Pipili 1987, 51.

[78] For the identification of the scene, see Stibbe 1972, 165-166 and Pipili 1987, 38-39. Also see Diehl 1964, 576-577. Herodotus 8.138.3, the earliest literary account, places the event in gardens; see Pipili 1987, 38.

in this case has a gabled roof. Lacking a Corinthian model, the Rider Painter simply substituted a satyr for the crouching warrior in the ambush scene he knew and reversed the image.[79] He was either unaware of the Attic and Chiot precedents showing Silenos already bound that influenced the Hunt Painter's version (catalog # 69, figure 2.11), or consciously chose to depict a more exciting part of the story.[80]

The Rider Painter's Dinos that is decorated with a copy of Corinthian ambush of Troilos images (catalog # 47, figure 2.7) demonstrates that the artist fully

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[79] Pipili points out the lack of Corinthian versions, even though the event was relatively popular in other fabrics; see Pipili 1987, 38-39. She also points out that lists of vases depicting the capture of Silenos are provided in Brommer 1973, 534-535 and that the iconography of the event is discussed in Brommer 1941; Brommer 1970, 64-57; and Roller 1984, 260-263.

[80] Pipili points out that earlier Attic depictions, including one on a vase potted by Ergotimos, Berlin, Antikenmuseum 3151 (*ABV* 79; *Paralipomena* 30; *Addenda*$^2$ 22), show Silenos bound; see Brommer 1941, 40-41; von Bothmer 1951, 40-41; Pipili 1987, 38; and Schefold 1992, 76-77. Two contemporary Chian fragments, London, British Museum 88.6-1.517 and London, British Museum 1902.6-20.3, also show Silenos already captured; see Price 1924, 218 and Brommer 1941, 40. Brommer thinks that both fragments are from the same vase, but Williams asserts that they "are clearly from two different vases," suggesting instead that the creature interpreted as a satyr by Brommer is in fact Alkyoneus and that the figure on the other fragment participates in the blinding of Polyphemos; see Williams 1983, 160-161. Pipili also points out that the earliest Attic version of the pursuit is a black figure pelike by the Acheloos Painter from the end of the sixth century B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 49.11.1 (*ABV* 384 # 19, 696; *Addenda*$^2$ 101; *LIMC* 8, 847 Midas 9, pl. 569) showing two men wearing petasoi, chitons, and chlamydes brandishing spears and ambushing Silenos at a fountain; see von Bothmer 1951 and Pipili 1987, 39. The only other black figure representation of the ambush specifically is an Attic lekythos by the Sappho Painter, London, British Museum 1910.2-12 (*ABV* 507 # 32; *Addenda*$^2$ 126; *LIMC* 8, 847 Midas 10, pl. 569) which shows Midas looking on; see Walters 1911, 9-13; Brommer 1941, 41-42; and von Bothmer 1951, 40-41. However, a handful of Attic red figure vases depict the ambush, and several additional Attic black figure and red figure vases depict Silenos bound before Midas; see *LIMC* 8, 847-849. Only a human leg overlapping a spotted satyr leg bound by a cord and portions of birds are preserved on the fragment by the Hunt Painter in Kavala; see Daux 1962, 837-838 and Pipili 1987, 39.

understood the compositions he appropriated. The modifications he made to the Boreads Painter's adaptations of those Corinthian images when representing the same story (catalog # 16, figure 2.2 and catalog # 19, figure 2.3) or depicting subjects for which no precedent was available (catalog # 40, figure 2.8; catalog # 45, figure 2.9; and catalog # 34, figure 2.10) demonstrate that he was capable of innovation.

### 2.5 Additional Adaptations

By further modifying the Rider Painter's adaptations, other artists demonstrated that they, too, were capable of combining appropriation and innovation. A poorly-preserved vase by the Hoplite Painter shows a hoplite, accompanied by an eagle, advancing toward a masonry building where a bird sits (catalog # 71, figure 2.12).[81] The composition closely emulates the Rider Painter's Apollo and Python scenes, but the Hoplite Painter has reversed the composition, turned the hoplite's chest toward the viewer, placed the shield in profile, shown the bird lunging from atop a disk acroterion toward an object connecting the shield and the building, and filled the exergue with a lotus and palmette complex.[82] The hoplite's opponent, if any, is lost, making it impossible to associate the image with a

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[81] Stibbe calls the building a temple-style fountain house; see Stibbe 2004, 238.

[82] Stibbe comments on these variations and suggests that the hoplite's pose is indebted to the Hunt Painter's images of running warriors, such as catalog # 51; see Stibbe 2004, 182.

specific mythological event.[83] However, it is clear that the Hoplite Painter, like the Rider Painter, made minimal changes to an existing model to depict a different story.

In the top register of a three-sectioned tondo of a vase now housed in the Villa Giulia, the Typhon Painter modified the Rider Painter's ambush of Silenos scenes in order to depict a different point in the same story (catalog # 70, figure 2.13).[84] In this version, where the action moves from right to left toward a prostyle, masonry fountain house, Silenos prepares to drink and is not yet aware of the two men in Phrygian dress sneaking up on him.[85] The snake coils around the column as in the Rider Painter's Apollo and Python images, suggesting that the Typhon Painter was familiar with both the capture of Silenos scene he emulated and the compositions that inspired it. The event continues in the middle register, which shows a man in a Phrygian hat holding a wineskin and accompanied by two dogs to the left and two men in oriental costumes dancing to the right; presumably these are the successful hunters celebrating the completion of their mission.[86] As in the Rider Painter's representations of the ambush of Troilos, the division of temporally and

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[83] Stibbe cautiously interprets the scene simply as a hoplite in a pursuit, indirectly suggesting that the meaning of the original composition was known to the Hoplite Painter; see Stibbe 2004, 109.

[84] See Horn 1937, 406-407; Pallotino 1937, 154-157; and Brommer 1941, 51-52.

[85] For a discussion of the Phrygian dress shown on this vase, see Roller 1984, 260-261.

[86] See Horn 1937, 406-407 and Roller 1984, 260-261. The lowest register contains confronted recumbent lions.

spatially distinct elements between superimposed registers creates a sequential narrative.

A vase by the Allard Pierson Painter also combines elements from several of the Rider Painter's variations on the Corinthian ambush of Troilos images (catalog # 80, figure 2.14). A dancing komast, whose comical physique and rightward movement recall the Rider Painter's Silenos, approaches an ornate, prostyle building that closely resembles the sanctuaries of the master's Apollo and Python scenes.[87] Like it's predecessor, the Allard Pierson Painter's building has a tapering Doric column, a gabled roof, and a disk acroterion, but no masonry blocks are depicted. Instead, the building is simply decorated with horizontal bands and zigzags. Once again a raven is perched atop the building, although the familiar snake is located inside.[88] Grabow interprets the reptile as either a throwback to the source of the composition or an attribute of a fountain house.[89] A stylized lotus blossom fills the space behind the dancer, and another, flanked by birds, occupies the exergue.

Stibbe points out that the Allard Pierson Painter frequently depicted komasts and suggests that the image is simply an assortment of borrowed elements that do not represent a specific event.[90] Smith, however, noting that the komast holds a phiale, shows that a religious event is depicted.[91]

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[87] Pipili and Smith compare the komast to Silenos; see Pipili 1987, 39 and Smith 1998, 76. Stibbe considers the vase most indebted to the Rider Painter's Apollo and Python scenes; see Stibbe 1986, 30.

[88] Stibbe emphasizes the placement of the snake; see Stibbe 1986, 30.

[89] Grabow 1998, 107-108.

[90] Stibbe 1986, 30 and Stibbe 2004, 120.

The Allard Pierson Painter's vase is the only Lakonian adaptation of Corinthian ambush of Troilos scenes that lacks a mythological or heroic subject. Although it is tempting to read the image as a humorous variation of a common composition, it is probable that the Allard Pierson Painter, like the Rider Painter, the Hoplite Painter, and the Typhon Painter, simply appropriated an existing type that required minimal modification when representing an unprecedented subject.

**2.6 The Master of Horses**

In addition to modifying individual precedents, Lakonian artists also developed imagery by amalgamating multiple models. A kylix tondo in the manner of the Naukratis Painter that depicts a youth wearing a chiton and holding a pair of rearing, winged horses by their reigns, for example, combines elements of two subjects common in Archaic Greek art (catalog # 14, figure 2.15). The first is the Assyrian "master of horses," which typically consisted of an oversized, presumably supernatural man holding rearing, sometimes winged horses by their legs or necks.[92] The motif entered Cretan and Peloponnesian visual repertoires during the seventh century B.C. and is a variation of the Near Eastern "master of animals," which originated in the third millennium B.C. and symbolized "divine hierarchy" by

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[91] Smith 1998, 76. For the role of komasts in Lakonian and other cult activities, see Pipili 1987, 71-74.

[92] See Kunze 1950, 60-62. Pipili cites a shield band from Olympia dated to ca. 630-600 B.C. as a typical example; see Kunze 1950, 24 form XXI no. 35b; and Pipili 1987, 37-38 and 96, note 392. For other Peloponnesian examples, see Spartz 1962, 112-123.

representing a god or hero controlling representatives of dangerous, irrational nature.[93] The "master of animals" had been adopted in the Aegean during the third millennium B.C., when it most frequently appeared on seals that, as Barclay points out, were themselves indications of authority.[94] The second subject, generally considered an Archaic Greek variation of the first despite its resemblance to a Geometric motif, is a generic "horse tamer," a realistically proportioned youth holding the reigns of two wingless horses.[95] Such images justify social hierarchies by representing horse-owning aristocrats dominating chaotic nature.[96]

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[93] See Barclay 2001, 373 and 380; L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki, "173: Ring with Master of Animals," in Aruz et. al. 2008, 277-278; E. Konstandindi-Sivridi, "Plaque with Animal Combat," in Aruz et. al. 2008, 415; and J. Aruz, "182: Cypro-Aegean Cylinder Seal and Modern Impression," in Aruz et. al. 2008, 286.

[94] Barclay and Crowley agree that the Aegean version was an adaptation of Mesopotamian prototypes, whereas Spartz sees it as an indigenous creation; see Crowley 1989, 272; Spartz 1962, 22-39; and Barclay 2001, 373. Barclay also points out that the figures in early Mesopotamian master of animal images lack divine attributes and are usually interpreted as heroes; that by the fifteenth century B.C., especially in Assyria, the master is usually clearly supernatural; and that Aegean versions could be either; see Barclay 2001, 374 and 379. Hinks connects the version popular on Spartan ivories to the Mycenaean type, and Chittenden suggests that Hermes was derived from it; see Hinks 1938, 263 and Chittenden 1947.

[95] Pipili cites several sixth-century B.C. examples of the generic "horse tamer." For a shield band from Olympia, see Kunze 1950, 60-62 and 19, form XV no. 25a. For Caeretan hydriae by the Eagle Painter, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1346 and Dunedin, Ortago Museum F.52.61, see Hemelrijk 1984, 34 no. 19 and Hemelrijk 1984, 43 no. 26, respectively. On each of the hydriae the youth is white and in a *knielauf* position, as on an Attic black figure type B amphora by the Amasis Painter, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 161 (*ABV* 151 # 15; *Paralipomena* 63; *Addenda*$^2$ 42), which has the same composition. Pipili also cites two sixth-century B.C. works where the horses are still winged: an Archaic Greek ivory from the Samian Heraion, Freyer-Schauenburg 1966, 26-30, cat. # E.3; and a decorative panel on top of a Hathor-head capitol from Amathus in Cyprus, now Berlin, Staatliche Museen SK 1903; see Hermary and Tatton-Brown 1981, 70, cat. # 74; *LIMC* 4, 453 Hathor 4; *LIMC* 8, 555 Despotes Theron 17). Pipili suggests that these East Greek works retain the traditional Oriental subject of winged horses and a "master of animals" because

Scholars are divided regarding whether the Naukratis Painter's subject is divine or mortal. Yalouris and Stibbe identify it as a supernatural master of horses, attributing the figure's diminutive size to the circular composition.[97] Jucker and Pipili, however, interpret him as a mortal, asserting that the artist could have easily made the figure larger and bearded; at the same time, they reject suggestions that Herakles taming Diomedes' horses, Diomedes himself, or Pelops is shown.[98] As

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they were made close to the source of the prototypes; see Pipili 1987, 38 notes 391 and 393. Alternately, Margreiter considers the Archaic "horse tamer" a descendent of the Argive Geometric "horse leader"; see Margreiter 1988, 54; Pipili 1987, 37; and Hodkinson 1998, 97. The Geometric "horse leader" is usually interpreted as generic; see Courbin 1966, 485-487; Coldstream 1967, 129; Boardman 1983, 16-24; and Papalexandrou 2005, 130. Some scholars, however, suggest that it represents a god; see, for example, Langdon 1989, 186 and 200. Schweitzer, demonstrating that Geometric "horse leaders" are shown alongside fish or double axes that he takes to be "determinatives" of Poseidon, suggests that the motif represents a chthonic version of the god; see Schweitzer 1971, 62-63. Roes suggests that the motif represents a solar deity; see Roes 1933, 26. For examples of the motif, see Jucker 1965/1966, 31-52. For comments on the controversy, see Herrmann 1964, 50-52 and Papalexandrou 2005, 130. Lakonian artists were particularly more likely to take inspiration from the East rather than from Geometric Greece; see Droop 1907/1908, 30.

[96] See Langdon 1989, 198. Papalexandrou points out that the Geometric horse leader, which most frequently decorated vases that marked the graves of Argive aristocrats, had the same connotations; see Papalexandrou 2005, 130.

[97] Stibbe 1972, 82; Yalouris 1975, fig. 15; and Stibbe 1991a, 9.

[98] Jucker 1964, 9 and Pipili 1987, 96 note 394. Pipili asserts that the youth cannot be Herakles since the hero is usually shown either nude or as a hoplite in Lakonian art; even a figure who may be Herakles wearing a chiton on a vase by the Hunt Painter, Hamburg 1983.281 (Pipili 1987, cat. #22a; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 127) has greaves and fights with a spear. For Pipili's objection, see Pipili 1987, 38. For the iconography of Herakles in Lakonian art, see Pipili 1987, 1-13. For a discussion of the Hunt Painter's vase, which may show Herakles killing Hippokoon and his sons, see Pipili 1987, 10-11. Walters, Dugas and Reinach interpret the subject of Naukratis Painter's tondo as Pelops, whose horses were winged according to Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 1.88 and were so depicted on the Kypselos chest according to Pausanias 5.17.7; see Walters 1893, vol. 2, 49; Dugas 1907a, 380; Dugas 1907b, 51; and Reinach 1922 vol. 1, 476.

Giuliani observes, the man's obvious physical strain also discourages interpreting him as divinely powerful.[99] Lane and Pipili assert that the image is purely decorative, citing the popularity of Pegasoi in Lakonian vase painting and the heraldic use of winged horses throughout Archaic Greece.[100]

These interpretations dismiss as careless the pairing of a mortal, horse-breaking youth who justifies aristocratic privilege with supernatural horses typically employed in demonstrations of divine order. However, by juxtaposing these appropriated formal elements, the Naukratis Painter combines their original meanings, suggesting both that elite Spartans wield supernatural power and that the social structure they maintain is divinely ordained.

The Boreads Painter used the same composition to depict Bellerophon fighting the Chimera on an earlier vase that shows the bearded hero wearing a patterned chiton and boots and spearing the Chimera from a *knielauf* position (catalog # 20, figure 2.16).[101] Both the monster and Pegasus rear up on their hind legs, which overlap above the warrior's head. Although his use of the Peloponnesian type of Chimera, which has lion's forelegs and a goat's head attached to its back as in

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Only Woodward hesitantly suggests it shows Diomedes; see Woodward, 30 and Pausanias 3.18.12.

[99] Giuliani 1979, 42.

[100] Lane 1933-1934, 168 and Pipili 1987, 38. Pipili lists five vases where Pegasoi are the principal subjects, three of which are by the Naukratis Painter; see Pipili 1987, cat. #'s 59-63. She also points out that heraldic winged horses appear on a shield bands from Olympia, such as Kunze 1950, 32 form XXXI no. 47b.

[101] Stibbe identifies the scene and connects the image to the both the Naukratis Painters' and the master of horses; see Stibbe 1991a, 5-9.

Homer's description, suggests that he was familiar with Corinthian versions of the scene, the Boreads Painter otherwise ignored existing precedents, which typically represent Bellerophon moving toward the left and fighting either mounted on Pegasus or on foot armed as a hoplite.[102] If, as Stibbe asserts, a Chimera was originally present on a contemporary fragmentary vase by the Naukratis Painter, then images of Bellerophon fighting as a hoplite were used in Lakonia during the Boreads Painter's career, although on exteriors, following Corinthian prototypes (catalog # 10, figure 2.17).[103] The Rider Painter later used this approach in a tondo

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[102] In contrast to Peloponnesian Chimeras that have a lion's forelegs and a goat's head attached to the middle of their backs, as described in Homer, *Iliad* 6.181-182 and in identical lines sometimes included in Hesiod, *Theogeny* 323-324, Attic Chimeras usually have the entire front end of a goat, the head of which is attached to the neck but turned backward; see Schmitt 1966, 341-344; Pipili 1987, 19; and Stibbe 1991a, 9, who doubts that the backward turned lion's head on the Boreads Painter's vase indicates familiarity with Attic types. For other Chimera types, see Schauenburg 1984, 27. For a Corinthian example showing Bellerophon mounted on Pegasus, see a Protocorinthian kotyle by the Aegina Bellerophon Painter, Aegina K 253, Amyx 1988, 28. For a Corinthian example showing Bellerophon as a hoplite, see a Protocorinthian aryballos by the Boston Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.11 (*LIMC* 7, 228 Pegasos 229), Amyx 1988, 33-34 and Schmitt 1966, 342.

[103] Paribeni identifies the scene as a lion hunt similar to one that appears on the other side of the cup since the goat's head is no longer visible; see E. Paribeni, "Ceramica di Importazione," in Castagnoli et. al. 1975, 363 and Stibbe 1991a, 9 note 17. The absence of Pegasus also threatens Stibbe's identification since, as Pipili notes, Pegasus and Bellerophon defeat the Chimera together in Hesiod, *Theogeny* 325, and the hero is mounted on the flying horse on all but one earlier image, an amphora by the Swing Painter, London, British Museum B 162 (*ABV* 306 # 29; *Addenda*$^2$ 81; *LIMC* 7, 228 Pegasos 228, pl., 170), that shows two men, perhaps Herakles and Iolaos, attacking the Chimera on foot; see Böhr 1982, 80-81 cat. # 20; Pipili 1987, 19 notes 174 and 175; and Schefold 1992, 91 fig. 103. However, Pipili also points out that Pegasus is not mentioned in Homer, *Iliad* 6.183, and suggests that Bellerophon, like Herakles, may simply have been depicted as a hoplite in Lakonian art in order that the hero would be seen fighting in the same manner as the Lakonian aristocrats who used such kylikes, although she also rightly observes that the dispute cannot be resolved; Pipili 1987, 1-13 and 19.

(catalog # 46, figure 2.18).[104] Only a later shield band from Olympia depicts the event using a composition like the Boreads Painter's, although on it Pegasus and the Chimera do not overlap, Bellerophon uses a sword, and the image is reversed.[105]

Stibbe suggests that the Boreads Painter chose a composition familiar from "master of horses" and "horse tamer" images simply because the arrangement enabled the artist to fit Bellerophon, Pegasus, and the Chimera in a tondo.[106] However, the schema, which implies the conflation of aristocratic dominance and divine order, also resonates conceptually with the heroic subject. Hurwit points out that, like Oriental masters of horses, the monster-slaying heroes of Archaic Greece, such as Perseus, Herakles, and Bellerophon, were, "if only subliminally," symbols of rationality, civilization, and normality who, by defeating fantastic beasts, symbolically represented triumph over irrationality, chaos, and abnormality; they were also invariably aristocrats.[107] Corinth's adoption of Bellerophon, whose story probably originated in Anatolia, as an indigenous hero in the late eighth century B.C. coincides with, and was likely intended to reinforce, early aristocratic claims of political dominance.[108] Pindar also describes how Bellerophon, directed by Athena,

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[104] The tiny fragment of Bellerophon that survives shows the hero wearing a helmet and using a spear; see Rizza 1960, 253.

[105] See Stibbe 1991a, 9 and footnote 9. For the shield band, see Kunze 1950, 63-64.

[106] Stibbe 1991a, 9.

[107] Hurwit 1985, 156.

[108] For the origins of Bellerophon in myth, see Karouzou 1985, 75-76. Hurwit discusses the epic poet Eumelos' role in the Corinthian appropriation of the hero; see Hurwit 1985, 156. Shanks points out that according to Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 13.60-87 the hero found the supernatural horse drinking from the spring at Peirene;

gained the power to tame Pegasus by sacrificing a bull to Poseidon, the tamer of horses and the divine ancestor of the hero.[109] The "master of horses" composition used by the Boreads Painter was a logical, not merely convenient, selection that reinforced the ideology of the heroic myth depicted through reference to its original subject.

## 2.7 Conclusion

Lakonian vase painters' appropriations of foreign imagery were not slavish, careless, or incompetent. In addition to reconfiguring borrowed frieze-like compositions to fit tondos and making subtle changes regarding how a story was depicted, both major and minor workshops re-conceptualized space and time and often changed the narrative system used when adapting imported scenes. Furthermore, Spartan artists successfully repurposed existing compositions, sometimes combining elements of multiple precedents, to represent thematically related myths. These innovations contradict prevailing views regarding Lakonian uses of narrative painting from other fabrics.

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see Shanks 1999, 123. Pegasus commonly appeared on Corinthian coins as an iconic reference to the legend; see Schmitt 1966, 342.

[109] Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 13.60-87.

# 3 The Terracotta Metopes

## 3.1 Introduction

The controversial terracotta metopes from Sparta, which combine a Corinthian iconographic precedent and a standard Near Eastern composition, demonstrate that appropriated images were repurposed for use in Archaic Lakonian architectural sculpture. Combined with the innovations in vase painting discussed in the previous chapter, evidence of this process in a monumental medium further suggests that Spartan artists thoroughly understood and consciously modified foreign approaches to mythological scenes. Furthermore, the amalgamation of Greek and non-Greek conventions attests to the range of influences Lakonian artists drew upon.

Stainhauer argues that four fragmentary terracotta plaques that he reconstructed from seventeen fragments found near the Eurotas bridge are a set of metopes that originally synoptically depicted the abduction of Helen by Theseus on an unidentified building.[110] If these are metopes, they are the only example of narrative architectural sculpture from Archaic Lakonia, the earliest decorated metopes from the Peloponnese, and one of the rare examples of Archaic terracotta

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[110] The metopes are now on display in the Sparta Archaeological Museum. Portions of them were published in Stainhauer 1972 and Stainhauer 1977. The complete set is fully published in Stainhauer 1982. Stainhauer concludes that they were architectural since they were found in a deposit that also contained roof tiles near a late seventh-century B.C. wall, although subsequent construction has destroyed any other evidence of the building; see Stainhauer 1982, 329.

metopes with relief.[111] They also exhibit the most extensive single scene divided among multiple metopes in early Greek art.[112] Other scholars doubt that these plaques were in fact metopes, however, and Stainhauer's iconographic reading is problematic. Nevertheless, his assertion that the plaques were a series of independent architectural ornaments that together depicted a single scene adapted from Corinthian painting is compelling.

### 3.2 Description[113]

Two of the plaques have been thoroughly reconstructed, but only small fragments survive from the others. Each plaque was originally 54 centimeters wide, two centimeters deep, and had figural relief adding an additional centimeter and a half of depth.[114] The orange fabric is generally fine with small inclusions and there is no epidermis layer.[115] The presence of repeated figures suggests that the images

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[111] The only other certain example of Archaic terracotta metopes with relief is the set from Temple B at Himera, although Bookidis believes that finds from Rhegium suggest that a set was present there as well; see Bookidis 1967, 248-250 and Ridgway 1993, 347.

[112] There are several Archaic examples of single scenes divided between two metopes, such as Perseus fleeing the Gorgons from the seventh-century B.C. temple of Apollo at Thermon, the Dioskouroi pursuing the Leukippidai on the metopes from the treasury at Foce del Sele, and the bisected image of the Argo from the Sicyonian Monopteros at Delphi. In Stainhauer's reconstruction, the Spartan scene is divided among at least four metopes.

[113] This section is provided since the only published description, which appears in Stainhauer 1982, does not discuss the polychromy.

[114] These measurements are given in Stainhauer 1982, 329.

[115] The color of the fabric is closest to "reddish yellow" 7.5YR 6/8 on the Munsell soil chart.

were mold made, although the smooth contours of the relief indicate that they were finished by hand. A significant amount of polychromy, added after firing, survives on most fragments.[116] The red, purple and dark brown used are typical of Archaic Lakonian vase painting, as is the white ground. These colors, which anticipate the traditional palette of Classical painting, correspond closely to those found on Archaic Corinthian vases and architectural terracottas.[117] In some areas black was applied on top of red, making the color appear richer than where black alone is used.[118]

The most complete plaque depicts two warriors equipped with round shields, bell corselets, greaves, and spears, moving to the right (figure 3.1). The beaded locks preserved along the shoulders of each figure are covered in red and

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[116] The absence of cracking suggests that the color was added after firing, as was typical with Corinthian architectural terracottas produced during the first half of the sixth century B.C.; see Winter 2002b, 47-52.

[117] The white corresponds to "pink" 7.5YR 8/4 on the Munsell soil chart. The red is a reddish brown corresponding to "red" 2.5YR 4/8 on the Munsell soil chart. The purple corresponds to "weak red" 10R 4/3 on the Munsell soil chart. The dark brown corresponds to "very dark brown" 10YR 2/2 on the Munsell soil chart. The color scheme is identical to Villard's fourth phase of seventh-century B.C. polychrome technique, which is characterized by the Chigi vase but is also present on sixth-century B.C. Corinthian pottery; see Villard 1981, 133 and Scheibler 2002, 70-71.

[118] Colors are layered on other Archaic terracottas as well. Papapostolou points out that black and purple are each painted over brown throughout the smaller set of early sixth-century B.C. metopes from the temple of Apollo Lyseios at Thermon; see Papapostolou 2002, 59. Winter notes that the same technique was used on the chiton and boots of a seated terracotta kore from Corinth that dates to the first half of the sixth century B.C.; see Winter 2002b, 49. The practice is visible, as Keuls points out, in Classical paintings such as those in the tomb of the diver and some white-ground pottery; see Keuls 1975, 6-7. In black figure vase painting, the white used for female skin is usually laid over the black; see Robertson 1979, 53.

have dark brown, which accentuates the relief, between them. The interiors of the shields are purple, although the two handles in each are white and have a braid pattern delineated with dilute purple. The shield rims are dark brown over red. It is unclear whether the two warriors, whose shields overlap slightly, were each made from the same single-warrior mold, or whether the artist used a two-warrior mold.[119]

Portions of two identical plaques depicting mounted, similarly armed bearded warriors wearing crested helmets and moving to the left have also been reconstructed (figures 3.2 and 3.3). Barely visible around the edges of these riders are beardless mounted *hippotrophoi*, or horse handlers.[120] Little paint beyond the white background survives. Dark brown helps define the frontally depicted eyes, fills in the plastically rendered pupils, and is preserved in incised marks in the crests of the riders' helmets. The single surviving horse's rump was first covered in red,

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[119] A single matrix containing overlapping figures would be unusual. Some mold-made Archaic architectural sculptures depicted multiple warriors behind one another, however. Examples include a sima from the Temple of Zeus at Policastro and a fragment from Melos made from the same matrix; see Mertens-Horn 1992, 83.

[120] The *hippotrophoi* are identified and discussed in Stainhauer 1982, 330. For comparison, see the hydria by the Hunt Painter, catalog # 54, which shows mounted *hippotrophoi* holding the horses of opposed hoplites. Although the dismounted fighters on the hydria, like those on an Archaic architectural terracotta frieze from Briada at Serra di Vaglio, are clearly engaging in combat while unarmed *hippotrophoi* look on, the warriors on the Spartan plaques ride alongside their servants, indicating that no conflict is imminent. For the frieze, see Mertens-Horn 1992, 76.

and then dark brown was applied in vertical stripes that follow the contours of its muscles, accentuating the relief as on the hoplites' hair.[121]

The figures on each of these plaques stand on a rectangular ledge that is half a centimeter deep. Stainhauer identifies this feature as a regula and calls the red line drawn along the upper edge a taenia.[122] A thick line of dark brown over red runs along the top of this projection on one of the plaques and a small patch of red, which was probably once also covered by dark brown, survives on the other. The rest of each ledge was painted white.

A single fragment of a head facing right is all that survives from a third type of plaque (figure 3.4). Stainhauer speculatively identifies the head as female based on the pattern of the hair preserved on its temples and the fact that its eye is "sphinx-like."[123] This fragment has the same depth as the hoplite and rider plaques, which confirms that it was originally part of the set. Except for brown lines defining the edges of the frontal eye, no color remains on the fragment.

Stainhauer argues that these plaques were metopes made by a Lakonian workshop between 570 and 560 B.C. and that they originally slotted into an otherwise wooden Doric frieze.[124] Based on the types of pottery found nearby, he

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[121] On other areas where the two colors were used together the red is visible where the dark brown has flaked off. Where the paint has flaked off the horse's rump, however, it has come off all the way to the fabric. Along with the partial and varying transparency of the dark brown, this suggests that the dark brown may have been applied when the red was still wet.

[122] Stainhauer 1982, 329-330.

[123] Stainhauer 1982, 335.

[124] Stainhauer 1982, 329-330 and 334-336.

suggests that they once decorated a heroön, a type of building popular in Lakonia.[125] Rather than a building with interior space, the structure would likely have been an architectural screen surrounding a tumulus similar to the sixth-century B.C. lower building of the Menelaion, which had a Doric frieze.[126] It is impossible to know, however, how many of each mold made plaque were originally present, and what other plaques may have once existed.

### 3.3 Debate over Function

Ridgway argues against identifying these plaques as metopes.[127] First, she doubts that they functioned together since, in her opinion, the supposedly female head appears to be on a different scale than the warriors' and hoplites', and she does not believe that the fragments of the groundlines are uniform in depth.[128] However, the woman's eye is the same width as the horseman's, the only other preserved eye, and the groundlines are equally deep where completely preserved. Furthermore, the fragments, which were all found together, are made from the same fabric and painted the same way, indicating that they were once part of a set.

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[125] Stainhauer 1982, 335. Hero shrines became prominent in Lakonia during the eighth century B.C., earlier than elsewhere in Greece; see Antonaccio 1994, 398-399. Nevertheless, Förtsch more cautiously associates the terracotta plaques simply with a memorial; see Förtsch 2001, 127-128.

[126] The small upper building of the Menelaion that housed the cult statues dates to the eighth or seventh century B.C. and lacked architectural decoration; see Tomlinson 1992, 249.

[127] See Ridgway 1993, 335-336.

[128] Ridgway 1993, 335-336.

Second, Ridgway points out that no clear sign of how the plaques would have been attached to the architecture is preserved.[129] Although the Spartan plaques have been permanently fastened to a display, making it impossible to examine the backs of the fragments, Stainhauer's suggestion that the reserved area outside the figural decoration was used to slot the plaques into the superstructure, as on other examples of Archaic metopes, is plausible since the groundline ledges do not extend to the edges or bottom of the plaques and therefore leave room for overlapping architecture.[130] Also, a differently weathered area in the lower left corner of the

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[129] Ridgway 1993, 336. It is clear how the other known Archaic terracotta metopes were attached. The earliest set from Thermon, which date to 630-610 B.C., had tangs on the upper edge where they would have been secured to the cornice; they survive on the metope that may represent the daughters of Proteus; see Bookidis 1967, 449. The second and third sets of terracotta metopes from Thermon, which date from between the end of the seventh century B.C. and 575 B.C., did not have these projections, although the single fragment from the third set is a metope and triglyph molded together; see Bookidis 1967, 157-61 and 456. The metopes from the temple of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon also did not have tangs, but they were probably clamped to stone backers with swallowtail clamps and pegs; see Bookidis 1967, 449 and Ridgway 1993, 337.

[130] Stainhauer 1982, 329. Several other Archaic metopes attached in the way described by Stainhauer. As Bookidis points out, the earliest painted terracotta metopes from Thermon had wide borders that would have likewise allowed for some overlap by triglyphs, although they also had tangs that fit into notches in the wooden beams. The roughly contemporary stone metopes from the temple of Artemis at Korkyra were presumably attached in the same way. Dating to around 580 B.C., These are the earliest stone metopes, if the controversial reliefs from Mycenae are discounted. Either way, they are nearly contemporary with the Spartan examples; see Bookidis 1967, 179. The metopes from the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi, which Dinsmoor dates to ca. 580 B.C., had two centimeters reserved on each side of the image where the slabs slotted into the triglyph blocks; see Dinsmoor 1912, 470. Wooden architectural elements likely originally overlapped the undecorated borders of the late seventh-/early sixth-century B.C. terracotta panels from Sicilian Naxos, although these may or may not have been metopes; see Pflug 2006, 455.

largely preserved horseman plaque corresponds to where the architecture would have covered it.

Third, Ridgway points out that no other Archaic decorated metopes have been found in the Peloponnese and that metopes seem never to have been decorated in Lakonia.[131] She notes that although several sets of earlier terracotta metopes are known, only two slightly later examples, a set from Temple B at Himera in Sicily and a single thin slab from Rhegium, had relief, and that the relief on these is high, up to 9 cm deep.[132] Bookidis demonstrates that the only known terracotta

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[131] Ridgway 1993, 335-338. This observation assumes that the problematic reliefs from Mycenae are not metopes. Ridgway admits, however, that Peloponnesian metopes could have had other kinds of decorations that were less durable than relief and painting. For example, bronze leaf reliefs with visible nail holes, some with traces of wooden backers, have been found both at Olympia and Cyrene and could have originally been attached to metopes. The relief from Cyrene represents two wrestlers. One of the bronzes from Olympia depicts a mistress of animals in relief and repousee. Another, which Verzone thinks was applied to a metope although Hampe and Jantzen, Bookidis, and Ridgway think it actually decorated a wooden door, shows a nursing griffin; see Hampe and Jantzen 1937, 90-92; Verzone 1951, 289-90; Kunze 1956, 84-86; Bookidis 1967, 251-53; and Ridgway 1993, 337. Verzone posits that a bronze gorgoneion found in the Hieron of Athena Chalkioikos in Sparta was also a metope. He points out that a gorgoneion was an appropriate subject for architectural decoration and compares it to the painted gorgoneion metope from Thermon; see Verzone 1951, 290. In the initial publication, Woodward, who dates it to ca. 530-520 B.C., is confident that it hung by itself on a wall and suggests that it may have been a shield device, although he admits that it is not convex and that no fragments of shields were found nearby; see Woodward 1923-1925, 266-68. Bronze reliefs were used as architectural decoration in Greece as early as the Orientalizing period, as attested by numerous literary and archaeological sources, and imitate Near Eastern practice; see Technau 1937, 88-89 figs. 32-33; Verzone 1951, 273 and 290; and Ridgway 1993, 337. Ridgway also posits that triglyphs alone may have been considered decoration enough for a Doric frieze in the Peloponnese; see Ridgway 1993, 337.

[132] The metopes from Temple B at Himera, a site founded by a mixed group from Syracuse and Zankle, are dated between 575/550 and 500 B.C. The images from these relief metopes are all but lost, although fragmentary labels suggest that the deeds of Herakles and Eurystheus were shown. The deity worshipped in the temple

metopes predating those from Sparta come exclusively from Aitolia and suggests that such a provincial region could not have influenced Peloponnesian practice.[133]

Technical differences also raise concerns. Ridgway notes the "relative thinness" of the Spartan plaques in comparison to the first and third sets of terracotta metopes from Thermon, which are between six and seven centimeters thick.[134] She does not mention, however, that the metopes from the second set from Thermon are only four centimeters thick, just half a centimeter thicker than the Spartan plaques, or that the metope from Rhegium is only three centimeters deep, half a centimeter thinner than the Spartan plaques.[135] Also, since the height of the Spartan plaques is not preserved, it is impossible to know if, like most Archaic metopes, they were higher than wide.[136]

A lack of contemporary parallels, however, is not sufficient grounds for dismissing Stainhauer's hypothesis. Not only does the relatively small amount of

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is not known; see Ridgway 1993, 347 and 358. Bookidis believes that the slab from Rhegium, which probably depicts dancing women, is a metope, although other scholars do not; see Bookidis 1967, 248-50. The scarcity of such metopes may be explained by Pflug's observation that relief panels had to be made by a specialized workshop and were therefore more expensive than those that were simply painted; see Pflug 2006, 459.

[133] Bookidis 1967, 456. She does not discuss the possibility that the Aitolian monuments could have been based on Peloponnesian precedents.

[134] See Ridgway 1993, 356.

[135] See Bookidis 1967, 157 and 248-50. The architectural terracotta panels from Sicilian Naxos were also only around three centimeters thick, despite being up to eighty centimeters to a side; see Pflug 2006, 452-454.

[136] See Bookidis 1967, 446. Some Archaic metopes are, by contrast, wider than high, such as those of the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi, which had a length to height ratio of 3:2; see Dinsmoor 1912, 473. No extant Archaic metopes are square.

extant Archaic architectural remains from the Peloponnese not necessarily preserve every practice, common or otherwise, but the possible uniqueness of the Spartan plaques has no bearing on their original function. Also, since Lakonian pottery shapes and approaches to narrative differ from those of other mainland centers, we should not expect either the form or decoration of Lakonian architectural decoration to closely resemble that of its neighbors.[137]

### 3.4 Contemporary Parallels

Nevertheless, Archaic parallels do exist. Several series of terracotta plaques made for decorating the exteriors of low, mud brick tombs in Attica between the late seventh century and around 530 B.C. are physically similar to the Spartan plaques.[138] All of the surviving Attic series, including some by major painters, were found in cemeteries and each used several panels with independent compositions to depict a single prothesis, or mourning of a corpse lying in state, sometimes in conjunction with an ekphora, or funeral procession.[139] The Attic plaques measure

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[137] See Pipili 1987, 84 for a general discussion of the links and distinctions between Corinthian and Lakonian pottery.

[138] For a list of the surviving painted plaque series, see Boardman 1955, 58-63. No plaques have been found in situ, but an indication of how they would have originally been installed is given by plaster decorations that survive on some tombs; see Richter 1942, 80 and Kübler 1949, 10-14. This kind of decoration was suddenly abandoned around 530 B.C., probably due to sumptuary laws passed by Peisistratus, but vase painters continued to produce single black figure plaques for funerary monuments until around 480 B.C., although these were generally nailed to or hung from the tombs rather than integrated into them architecturally; see Richter 1944, 90-92; Richter 1945, 152; Boardman 1995, 53; and Mommsen 1997, 8.

[139] For three plaques from a single monument by Sophilos found in Spata, see Beazley 1944, 51 and Boardman 1955, 59 cat. 6. For plaques by Lydos from Spata,

from 37 centimeters to 50 centimeters to a side and 2.5 centimeters to 3.5 centimeters deep, making them roughly the same dimentions as those from Sparta. They are generally made from coarse material, although some have an epidermis layer of fine potter's clay.[140] The plaques of the earliest surviving series, which dates to ca. 630-620 B.C. and includes a largely complete prothesis and fragments of mourners, are decorated in relief and have a reserved area along the top that indicates that they slotted into a wooden overhang.[141]

The most thoroughly published series is by Exekias and consists of fifteen fragmentary plaques.[142] Boardman shows that they could not have slotted into a Doric frieze since the painted decoration extends almost all the way to the bottom and sides of the plaques; enough space for overlapping architecture is only

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see Rumpf 1937, 25 cat. # 35; Boardman 1955, 59 cat. # 7; and Beazley 1986, 44. Both sets are from the Vlasto collection and are now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. The plaques by Exekias include Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1811-1826 and Athens, National Museum 2414-2417; see Boardman 1955, 59, cat. #'s 9 and 10.

[140] Boardman 1955, 51-52.

[141] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.146.3a, b. According to the dealer that sold them to the museum, they are from Olympos in Attica. The dates given are Richter's, although Boardman thinks they are slightly later. They are 44.6 by 49.2 centimeters and 2.5 centimeters thick. Langlotz questioned their authenticity, but Payne later showed them to be genuine. See Richter 1942, 81-83; Richter 1953, 31; and Boardman, 1955, 51-52 and 58.

[142] The plaques are Berlin, Statliche Antikensammlungen F. 1811-1826. They were found near the Dipylon gate in the outer Kerameikos and measure 37 centimeters by 43 centimeters, are 2.5-3 centimeters thick, and date to ca. 540-530 B.C. Boardman discounts a dealer's assertion that they were found "in" a woman's tomb; see Boardman 1955, 59 and 63, cat. # 9. The most complete publication is Mommsen 1997, which contains extensive bibliography.

preserved along the top above the meander pattern that frames the figure field.[143] Furthermore, they could not have formed a continuous frieze since each panel has an independent, self-contained composition.[144] Since, like the Spartan metopes, they have neither nail holes nor projecting tangs, Boardman suggests that Exekias' plaques, and others like them, were "supported below by a projecting member, divided by slats, probably wooden… held above by an overhang into which they fitted."[145] Heilmeyer and Mommsen accept this proposal, although Mommsen, following Koenigs, believes that the plaques were separated by triglyphs and formed a proper Doric frieze.[146]

Several scholars have attempted to reconstruct the monument once decorated by these plaques. Hirschfeld groups the plaques based on the direction of the meander and assigns each set to different sides of the building, an approach criticized by Beazley and Boardman.[147] Boardman, who admits that the plaques could have decorated all four sides of the monument, nevertheless reconstructs the

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[143] Boardman 1955, 51-52.

[144] Boardman 1955, 52. This is the case with all of the surviving series of Attic funerary plaques; see Richter 1942, 80.

[145] An extant tomb preserves such an overhang; see Kübler 1949, 10-14 and Boardman 1955, 52. Boardman also provides the alternate suggestion of metal clamps that have "left no trace" for other plaque series; see Boardman 1955, 52.

[146] Heilmeyer 1980, 40 and Mommsen 1997, 9. Koenigs goes so far as to propose that the metopes were twenty-six centimeters wide so that the lost tomb structure would have been three meters by three meters if square or 3.7 meters by 2.3 meters if rectangular; see Koenigs 1980, 47.

[147] See Boardman 1955, 64 and Beazley 1986, 65-66.

rectangular building with three sides decorated with four panels each.[148] Mommsen, assuming there were originally sixteen panels, posits that the rectangular structure had five plaques on both the front and the back and three on each side; in her reconstruction, the prothesis is the most important image and is located in the center of the front.[149]

Like the hypothetical Lakonian monument proposed by Stainhauer, the conjectural Athenian tomb once decorated by Exekias' plaques was a funerary monument with no interior space. Like their similarly-constructed Attic counterparts, the Spartan plaques must have been separated by architectural elements that caused them to be viewed as a series of individual panels even if together they depicted a single narrative scene. If they had been components of a continuous frieze, their ground lines and figural decoration would extend to the edges, and they likely would have had moldings along the top, as do the mold made warrior frieze plaques from Pazarli.[150] If they had been adjoined but were nevertheless designed to be read as individual panels, they would have frames, as

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[148] In Boardman's reconstruction, the center contained the harnessing of the mule cart, the prothesis, the assembly of women, and the chariot scene. The left contained the procession of men and a child; the procession of mourning men, women and boys; and the mourning women. The right contained the chariot scenes; men and boy riders; and a frontal chariot. Since all of the processions move to the right, the figures approach from one side and leave via the other; see Boardman 1955, 65-66.

[149] The fact that a square building would not have had a central metope is Mommsen's rationale for reconstructing the building as rectangular rather than square; see Mommsen 1997, 59.

[150] Also unlike the mold made frieze plaques from Pazarli, the Spartan plaques lack projections that could hold them onto a long wooden beam; for a discussion of the warrior friezes from Pazarli, see Åkerström 1966, pp. 163-167.

does a mold made Lydian sima plaque reconstructed by Hostetter.[151] Although some scholars object to describing panels that did not decorate a peristyle as metopes, modern semantic distinctions do not apply to how images were interpreted in antiquity, and Stainhauer's identification should stand since it succinctly explains how the plaques functioned visually.[152] The only significant difference between the

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[151] Hostetter's creation of the display building at Sardis is detailed in Hostetter 1993, and the plaque in question, reconstructed from fragments Paris, Louvre CA 1646; New York, Metropolitan Museum 26.164.32; Sardis NOEX 71.16; Sardis T60.35.2914; and one from Larissa, is described on pages 5-10. Hostetter thinks this plaque was most likely a sima because of the "immured return" on the lower border; see Hostetter 1993, 21. This function is reasonable, since the panel in question is very similar to another mid sixth-century B.C. relief sima panel from Sardis, Sardis T67.12.7440, that has four panels with alternating stars and scrolls; see Ramage 1978, 26 no. 42 fig. 83. The Sardis simas, however, are only half as high as the Spartan metopes, and each plaque contains several, seemingly unrelated images; see Hostetter 1993, 5 and Ramage 1978, 26 and 38. Similar examples were found at Gordion; see Ramage 1978, 11.

[152] Barletta does not consider panels located on a cella wall to be true metopes, and Ridgway says the same about examples that lack relief, including the metopes from Thermon and Kalydon and the panels from Attic funerary monuments; see Ridgway 1993, 333-334 and 358, note 8.7 and Barletta 2001, 67-68. Holloway, however, convincingly argues that the Thermon and Kalydon Metopes, which were painted and made of terracotta, should remain part of the discussion of the development of the Doric frieze; see Holloway 1988, 177. It is important to note that Ridgway believes that decorated metopes were invented in the West, whereas Holloway sees decorated metopes as common to all Doric regions. For Holloway, the clear emphasis on decorated metopes in the West is due to the fact that the principal role of temple decoration was to help define cults and identities; decorations, therefore, were needed more in colonial areas where Greek identity had to be maintained and projected. Several precedents exist for the use of terracotta plaques as decoration for the exteriors of important buildings outside of mainland Greece. At Lokri, conjoining panels painted with concentric squares covered the unfired mud brick walls; see Mertens 1982, 118 pl. 24b. Pflug asserts that a series of terracotta panels painted with mythological subjects including Theseus fighting the minotaur, Bellerophon fighting the Chimera, and Herakles fighting Nereus originally decorated several Doric buildings in a sanctuary near Sicilian Naxos; see Pflug 2006. A mid sixth-century B.C. votive stone model naiskos of Cybele from Sardis, Sardis S63.51.5677, is decorated with three registers of square metopal relief panels separated by engaged Ionic columns. One side depicts dancers, komasts, and

Spartan metopes and the Attic plaques is that the latter depict a mortal's funeral whereas the former show a mythological event. This distinction is easily explained by the functions of the structures each group of plaques once decorated: the Attic monument was a private tomb, and the Spartan one was likely a heroön dedicated to a legendary figure.

### 3.5 Iconography

Although his proposal that the plaques are metopes is probable, Stainhauer's iconographic reading needs to be reexamined. In his reconstruction, the hoplites and horsemen approach the woman from opposite sides, forming a somewhat symmetrical composition that he compares to a synoptic image of the abduction of Helen by Theseus found on a Protocorinthian aryballos by the Ajax Painter (figure 3.5).[153] The aryballos shows Theseus, who is accompanied by Peirithous, grasping Helen's hand in the manner typical of early abduction scenes. Helen looks toward,

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processing maidens or priestesses; the other shows maidens processing and lions; and the back has six mythological scenes: enigmatic and partially lost eagles in combat and Peleus chased up a tree on the top register; Herakles and the Lion and a charioteer in the middle register; and a centaur and an unidentified three-figure group along the bottom register; see Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 43-51, no. 7, figs. 20-50. Hostetter sees this model as evidence of how important Lydian buildings were decorated, and suggests that Greek areas such as Lakonia that had close connections to the Near East shared the practice; see Hostetter 1993, 21. Using this model as evidence for how buildings were decorated is risky, however, since no actual buildings preserve definitive examples of such decoration or have engaged ionic columns; see Hanfmann and Ramage, 43-44.

[153] Stainhauer 1982, 340. The aryballos is Paris, Louvre CA 617, from a Theban grave, ca. 700-675 B.C.; see Schefold, 1966, 41; Amyx 1988, 23; *LIMC* 1, 377, Aigisthos 38; *LIMC* 3, 582, Dioskouroi 174; *LIMC* 3, 849, Eris 15; *LIMC* 4, 507, Helene 28, pl. 295; *LIMC* 4, 512, Helene 56a; *LIMC* 6, 74, Klytaimestra 9; *LIMC* 7, 236, Peirithoos 44.

and is simultaneously either rescued by or returned to, her brothers, the mounted Dioskouroi, who approach her from the side opposite that of her abductors. The story was told in the *Kypria* and, as Shapiro points out, probably originated in the Peloponnese.[154] Stainhauer's arrangement of the metopes forms a mirror image of the Ajax Painter's composition.[155]

Stainhauer's reading has several merits. First, the story is a logical choice for the decoration of a building in Sparta, the home of Helen and the Dioskouroi, where

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[154] Shapiro discusses the evolution of this story in antiquity and points out that although it is quite old and probably originated in the Peloponnese, there is no Archaic literary source for it. He also shows that two principal versions survive. In the first, Helen is a child when abducted by Theseus and their "marriage" was never consummated. The earliest source for this version is Hellanikos of Lesbos, who states that Helen was seven years old at the time of her abduction. It is also preserved in later sources, including Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1:23-24, which states that the abduction took place when Helen was twelve and was an attempt by the Athenian hero to obtain a wife who was a daughter of Zeus. In Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library* 4.63.2 the story is similar, although Helen is ten. The fullest account is in Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, which Shaprio calls "a desperate attempt to rationalize and stitch together what had by then become a hopeless jumble of conflicting versions and improbable details." In the second version of the story, preserved in Pausanias 2.22.7 – who refers to Stesichoros fr. 191, Euphorion of Chalkis, and Alexander of Pleuron – Helen was of age and even had a child by Theseus: Iphigenia, whom she gave to Klytemnestra to raise. Since this version is prevalent on Classical Attic vases, Shapiro suggests that it may have been an old Attic version, although it is also related to the cleansing of Theseus' image in the Classical period and possibly enjoyed popularity in late fifth-century B.C. vase painting because of pro-Spartan rule in the wake of the Peloponnesian war; see Shapiro 1992a, 232-35.

[155] Alternately, Benson interprets the scene as Odysseus' capture of Hekabe. He posits that both the horsemen, which he identifies as metabati, and the heroes are Greek; that Hekabe is shown larger than the Greeks to emphasize her importance (and by extension the accomplishment of her captors); that the rooster beneath the rear horseman symbolizes the courage of the Greeks; and that the object beneath the rear footman is a fish that refers to Odysseus; see Benson 1995a, 350-351. Shanks asserts that the large figure assumed to be female in the above interpretations was originally bearded, and argues that the image is paratactic, prohibiting any direct mythological interpretation; see Shanks 1999, 73-74.

their cults were prevalent.[156] Also, as he points out, the account of Helen's first abduction certainly held greater significance during the Archaic period than its scant occurrences in the literary record suggest since it was depicted on the Amyklai throne and possibly on the Kypselos chest.[157] Furthermore, it is likely that the designers of the Spartan metopes would have used a composition borrowed from Corinthian painting since Lakonian vase painters, some of whom may have trained in Corinth, frequently appropriated Corinthian imagery.[158]

However, iconographic incongruities between the Spartan metopes and other early depictions of the abduction of Helen by Theseus – including the Protocorinthian aryballos mentioned above and a seventh-century B.C. bronze cuirass from Olympia – threaten Stainhauer's identification.[159] First, since the composition on the metopes is the reverse of that on the aryballos and cuirass, the horsemen move to the left instead of to the right; the latter is the typical direction of victory in Greek art. Second, the Dioskouroi are not accompanied by *hippotrophoi* on any of the earlier representations. In fact, it is extremely unlikely that the horsemen

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[156] For the origins of the cult of the Dioskouroi, see Pipili 1987, 54-56. The worship of the Dioskouroi may have originated in a Bronze Age hero cult at Therapne, where the most famous shrine of the Dioskouroi, the Phoibaion mentioned in Pausanias 3.20.2, was located. According to Pausanias, Helen and Menelaus were said to be buried nearby; see Pausanias 3.19.9 and 3.20.2.

[157] Stainhauer 1982, 340; also see Pausanias 3.18.15 and 5.19.2.

[158] See Pipili 1987, 84. The designers of the seventh-century B.C. metopes from Temple A at Thermon also borrowed from Corinthian painting; see Bookidis 1967, 154.

[159] For a list of early depictions of this event, see Fittschen 1969, 161-63. Many of these, including the shield bands, show a frontal Helen in between two profile warriors. For the cuirass, see Schefold 1966, 41-42 and *LIMC* 4, 512, Helene 58. It is singled out here because its composition is most like the one on the aryballos.

on the metopes represent the Dioskouroi since they were made from the same mold and therefore would likely have both have been bearded. Throughout Lakonian art, as well as on the Ajax Painter's aryballos, only Kastor was shown bearded since, unlike his brother, he was the mortal son of Tyndareus and was doomed to age.[160] If the Spartan artists had thought to alter the now missing lower part of one rider's face in order to conform to this convention, they would have also made Theseus and Peirithous distinguishable from one another, following the precedent of the aryballos and the cuirass.

A more plausible reading of the scene is possible provided that additional metopes were once present. All of the types of figures – a woman, two walking warriors, and a group of horsemen – appear on a Late Corinthian red ground column-krater now in the Vatican and commonly referred to as the Astarita vase (figure 3.6).[161] Beazley dates the vase to ca. 560 B.C., making it contemporary with the Spartan metopes.[162] Figures labeled Menelaus, Odysseus, and Talthibios sit on what has been described as either masonry steps or an altar and are approached by a woman labeled Theano, two maids, an aged nurse, six armed horsemen accompanied by *hippotrophoi*, a hoplite, and a Scythian archer.[163] Beazley identifies

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[160] See Pipili 1987, 55 and Sanders 1992, 205.

[161] Vatican, Astarita collection 565, provenance unknown, ca. 560 B.C. See Amyx 1988, 264 and M. Sannibale, "79: Black-Figure Column-Krater," in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 196.

[162] Beazley 1958, 234.

[163] Beazley describes the figures and their labels and suggests that the Greeks sit on steps immediately inside the walls of Troy; see Beazley 1958, 235-242. Davies asserts that the object that the Greeks, who are arranged by rank, sit on is an Ionian

the scene as the embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus to negotiate the return of Helen, a story that is told in the *Kypria* and referred to both in the *Iliad* and by Pausanias but that is known primarily from a fifth-century B.C. fragmentary dithyramb of Bacchylides called "The Sons of Antenor, or the Request for the Return of Helen."[164] Glaukos and Eurymachos, the names of two of Antenor and Theano's sons, are inscribed above two of the horsemen, further confirming the identification.[165] Beazley, Davies and Scaife each use the vase in attempts to restore the scant literary

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altar and suggests that the painter knew the type from Attic painting; Davies 1977, 78-80. Sannibale, curiously combining these theories, states that the Greeks sit "on a tall white stairway, perhaps part of the sanctuary of Athena"; see M. Sannibale, "79: Black-Figure Column-Krater," in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 196. The riders appear in pairs, and the outward horses alternate between light and dark, although the foremost is an unruly group of five and a single rider brings up the rear.

[164] See Beazley 1958, 233 and 241. No fragments of the *Kypria* are known, but a problematic summary by Proklos partially preserved in the *Bibliotheke* of the ninth-century Byzantine scholar Photios has enabled scholars to piece together the sequence of episodes; see Scaife 1995, 165-166. Several ancient texts refer to the events described in the *Kypria*, and some help reconstruct the story of Menelaus and Odysseus negotiating for the return of Helen. These include four passages in the *Iliad*: in 3.203-224, Antenor relates to Priam the manner of Menelaus and Odysseus during their negotiations; in 3.347-353, Antenor advocates the surrender of Helen; 6.297-311 describes Theano as a Priestess of Athena presenting a robe to the cult statue; and in 7.348-53 Antenor advocates peace, which is congruent with his conduct during the embassy; see Davies 1977, 75. In descriptions of the fall of Troy, Antenor and his sons are spared because they showed hospitality to Greeks and stopped Antimachos from killing them; in Pausanias 10.26.8 Odysseus is said to have rescued Helikaon, a son of Antenor, and in Apollodoros, *Epitome* 5.21 Odysseus and Menelaos prevent Glaukos from being killed by the other heroes in the Trojan horse. The poem by Baccylides centers around a monologue in which Menelaus argues that hubris, not the will of Zeus, is responsible for human suffering.

[165] Beazley points out that Antenor and Theano had "many warlike sons" and that these two were the most well known; Beazley 1957, 238-39. Eurymachos is described fighting alongside Aeneas in Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Iliupersis* 11:137-183. Other horsemen are labeled Politas, a son of Priam mentioned in the *Iliad*, and Ilioneus, a son of Phorbas; see Scaife 1995, 187. The rest of the figures on the vase are labeled with names not known from literary sources.

record. Although they disagree on several details, it is clear that the Greek heroes and their herald visited Troy in an attempt to use diplomacy to avert the war and were saved from those Trojans who would have killed them by Antenor and his wife Theano, a priestess of Athena.[166]

Identifying the Spartan metopes as a representation of the embassy to negotiate the return of Helen accounts for all of the known fragments of the Spartan metopes, provided that the woman's head represents Theano or one of her attendants, but it requires that images of Menelaus and Odysseus were once present. The Corinthian composition could have been known from any number of now lost vases, and a story featuring Menelaus would have been appropriate for the decoration of a Lakonian heroön.

The metope depicting Menelaus would have likely been in the center of the front of the structure, an arrangement that requires that there were originally an

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[166] See Beazley 1958, 242; Davies 1977, 75; and Scaife 1995, 178-180. Some scholars see Theano's presence in Bacchylides' fragment as an indication that she played an important role in the *Kypria*; see Scaife 1995, 188-89; and Davies 1977, 76-77 and 81-82. Since much of Bacchylides' poem is missing, scholars disagree on the details of the story. In his publication of the Astarita krater, Beazley tries to use the vase to reconstruct the poem. Because the Greeks sit on stepped masonry, Beazley writes that the ambassadors met Antenor on the stairs inside the walls of Troy and that Theano appeared with her entourage to lead the visitors to the safety of the temple of Athena where she was priestess; see Beazley 1958, 238 and Davies 1977, 77. Davies also considers the vase an important source for the story, but sees the distaff and spindle that Theano carries as indications that the initial meeting between the priestess and the Greeks took place in the temple. He postulates that the Greeks snuck into the temple in order to claim sanctuary during their errand, and that Theano discovered them while performing her duties, as described in *Iliad* 6. See Davies 1977 78-80 and Scaife 1995, 187-88.

odd number of images.[167] The Trojans would have approached from both sides – Theano, followed by the walking warriors, from the left, and the horsemen from the right – to converge on the legendary king of Sparta. Although this composition differs from the one on the circular Astarita vase, where the Trojans approach from a single direction, it is a logical way to adapt the scene to a rectangular building. Although it is impossible to know how many plaques there were originally, it is likely that no additional examples were decorated using the hoplite mold since there are only two walking warriors on the Astarita vase, which preserves the Corinthian convention for depicting the subject. Since only the metopes with Theano and the hoplites would have been left of center, only the two known horsemen metopes would have been needed on the right to form a symmetrical composition of five metopes.

Stainhauer reads the scene formed by these plaques as a typically Archaic synoptic image where the figures facing one another are from opposed factions. In the reading proposed here, the image is monoscenic and affiliated subordinate figures approach Menelaus from either side. Although such compositions are rare in early Greek art, they are common in Neo-Assyrian art. A relief in the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II in Nimrud, for example, depicts the seated king attended

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[167] In her discussion of the above-mentioned funerary monument by Exekias, Mommsen points out that an odd number of plaques on the front of a structure allows the most important image to be placed centrally; see Mommsen 1997, 59. Small demonstrates that the most important elements of compositions are often centrally placed in early Greek art; see Small 1999, 565.

on both sides by men and *geniis* (figure 3.7).[168] Winter shows that these images were central to the ideological program of the throne room reliefs. They were the "organizing pivot-points" that directed viewers' experiences of the reliefs and living courtiers within the throne room, and their use of symmetry suggested the "eternal divine order" that formed the core of Neo-Assyrian kingship propaganda.[169]

Lakonian artists would have known such compositions and their inherent meaning from Phoenician minor arts. A bronze Phoenician bowl in the Louvre that was reportedly found in Sparta, for example, shows votive processions approaching a seated goddess from both sides (figure 3.8).[170] This composition is appropriate for the depiction of Menelaus, Sparta's Homeric hero, who was both an "historical" king and the focus of cult activity.[171] Using this scheme to show the embassy to negotiate the return of Helen highlights Menelaus' role in the Trojan War and emphasizes the

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[168] Plaques 1-4, room G; see Ataç 2006, 79-80. Winter points out that this arrangement mimics the actual position of the enthroned King across the room; see Winter 1981, 3-8. Barnett points out that images of processions toward seated figures originated in Egypt, where they generally depicted real events, but were used for religious scenes in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia, as well as by the Phoenicians; see Barnett 1957, 78.

[169] Winter 1981, 10. Although these reliefs were also closely related to historical texts, only the royal context, not knowledge of the texts themselves, was necessary for the correct "reading" of the images thanks to specific details; see Winter 1981, 14-15.

[170] The bowl is Paris, Louvre AO 4702, reportedly from Sparta, ca. 750-700 B.C. See Markoe 1985, cat. # G8.

[171] In his discussion of the Menelaion at Therapne, Tomlinson points out that whereas Pausanias 3.19.9 and Herodotus 6.61 refer to the place as a hero shrine, Isokrates 10.63 records that Menelaus and Helen were worshipped as gods; see Tomlinson 1992, 249. Parker also points out that according to Herodotus 7.134 Talthybius has a similar shrine, and that the repatriation of the bones of Orestes and Tisamenus are described in Herodotus 1.67-68 and Pausanias 7.1.8, respectively; see Parker 1989, 148.

hero's status by showing him receiving guest-friendship from his enemies. Furthermore, the subject is an appropriate decoration for a building with religious connotations since Theano and Antenor gave their enemies sanctuary in a temple. Just as visitors to Ashurnasirpal II's throne room, the most important space in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, would not need to have read the annals in the Ninurta temple to understand images of the King hunting lions and assaulting cities, contemporary Spartan viewers would have been familiar enough with the oral and visual traditions of their own "history" to identify the scene of Menelaus' embassy on a sacred building.

### 3.6 Conclusion

Similar to the Lakonian vase painters who adapted and repurposed appropriated frieze-like compositions, sometimes conflating multiple precedents, to decorate circular kylix tondos and depict mythological events for which no prototypes were available, the designers of the Spartan metopes combined a convention of Corinthian vase painting selected for its subject with a Near Eastern arrangement of figures chosen because its connotations reinforced the principal concept of the image and facilitated its application to an architectural setting. This sophisticated and purposeful manipulation of imported influences demonstrates that Archaic Lakonian artists thoroughly understood the work of the their foreign counterparts and developed innovative approaches to narrative and iconography.

# 4 Connections to Free Painting

## 4.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, color is used to augment the relief of the hoplite's hair and horses' muscles on the Spartan metopes.[172] This atypical technique suggests an interest in mimicking nature and is significantly different from the standard Archaic practice of decorating individual forms with single, solid colors. As Winter points out, painted Archaic sculpture and vase painting generally share a black, red and white palette; use alternating dark and light colors on neighboring elements; and exhibit "no use of shading or perspective to suggest depth"; color is used only to further distinguish modeled elements.[173] Archaic free painting also lacks any attempt at shading.[174] Surviving examples on wood,

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[172] Many aspects of the Spartan metopes conform to our views of how color was used on architectural terracottas and in free painting. For example, the shield handles are painted in basic outlines.

[173] Ridgway 1996, 113 and Winter 2002b, 47-48. Arguably, Papapostolou sees free painting as emulating natural colors; see Papapostolou 2002, 62.

[174] The origins and prevalence of free painting in the Archaic period are obscure. Robertson proposed that the northeast Peloponnese was the birthplace of monumental painting, citing Pliny and Corinthian ceramics; see Robertson 1975, 49. Boardman asserts that monumental painting did not exist in Archaic Greece at all; instead, he believes that painting was small-scale and entirely related to ceramic production; see Boardman 1954, 183-201 and Boardman and Rouf 1980, 204-206. Despite the prevalence of monumental painting in other areas of the Mediterranean during the sixth century B.C., Pemberton agrees with Boardman, citing a lack of appropriate architectural settings for painting in Archaic architecture and the impermanence of painting compared to other materials. He views the frescos from the seventh-century B.C. temple of Poseidon at Isthmia as an "experiment, rarely repeated." Pemberton also considers the lack of literary evidence, with the exception of the painting of Darius' army crossing the Bosphoros dedicated by Mandrokles at the Samian Heraion discussed in Herodotus 4.88, as evidence that monumental painting was neither popular nor highly regarded in the Archaic

including the Corinthian *pinakes* from Pitsa now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, use outlines and large areas of flat color that are generally juxtaposed to contrasting colors and lack any shading or blending (figure 4.1).[175] Extant terracotta panels are executed in the same manner, although with a different palette.[176] The literary record also suggests that shading was not used to create the illusion of three-dimensional forms before the fifth century B.C.[177]

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period; see Pemberton 1989, 181-83. I use the term "free" painting for the reasons outlined in Amyx 1983, 37-38.

[175] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16464, ca. 535 B.C. See Keuls 1975, 1 and Papapostolou 2002, 61. Archaeological evidence for eighth-century B.C. small wooden *pinakes* has been found. The existence of these paintings, as well as the outline technique, supports the literary evidence of Pliny, *Natural History* 35, 15-16, where the use of outline and solid, local colors with no shading (*colores singuli*) is described.

[176] The restricted palette of painting on terracotta relative to that on wood or plaster is a technical limitation of the material since mineral pigments like those used to make blue or green cannot withstand the firing process and tend to be especially fugitive. The best-preserved examples are the seventh-century B.C. metopes from the Temple of Apollo at Thermon. The white background slip and the black/brown outlines added after the large areas of color were applied reflect the technique of free painting. Colors include three red hues, purple, "light terracotta," and white, and are generally used as naturalistically as possible. Other examples include the Kalydon metopes, the early sixth-century B.C. metope of the Charites from the temple of Apollo Lyseios at Thermon, the Chelidon metope, fragments of Corinthian terracotta altars in the Corinth museum, the painted architectural terracotta plaques from Sicilian Naxos, and the warrior plaque in Athens, Acropolis Museum 1037. See Robertson 1979, 81 and 94; Papapostolou 2002, 53-59; and Pflug 2006, 457.

[177] Polygnotus and Mikon are generally seen as being responsible for "elevating painting to a major art form"; see Pemberton 1989, 184. The change from a two-dimensional to a three-dimensional picture plane, made possible by the development of "chiaroscuro" and perspective, is seen as a critical innovation in the history of free painting, both by modern authors and Pliny, *Natural History* 35.29; see Keuls 1975, 7 and Rouveret 1996, 105.

On one hand, the Spartan metopes' deviation from standard practice in regards to color is not surprising since the first use of individual roof tiles painted with multiple colors, an innovation built upon the Corinthian juxtaposition of roof tiles painted with different single colors, occurred in Lakonia during the seventh century B.C.[178] The use of color to augment relief, however, is more sophisticated than using polychromy on roof tiles, and in a way anticipates the invention of "*skiagraphia*," or shading. Although ancient literary sources generally treat shading as the invention of a single person, they disagree on who that person was. Plutarch attributes the invention of "*skiagraphia*" to Apollodorus, whereas Quintillian claims that Zeuxis developed the "law of light and shadow."[179] Although modern authors disagree on the translation of "*skiagraphia,*" it is nevertheless generally thought that both Plutarch and Quintillian refer to a single invention that is simply misattributed by one or the other.[180] Bruno, however, posits that each author refers to an independent approach to chiaroscuro that was first experimented with by Polygnotus.[181]

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[178] Winter 2002b, 51. Around the same time Lakonian painters also began decorating disk acroteria with polychromy and incision, and the similarity of the technique to that used on contemporary Lakonian pottery has led Winter to posit that the acroteria were made by potters, which would have also been unusual in Greece at the time; see Winter 2002b, 48.

[179] Plutarch, *De Gloria Atheniensium* 2 and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratorio* 12.10.4.

[180] For the theory that Plutarch and Quintilian refer to the same development, see Bruno 1977, 27-29.

[181] Bruno posits that Apollodorus combined previous experiments into a system whose full potential was realized by Zeuxis. Bruno also attributes the "linear" approach, exemplified in the tomb at Kazanlak, to Apollodorus' inventions, and the "painterly" approach, as seen on the façade of the tomb from Lefkadia, to Zeuxis'

It is likely that the techniques used to simulate three-dimensional forms in Classical free painting were the result of decades of experimentation rather than the sudden inventions described in the problematic literary sources.[182] Aspects of Lakonian art hint at such experiments, suggesting that free painting may have influenced Spartan vase painters throughout the sixth century B.C. and further demonstrating the innovative nature of Lakonian art.

### 4.2 Free Painting and Vase Painting in the Archaic Period

The relationship between vase painting and free painting in Archaic Greece has been extensively debated. Schaus sees the development of a polychrome style of vase painting in several fabrics around the middle of the seventh century B.C. as a direct response to free painting by vase painters and as an indication of a close connection between the two media.[183] It has also been suggested that during this period the same artists would have produced both vase paintings and free paintings.[184] Many scholars once assumed that the best vase painters copied free

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inventions. Bruno sees a connection between the development of the four-color technique described in Pliny, *Natural History* 35, 50, which caused the removal of blue from the painter's palette, and the development of three-dimensional form. See Bruno 1977, 27-29.

[182] As Bruno and others point out, the supposition that a single individual developed shading is largely derived from the ancient literary tradition, which is "far from simple," and even the ancient Greek sources cited by Pliny had "controversies"; see Bruno 1977, 12.

[183] Schaus 1988, 108-110.

[184] See Papapostolou 2002, 53-56.

painting throughout the Archaic period; however, current consensus sees the two media as being unrelated from the middle of the seventh century B.C. onward.[185]

Papapostolou asserts that throughout the Archaic period free painting remained primarily concerned with "perception of the natural world."[186] Her evidence for this claim lies in the use of color: unlike vase painting, which relied on a limited number of earth tones that withstood firing, free painting developed an increasingly sophisticated and naturalistic palette.[187] As an example she points out that the fragmentary panels from the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia used several mineral-based colors, such as purple and blue, in addition to the earth colors found on polychrome vases: black, white, red and brown.[188] She also shows that the painters of the Isthmia panels experimented with diluting and overlaying colors.[189]

On the other hand, Papapostolou sees vase painting from after the mid seventh century B.C. as being focused on decorative qualities.[190] Robertson

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[185] Payne posits that Archaic Corinthian vase painters copied free painting, a view challenged by Amyx, who concludes that the connection between vase painters and free painters in Archaic Corinth was no greater than that between artists in any other media; see Payne 1931, 92-98 and Amyx 1983, 38-49.

[186] See Papapostolou 2002, 53.

[187] See Papapostolou 2002, 53-56.

[188] See Papapostolou 2002, 57. For the palette of polychrome vase painting, see Schaus 1988, 107. Pointing out that the figures on these panels were much larger than those painted on vases, Marconi calls the seventh-century B.C. paintings from Isthmia "primary documents for the beginning of monumental painting in Greek art"; see Marconi 2006, 4.

[189] See Papapostolou 2002, 57.

[190] See Papapostolou 2002, 53-56.

highlights the graphic nature of black figure vase painting, pointing out that the technique purposely forgoes naturalism in order to emphasize the surface of the vase.[191] Hurwit reiterates Robertson's observation, arguing that the surface of a vase had "authority" over the images depicted on it.[192] These authors and others agree that although vase painters continued to borrow subject matter from free painting after the middle of the seventh century B.C., the palette, techniques, and aims of the two media became unrelated.[193]

### 4.3 Lakonian Vase Painting and Free Painting

The use of color in Lakonian vase painting from the sixth century B.C. challenges this view. The persistent use of a light ground, the addition of colors from outside the standard palette of vase painting, and the possible intention to create a sense of three-dimensionality through the juxtaposition of incision and added purple all suggest that Lakonian vase painters remained interested in the developments of free painting long after the middle of the seventh century B.C.

The best-preserved example of Archaic free painting is the above-mentioned panel from Pitsa (figure 4.1).[194] It depicts a generic sacrificial procession and uses at

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[191] Robertson 1979, 53.

[192] Hurwit 1985, 22.

[193] See Amyx 1983, 41 and Amyx 1988, 543.

[194] Athens, National Archaeological Museum 16464, ca. 535 B.C. Few other examples of Archaic free painting survive. These include the *a secco* paintings from the above-mentioned temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, the interior of the temple of Apollo at Corinth from the second quarter of the seventh century B.C., and the early sixth-century B.C. wall paintings from Kalapodi. These examples all preserve mineral

least six colors: white, black, brown, red, yellow and blue.[195] Forms are described by black or red outlines which are filled with single, solid colors. Lakonian artists would have been familiar with works similar to the Pitsa plaque because such panels, like the Corinthian vases that clearly influenced Lakonian iconography throughout the first half of the sixth century B.C., are portable, and the earliest masters of Lakonian vase painting, the Naukratis Painter and the Boreads Painter, likely trained in Corinth.[196] It is possible that these early masters' use of a white ground, a practice that became standard in Lakonian vase painting, was based on the white ground commonly found on Corinthian free paintings.

Other uses of color reminiscent of Corinthian free paintings like the Pitsa plaque occur in the work of the Arkesilas Painter, who flourished around the time the careers of the Naukratis Painter and the Boreads Painter were coming to an end.[197] Scheibler suggests that the Arkesilas Painter used color naturalistically, as would a free painter, on his name vase (catalog # 23, figure 1.1), despite being limited to the four traditional colors of vase painting.[198] Scheibler also points out that a significant amount of white was added after firing and that a dilute glaze similar to those noticed by Papapastolou on the panels from the temple of Poseidon

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colors like blue and purple; see Schaus 1988, 108-110 and Papapostolou 2002, 54-59.

[195] Keuls suggests there may have originally been seven colors; see Keuls 1975, 1.

[196] For the use of Corinthian iconography in Lakonian art and the presence of the Naukratis painter and the Boreads painter in Corinth, see Pipili 1987, 84.

[197] For the chronology of the Arkesilas painter, see Stibbe 1972, 109.

[198] Scheibler 2002, 71.

as Isthmia is used to indicate the containers into which the weighed silphion is placed.[199]

The Arkesilas Painter's use of color may have been even more like the conventions of free painting than Scheibler suggests since it is unclear whether the current state of the vase accurately reflects the original palette. Touches of blue and green, colors present in sixth-century B.C. free painting but thought to have been absent in contemporary vase painting, are noted in early descriptions.[200] Beazley considered these claims to be incorrect observations of white over black, and his view has become standard.[201]

Buschor, Lane and others note that the name vase of the Arkesilas Painter and Egyptian wall paintings showing Osiris judging the souls of dead have similar compositions and uses of polychromy.[202] Stibbe sees the Arkesilas Painter's depiction of real events as a reflection of Egyptian painting and notes the influence of Egypt on Lakonia in general.[203] The Arkesilas Painter could easily have learned of such Egyptian paintings, and may have seen some himself.[204] However, it has also

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[199] Scheibler 2002, 71 and Papapostolou 2002, 57.

[200] See *CVA* France 7, 17 and Stibbe 1972, 116. Blue was used in polychrome vase painting, which ended around 600 B.C; see Bruno 1977, 27-29 and Scheibler 2002, 72.

[201] See Beazley's review of *CVA* France 7 in *JHS* 48 (1928): 257.

[202] See Buschor in Furtwängler and Reichhold 1904-1932, 213; Lane 1933-1934, 162; and Stibbe 1972, 117.

[203] Stibbe 1972, 117. Also see Pfuhl 1926, 23.

[204] See Lane 1933-1934, 161-62.

been observed that the style, the connection between the registers, and the implicit humor of the image on the vase are necessarily Greek and demonstrate that the vase is not a direct copy of an Egyptian wall painting.[205]

Like other vases by the Arkesilas Painter, the name vase refers to a specific place. It was likely made especially for export to Cyrene, although it was found in Vulci, which almost certainly represents a secondary market.[206] The Arkesilas Painter may have purposely chosen an unusually "monumental" approach because the vase was a special commission.

### 4.4 Three-dimensionality in Lakonian Vase Painting

The use of color on the name vase of the Arkesilas Painter could simply be an atypical throwback to the polychrome vases of the previous century. However, in his other works, color is used in a way that may indicate a desire to create a sense of relief, an innovation that represents an attempt to move beyond the conventions of Archaic vase painting. On a cup depicting the punishments of Atlas and Prometheus in the Vatican (catalog # 26, figure 4.2), the added purple helps create a sense of three-dimensionality in several places.[207] On Atlas' burden, which probably

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[205] See Simon 1981, 60 and M. Avisseau-Broustet, "28: Lakonian Cup," in Kaltsas 2007, 128.

[206] Other examples of vases made for specific destinations include a cup also made especially for Cyrene that shows the nymph Cyrene struggling against a Lion, Taranto I.G. 4991 (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 358; Pipili 1987, cat. # 94; *LIMC* 6, 169 Kyrene 13), and a fragmentary cup showing an outdoor banquet made for the Samian Heraion, catalog # 24; see Pipili 2000, 416-417.

[207] The pairing of Atlas and Prometheus on this vase is seen as a reference to Hesiod, *Theogeny* 489-497, which describes the punishments of the two Titans together. The

represents the sky, bands of purple adjoin several curvilinear incisions.[208] Incisions alone, such as those that define the muscles in the titans' calves or those that indicate how thoroughly Prometheus' ropes bind him to a column, provide the kind of decoration and detail prized in the Archaic period without distracting the viewer with an illusion of depth.[209] The sky, however, is given a sense of volume and, by extension and in combination with Atlas' buckling pose, mass through the combination of incised contours and red bands. Purple also accompanies the incisions that define Atlas' bunched abdominal muscles, which strain under the weight on his shoulders.

On the same vase purple also creates decorative, two-dimensional patterns and highlights key features – typical uses of added color in Archaic vase painting.[210]

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subject of the tondo was originally identified as the punishments of Sisyphus and Tityos in Hades; see Albizzati 1924-1929, 66. The confusion is understandable since Atlas' burden looks more like a rock than the "celestial dome" mentioned in Hesiod, *Theogeny* 489-492 and 710-711; see *LIMC* 3, 3. Also, the fact that Atlas' burden is visible at all differentiates the Arkesilas Painters' image from other Archaic portrayals where the titan's shoulders press against, and seem to support, the frame of the image.

[208] The burden carried by Atlas is usually thought to represent the sky, which Atlas must eternally support according to Hesiod, *Theogeny* 489-492 and 710-711. Jucker suggests that here the heavens are represented as a sphere that surrounds the earth, a Milesian concept; see Jucker 1977, 195-196 and Schaus 1983, 86. Gelzer sees the incisions as delimitations of concentric zones; see Gelzer 1979, 171. However, Yalouris points out that the spots on the burden are consistent with other representations of stars in vase painting; see Yalouris 1980, 314-316.

[209] Scheibler discusses the "delight in patterns and linear drawing" that dominates Archaic vase painting; see Scheibler 2002, 73.

[210] According to Scheibler, the goals of color in Archaic vase painting were to help create "acting and non acting" figures, "to make things precious by decoration," and to "demarcate and emphasize pictorial elements"; see Scheibler 2002, 73.

Alternating stripes of purple and black occupy the areas between the vertical incisions on the column in the exergue; horizontal stripes decorate the capital of both the exergue column and the one to which Prometheus is tied; purple and black patterns decorate the feathers of the two birds; a purple stripe runs along the back of the snake; and purple is used sensationally to depict blood pouring from Prometheus' wound. These decorative uses, which make the cup more eye-catching, also flatten the image, contradicting attempts made elsewhere to make the scene appear three-dimensional.

Such two-dimensional decorative uses of purple comprise the most common occurrences of added color in Lakonian vase painting.[211] The use of purple in conjunction with incision in an attempt to create a sense of three-dimensionality, however, does appear on several other Lakonian vases. On the Rider Painter's depiction of the blinding of Polyphemos (catalog # 32, figure 2.6) purple bands alongside incisions define muscles in the legs of Odysseus and his men.[212] Similar features suggest muscles in the hindquarters of the boar pursued by the Dioskouroi on the name vase of the Hunt Painter (catalog # 57, figure 4.3) and on the Cretan

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Papapostolou points out that purple especially was used to draw attention to certain parts of the figures; see Papapostolou 2002, 63.

[211] Scheibler points out that generally only purple is added in Lakonian vase painting, although there are instances where white is applied as well; see Scheibler 2002, 71.

[212] Although the Rider Painter was a contemporary of the Arkesilas Painter, his work is generally seen as derivative of the other masters'; see Pipili 1987, 35 note 353.

Bull in a cup by the Rider Painter (catalog # 38, figure 4.4), as well as in the left buttock of a komast on another cup by the Rider Painter (catalog # 44, figure 4.5).[213]

The fact that the same technique was used by all of the major Lakonian workshops from the Arkesilas Painter onward suggests that the indication of a three-dimensional surface on a two-dimensional picture plane may have been a problem that interested Lakonian vase painters as early as the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., long before it was solved in fifth century B.C. free painting.[214]

On several Lakonian vases, purple bands between two incisions similar to those decorating Atlas' abdomen on the cup by the Arkesilas Painter in the Vatican help define features on animals and mythological beasts.[215] Although these devices consist of wide areas of added purple adjoining incisions that are not part of a closed shape, they do not contribute to a sense of three-dimensionality as do those that accompany single incisions. Instead, they are a method of adding pattern and ornament to animals that first appeared in early Corinthian vase painting. On a transitional oinochoe by the Polyteleia Painter (figure 4.6) such features define the

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[213] The Rider Painter is generally seen as relying heavily on the innovations of others; see Pipili 1987, 95.

[214] The presence of such experiments on Lakonian vases calls to mind Bruno's theory that methods to depict three-dimensional forms in painting predate Apollodorus; see Bruno 1977, 27-29.

[215] There are several examples. They include two cups by the Rider Painter, catalog #'s 41 and 42, and two cups by the Chimera Painter: Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum 30 (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 352; Pipili 1987, cat. # 58; *LIMC* 3, 250 Chimaira 25, pl. 199) and a cup in Grand Rapids (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 354).

ribcages and hindquarters of sphinxes and goats.[216] On the same animals, enclosed features delineated by incisions are either black or purple. For instance, the necks and underbellies of the goats are both purple, as are the faces of the sphinxes, which match only every other feather on their wings. Both techniques are used only to "demarcate and emphasize pictorial elements" and create patterns, not to suggest corporeality.[217] Although the Arkesilas Painter knew and used this approach, his innovation was to modify it in a way that potentially suggests interest in indicating volume on a two-dimensional surface.

### 4.5 Conclusion

The Arkesilas Painter's use of added color suggests that vase painters in Lakonia did not entirely abandon the conventions of free painting after the middle of the seventh century B.C. as did their Attic and Corinthian counterparts. His possible attempt at simulating relief through the pairing of purple and incision and the use of this technique by later artists demonstrates that Lakonian vase painters were interested in problems of representation that would later be solved by Athenians in the fifth century B.C., long after Lakonia had stopped producing vases with figural imagery. This method of indicating three-dimensionality is another example of innovation based on appropriated Corinthian convention.

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[216] The vase is in a private Swiss collection and dates to between 640 and 625 B.C. See Amyx 1988, 73 and plate 27, 1.

[217] Scheibler 2002, 73.

# 5 Exergues 1

## 5.1 Introduction

The exergues of Archaic Lakonian kylix tondos tend to be proportionally larger than those of other fabrics.[218] It is likely that the Naukratis Painter and the Boreads Painter, the dominant Lakonian vase painters of the early sixth century B.C., initiated this practice by emulating seventh-century B.C. Rhodian plates that depict fans of "gadroons" in large exergues beneath images of single real or fantastic animals.[219] The use of large exergues effectively divides a tondo into two registers, allowing multiple images to be presented within a single circular field.[220] Since roughly half of the extant Lakonian kylikes do not have an exergue and fill the circular field effectively with a single image that is either designed to be viewed from a particular direction, such as a kylix by the Naukratis Painter showing a winged figure wearing winged boots running to the right (catalog # 1, figure 5.1), or can be viewed from any direction, such as another kylix by the Naukratis Painter showing a ring of symposiasts surrounding a lotus and palmette ornament (catalog

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[218] See Stibbe 1971, 75 for a description of typical Lakonian kylix tondo exergues.

[219] See Todd 1973, 109-142 and Pipili 1989, 83.

[220] Lane imagines that large exergues represent an intermediate stage in Lakonian painters' mastering of the tondo as a picture field. In his view, Lakonian exergues shrank over time in imitation of superior Attic work. However, current understanding of workshops and chronology contradicts this view; see Lane 1933-1934, 133-134.

# 7, figure 5.2), the routine use of large exergues by all of the major painters must have been a conscious convention.[221]

Except in cases where they obviously relate to the main scene, as on the name vase of the Arkesilas Painter (catalog # 23, figure 1.1), the contents of Lakonian exergues, which are most commonly animals or ornamental devices, are generally interpreted as decorative.[222] However, the images in Lakonian exergues, even when they are not explicitly narrative, are nearly always thematically related the images above them. Although probably initially an emulation of the thematic unity that sometimes exists between images in different registers on Corinthian and Attic vases, these relationships, which explain the prominence of Lakonian exergues, were also used to qualify the meaning of principal subjects and constitute a Lakonian innovation based on an appropriated practice.

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[221] Van der Grinten sees the second composition as an adaptation of Corinthian banquet scenes like those on the Early Corinthian column krater known as the Eurytios krater, Louvre E 635; see van der Grinten 1966, 20; Amyx 1988, 147; *LIMC* 3, 362 Deion 1, pl. 268; *LIMC* 4, 118 Eurytos I, 1 pl. 62; and *LIMC* 6, 82 Klytios I 1 pl. 38. Lane's suggestion that a composition like this, where a figural scene is wrapped around a central medallion, represents a clumsy, early attempt to fit a figural scene into a tondo is contradicted both by the existence of skillful tondo compositions by the same painter and the fact that vase painters throughout mainland Greece used the same approach to decorate circular areas as early as the late eighth century B.C.; see Lane 1933-1934, 133-134; Seeberg 1965, 102; and Todd 1973, 1, 26-27 and 60. Todd 1973, 72-73 points out the "kinaesthetic" quality of the scheme. The Naukratis Painter also sometimes used a low groundline for the main scene, leaving no room for an image in the exergue, as on Athens, National Archaeological Museum 13910, provenance unknown, ca. 550 B.C. (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 103; Pipili 1987, cat. # 88). The fact that the Naukratis Painter, who set many of the precedents of Lakonian vase painting, would bisect a tondo in order to combine multiple scenes in the same circular field, therefore, cannot be without significance; see Stibbe 1972, 46.

[222] On the Arkesilas Painter's name vase, King Arkesilas supervises the weighing of silphion in the main scene and two men pile sacks of it in the exergue.

## 5.2 Thematic Relationships in Other Fabrics

As Hurwit points out, many scholars have argued that thematic relationships sometimes exist between the various images found on individual Attic or Corinthian vases.[223] Although some scholars point out that searching for "thematic unity" in ancient art necessarily risks projecting modern sensibilities onto the cultures of the past, examinations of the relationship between primary and subsidiary images in Corinthian and Attic vase painting have yielded surprisingly uniform findings.[224]

For example, Benson argues that the secondary, subordinate images of animals commonly found on Protocorinthian aryballoi are not merely Orientalizing ornaments, but are in fact part of such vases' narrative programs. Benson demonstrates that Protocorinthian vase painters often used animal scenes to mimic the human events they depicted and compares the practice to Homeric parallels between heroes' actions and events in nature.[225] Benson asserts that the use of such

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[223] Hurwit provides the following bibliography on the subject: Bérard 1989, Hoffman 1977, Hoffman 1988, Lissarrague 1990b, Scheibler 1987, Steiner 1993, Shapiro 1997, and Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999; see Hurwitt 2002, 2, note 7. To this I add Barringer, who argues for the general success of "programmatic" readings; see Barringer 2001, 4.

[224] See Hurwit 2002, 2-3. Hurwitt cites Small's comment that searching for programmatic unity on the François Vase constitutes imposing modern expectations on ancient art; see Small 1999, 573 note 24. He also cites Ridgway who, in a discussion of programmatic unity on temple architectural sculpture, points out that what might have constituted a thematic connection to the ancient viewer is likely not something that would occur to a modern scholar; see Ridgway 1999, 82-94.

[225] See Benson 1995a, 340-341 and Benson 1995b, 163. Although Benson attributes the development of the technique to the Ajax Painter, his most compelling example is a Protocorinthian aryballos by the Evelyn Painter, London, British Museum 1969 12-15.1 (*LIMC* 1, 84 Achilleus 332a, pl. 90), which shows a hoplite following a horseman on one side and a deer pursued by a lion on the other. The two scenes are

a visual "simile" indicates that the main image is "a human situation that can be interpreted as an epic happening."[226]

Benson only applies his "simile principle" to early Corinthian pottery. Markoe, however, demonstrates that the images of lions attacking various prey animals that were paired with heroic human scenes by Attic vase painters from ca. 700 B.C. onward were inspired by Homeric language and also constitute similes.[227]

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separated by a floral decoration that Benson suggests functions "as would the word 'like' in a literary context"; see Benson 1995b, 163.

[226] Benson 1995b, 163. Shanks inadvertently reinforces Benson's theory by noting that the human and animal images juxtaposed on early Corinthian pottery generally occupy distinct zones, just as the human and animal worlds are made distinct in Homer, and by pointing out that by describing a hero as an animal Homer imbues the former with the divine power to transcend mortal boundaries; see Shanks 1999, 122-123.

[227] Markoe examines images of lions attacking various prey animals, a motif common in Athens, Delphi, and East Greece during the Archaic period, and ably debunks previous interpretations of them. First, he shows that cosmological interpretations which view the animals based on their relationship to the zodiac cannot be applied to all such images since the prey animals differ so widely and that the theme cannot be associated with a specific deity because it occurs in contexts sacred to at least four Olympian gods (see Hölscher's survey of lion attacks on temple architectural sculpture in Hölscher 1972, 68-99). Markoe also demonstrates that lion attacks in architectural sculpture cannot simply be apotropaic, as posited by Ridgway in her discussion of such groups in the corners of the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. According to Ridgway, the opposed standing or resting lions frequently found in Neo-Hittite architectural sculpture which have been shown to be attributes of the *potnia theron* and therefore suitably apotropaic are the precedent for the lion attacks, despite the absence of violence. As Markoe shows, when opposed standing or resting lions occur in Greek architectural sculpture, they usually flank a Gorgoneion, suggesting that the apotropaic function of the Neo-Hittite predecessors was well understood and wholly adopted in these cases. However, the lion attack is not an apotropaic device in all Near Eastern architectural sculpture and is therefore almost certainly not in Greek examples, either. Instead, Markoe sees the precedent of the lion attack motif in literature. In the *Iliad*, lions attacking various prey are used as similes for victorious heroes supported by a god, or "divinely conceived heroic triumph," at least twenty five times, by Markoe's count, including during the description of the shield of Achilles. It

Two of Markoe's most compelling examples are an oinochoe by Lydos illustrating the combat between Herakles and Kyknos (figure 5.3) and a kalyx-krater by Exekias showing the fight over the body of Patroklos (figure 5.4).[228] In each example, the subsidiary register contains images of lions overpowering bulls that function as similes for how ferociously the heroes in the main scene dispatch their foes. Hurwit, who completely accepts Markoe's argument and views lion attacks throughout Attic vase painting as Homeric similes, sees a simile relationship on a Middle Protocorinthian aryballos where a small bird is shown attacking a lizard in the midst of the combat between Bellerophon and the Chimera.[229] Benson and Markoe also point out that the substitution of animals for human figures was common in ancient Near Eastern art.[230] Such visual prototypes no doubt influenced Greek vase painter's visual adaptation of the Homeric simile.

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occurs in later Greek literature as well, including in the *Shield of Herakles.* Markoe also shows that the earliest examples of the lion attack in Protoattic painting also make use of Near Eastern conventions used to denote heroic triumph on Phoenician bowls; his first example is the New York Nessos amphora, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 11.210.1 (*LIMC* 6, 840 Nessos 36, pl. 541), where Herakles is shown in a traditional smiting pose and a hovering bird imitates the Egyptian Horus falcon that serves as an attribute of the smiter in Egyptian art. See Markoe 1989, 86-89 and Ridgway 1977, 209.

[228] The Lydos vase, now lost, was Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 1732, from Vulci, ca. 550-540 B.C. (*ABV* 110 # 37, 685; *Paralipomena* 44, 48; *Addenda*$^2$ 30). The vase by Exekias, also mentioned by Benson, is Athens, Agora AP 1044, from the Athenian Agora, ca. 530 B.C. (*ABV* 145 # 19; *Paralipomena* 60; *Addenda*$^2$ 40; *LIMC* 1, p. 321, Aias I 48 pl. 237); see Markoe 1989 93-95 and Benson 1995a, 340.

[229] For Hurwit's discussion of Markoe, see Hurwit 2002, 2. The aryballos is Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.10, by the Chigi group, ca. 650-640 B.C. (*LIMC* 7, 227 Pegasos 213, pl. 167); see Hurwit 2006, 122-123.

[230] Markoe, dealing specifically with images of lions attacking prey animals, shows that the lion was "employed as a symbol of royalty" throughout the Near East and

Art historians using a structuralist methodology have called simile and metaphor relationships between images like those described by Benson and Markoe "paradigmatic."[231] In other cases, scholars have argued that the various scenes on some vases are "syntagmatically" related, meaning that together they depict various parts of a single story or idea. Hurwit, for example, sees the arrangement of the various friezes of the Chigi Vase (figure 5.5) as creating a vertical axis that "marks the progression of the Corinthian male from boyhood, to youth, to full manhood" since the lowest register depicts boys hunting hares, the middle register depicts young adults hunting lions, and the upper register depicts the hoplite warfare that adults would have engaged in.[232] Hurwit argues that the Judgment of Paris, which

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that the motif easily traveled throughout the Mediterranean on silver Phoenician bowls; see Markoe 1989, 103-104. Benson 1995a, 360-361, note 10, discusses the practice more generally.

[231] See, for example, Stewart 1993, 68 and Stansbury-O'Donnell 1999, 118. Barringer also discusses the use of simile and metaphor in vase painting, which she calls "the most sophisticated and subtle of narrative techniques"; see Barringer 2001, 4.

[232] See Hurwit 2002, 16-17. Hurwit points out that earlier authors saw the various scenes on the Chigi Vase as unrelated. He cites Boardman, who acknowledges the Near Eastern influence visible in the vase but sees no connection between the various scenes, and Rasmussen, who admits that "someone with sufficient ingenuity" could discover thematic unity in the Chigi Vase but that any conclusion they draw would be unlikely to relate to the artists intentions; see Boardman 1993, 31-32 and Rasmussen 1991, 62. Hurwit also mentions that Osborne suspected thematic unity but was unsure about how the scenes fit together; see Osborne 1996, 164, where he suggests that "there is no single way to read" the various images on the Chigi vase, but that together they depict "themes of display, decision and pursuit."

appears beneath the handle and is aligned with the middle register, suggests "the interpenetration of the everyday, the heroic, and the divine in the lives of men."[233]

The connections between images on some Attic vases may have been even more complex. Stewart, in his study of the François Vase (figure 5.6), concludes that both syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships connect the numerous scenes.[234] Building on Robertson's observation that marriage is a recurring theme throughout the vase, Stewart argues that "the subject of heroic *arête* in divinely sanctioned marriage" permeates the decorative program.[235] On the obverse, this theme is revealed to the viewer through the vertical juxtaposition of four key episodes in Achilles' fate: Dionysos carrying the golden vase that will hold Achilles' and Patroklos' ashes to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the ambush of Troilos, the funeral games of Patroklos, and the Calydonian boar hunt.[236] On the reverse, the differences between the various marriage episodes paradigmatically clarify the divinely sanctioned nature of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.[237] Stewart also shows that the ability of a painter to create such "structural relationships" is greater than that of poets in general, and Stesichoros in particular, whose performances

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[233] Hurwit 2002, 19.

[234] Stewart 1983, 68. The François Vase is Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, from Chiusi, ca. 570-560 B.C. (*ABV* 76 #1, 682; *Paralipomena* 29; *Addenda*[2] 21).

[235] Stewart 1983, 67.

[236] Stewart 1983, 67-68.

[237] Stewart 1983, 68.

Stewart sees as an inspiration for the depiction of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.[238]

Other scholars have sought correlations between vase shapes and the subjects of vase paintings.[239] Shapiro, citing funerary scenes on white ground lekythoi, fountain house scenes on hydriai, and symposium scenes on kylikes, points out that sometimes the connection between a vase's shape and its painted image is obvious.[240] Scholars have also argued that certain Attic shapes were decorated with a limited number of themes that were not necessarily related to a vase's function. Scheibler, for example, links images on Attic belly amphoras with the indoctrination of ephebes, and Shapiro points out that Attic black figure pelikai depict the activities of the *banausoi* more frequency than other shapes.[241]

Like the Corinthian and Attic artists whose work they appropriated, Lakonian vase painters frequently created paradigmatic relationships between multiple images on single vases and sometimes illustrated several components of a

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[238] Stewart 1983, 63 and 68.

[239] For a brief overview of this approach, see Barringer 2001, 5.

[240] Shapiro 1997, 63. Hurwit mentions that connections can also be drawn between how a mortal would have used a certain vase and the mythological subjects it depicted; see Hurwit 2002, 2.

[241] See Scheibler 1987 and Shapiro 1997. Shapiro does not attempt to interpret his observation beyond stating that the pelike is a short, sturdy, and therefore "banausic" version of a type C amphora. Other scholars see no connection between choice of subject and vase shape, however. See, for example Bron and Lissarrague 1989, 21.

particular story on an individual vessel.[242] The principal scenes and exergues of Lakonian tondos are frequently related, and the subjects of Spartan vase paintings are often conceptually linked to the sacred function of the wares they decorate.

### 5.3 "Syntagmatic" Relationships in Lakonian Kylix Tondos

Several Lakonian kylix tondos illustrate one part of a story in the principal scene and another component of the same event in the exergue. The name vase of the Arkesilas Painter (catalog # 23, figure 1.1), which shows the weighing of silphion in the main scene and the storing of the same substance in the exergue, is among the most obvious examples.[243] Some scholars, reading the two scenes as physically superimposed and simultaneous, suggest that the tondo depicts the deck and hold of a ship, pointing out that the awning under which Arkesilas sits may be an unfurled sail, that the groundline of the exergue approximates a boat's curved sides, and that a stork, which is an aquatic bird, is present.[244] Lane and Stibbe, however, argue that the two registers indicate distinct locations – a marketplace and

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[242] In his discussion of Spartan uses of deceit for political and military purposes, Powell shows that Spartan society demonstrated "sophistication in the use of visual images"; see Powell 1989, 179. It would be unreasonable to think that a society that carefully crafted its self-image would lag behind Athens and Corinth in the complexity of its art.

[243] Chamoux definitively identifies the substance being weighed in the image as silphion, a medicinal plant that was an important export of Cyrene; see Chamoux 1985.

[244] See Pfhul 1926, 23 and Benton 1959, 179-181.

a storeroom – in which case the temporal element of the scene is ambiguous.[245] Either way, the tondos' images represent two parts of a single event.

The Boreads Painter's ambush of Troilos scenes (catalog # 16, figure 2.2 and catalog # 19, figure 2.3), which show Achilles in the principal zone and the Trojan prince in the exergue, clearly divide two simultaneous elements of a single event between two registers. The Rider Painter's versions (catalog # 33, figure 2.4 and catalog # 35, figure 2.5) arrange the figures the same way but depict two distinct points in the story by showing Achilles setting an ambush in the main scene and Troilos fleeing in the exergue. Despite differences in their temporal relationships, the connection between the contents of the two registers on each of these vases is clear.

Lakonian kylix tondos that depict multiple elements of a single story in distinct registers typically portray several points in time. This is the case on vases combining komastic scenes with symposia.[246] The principal zone of an example by the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 10, figure 5.7) shows two dressed, bearded men facing one another as they drink while reclining on a single *kline* attended by male musicians and dancers.[247] Dogs stand on the floor alongside a footstool that holds

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[245] See Lane 1933-1934, 161 and Stibbe 1972, 116.

[246] Monoscenic images of temporally disparate episodes from a single story also sometimes appear in the principal images on opposite sides of Attic black figure vases; see Meyboom 1978, 61.

[247] See Parinei 1975, 362-368 and *Enea nel Lazio* 177, which suggests that the vase was made specifically for the sanctuary at Lavinium and that the diners are divinities, perhaps the Dioskouroi, although the latter seems unlikely since only one of the Dioskouroi is bearded in Lakonian art, whereas both men on the vase are; see

the men's boots, and eagles, coiled snakes, lizards, and small, winged male figures fill the empty spaces.[248] Dismissing theories that they indicate the afterlife, Pipili explains the winged male figures, which appear alongside Artemis Orthia on a vase by the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 8, figure 5.8), as the goddess' benevolent attendants, and consequently asserts that Lakonian symposium scenes where they are present represent the mortal cult meals in the goddesses' honor where such vases would have been used.[249]

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Pipili 1987, 55. For the identification of the nude youths with vegetal ornaments on their heads as "dancers," see *Enea nel Lazio* 177.

[248] Hurwit shows that lizards like the ones here generally belong "to the realm of the weird, the eerie, the supernatural," suggesting that in this case they reinforce, if paratactically, the supernatural aspect of the winged figures in addition to filling space; see Hurwit 2006, 132.

[249] Supernatural winged male figures appear on at least five symposium scenes on Lakonian vases. Three surviving symposium scenes lack the winged figures, and ten are too fragmentary to tell; see Pipili 1987, 71-74. Weicker, seeing the winged male figures as interchangeable with sirens, which were among the "orgiastischen Schwarm dionysischer Geistischer ins Elysium" and present in the garden of the Hesperides, was the first to view these scenes as banquets of the dead; see Weicker 1902, 14-15, where the presence of winged male figures, sirens, and symposiasts on a kylix by the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 7) is discussed. Sirens have been associated with the afterlife for several reasons, as discussed by Tsiafakis. First, their music led to the death of sailors, as shown in Homer, *Odyssey* 12.39-46 and Apollonios of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.891-894; Odysseus and Orpheus were supposedly the only mortals to hear the sirens' song and live; see Tsiafakis 2003, 74. Plato, *Cratylus* 403 D-E says that the sirens lived in Pluto's realm; see Tsiafakis 2003, 77-78, where the role of sirens on funerary monuments throughout Greek art and their representation as *kourotrophoi* and omens of death are also discussed. Tsiafakis also points out that sirens were related to gorgons and sphinxes since, according to Sophocles, they were all the daughters of Phorkys; see Tsiafakis 2003, 74. Tsiafakis also shows that sirens are not described in Homer and that their appearance may have been adapted from Egyptian art, specifically images of ba birds; see Tsiafakis 2003, 74. Pipili follows Buschor, who shows that sirens were first considered "infernal counterparts of the heavenly muses"; see Buschor 1944. Pollard criticizes Buschor's method, suggesting that sirens and muses are much too different to be considered opposites; see Pollard 1952, 60. Although Artemis Orthia

The middle register of the Naukratis Painters' vase shows three komasts dancing on either side of a krater. An eagle hovers above the krater along the tondo's central axis and jugs and waterbirds fill the empty spaces.[250] Pipili, following Seeberg's view that komasts are mortals and citing vases with komos scenes found at both the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta and the sanctuary of Artemis on Samos, interprets images like this as scenes of dances honoring a deity.[251] She points out that orgiastic rites like those suggested in many komos scenes were performed for Artemis Korythalia in Laconia and Artemis Kordaka in Elis, and other authors

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is the goddess most likely to be honored in Lakonian art, Pipili also suggests that since many of these vases were found on Samos, they could show festivities for Hera, and images of the two cults may have even been compatible since the goddesses shared fertility aspects and had similar festivals in their honor; see Pipili 1989, 89-92. Along the same lines, Lakonian ceramics were dedicated to Turan, considered the Etruscan version of Aphrodite, at Gravisca; see Berti in Cristofani 1985, 181-182.

[250] Parinei points out the compositional symmetry of the three registers; see Parinei 1975, 364-366.

[251] See Pipili 1987, 71-74. Seeberg is convinced that komasts in both Corinthian and Lakonian vase painting are mortals; see Seeberg 1966, 73-74 and Seeberg 1971, 80. He also connects the komos scenes of Lakonian vase painting to a hypothetical procession related to the hero Astrabakos mentioned in Herodotus 6.68-69; see Seeberg 1966. Pettersson and Powell suggest that dancing was central to the Gymnopaidiai and, following Plato's comment that the festivals' combats were conducted in strong heat, suppose that the dances were also and were therefore tests of the performers' endurance; see Powell 1989, 149-150; Pettersson 1992, 55-56; and Plato, *Laws* 633 C. Although I agree with Pipili, Seeberg, Pettersson, and Powell, Plutarch's comment that the helots were sometimes forced to drink to excess and perform "ignoble and ridiculous songs and dances" for the entertainment of the Spartiates at *syssitia* should be noted in connection with these images; see Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus* 28.8-9; Parker 1989, 145; and David 1989, 6, who posits that such performances were designed to help young Spartans establish their sense of superiority over their subjects. The vase in Sparta from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is a cup in the manner of the Naukratis Painter, from Sparta, ca. 575-570 B.C. (Pipili 187, cat. # 179; Stibbe, 1972 cat. # 64). For the fragment from Samos, see Tsakos 1980.

discuss such activities in connection with Artemis elsewhere.[252] Assuming Pipili's interpretations are correct, the symposium and the komos on the Naukratis Painter's vase likely represent temporally distinct components of a single festival at which vases like it would have been used.[253] The symposium may be in the largest, highest register because it depicts the type of event where kylikes were used, because it was the most important part of the festival, or both.

A vase by the Rider Painter also shows ritual dining and komastic dancing in separate areas of its tondo (catalog # 48, figure 5.9).[254] Five komasts, two birds and a centrally located krater occupy a proper exergue. A waterbird flanked by roosters and lions fills the middle register, which also contains a falcon at the far left. A *kitharode* standing along the central axis in the main scene performs for a dining, beardless man who is served by a winged male figure to his right. Although the principal image has been interpreted as a funerary banquet or as Apollo performing for Dionysos, like the Naukratis Painter's vase discussed above it probably

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[252] Pipili 1987, 74. Also, Powell refers to "obscene lexicographical glosses" that describe orgiastic dances performed for Artemis Dereatis; see Powell 1989, 151. Schnabel and Jucker also posit that meals and dances were part of Aretmis' cult; see Jucker 1963, 47-61 and Schnabel 1910, who sees the padded dancers of Corinthian vase painting as related to the cult of Artemis, although the ceremony in question was later replaced by Dionysiac rituals. David connects the obscene dance of transvestites known as the *baryllika* with the cult of Artemis; see David 1989, 8 and Smith 1998, 75.

[253] Although she finds the "iconographic evidence" inconclusive, Smith points out that the sacred komos could have "occurred either before, during or after the symposium"; see Smith 1998, 77.

[254] See Lane 1933-1934, 152-153 and 159; Pelagatti 1955-1956, 36-39; and Fehr 1971, 41-42.

represents a cult meal in a festival honoring Artemis that also featured a komos.[255] The dancers and servant to the left of the musician in the principal zone represent a third temporally distinct component of the festival.[256]

A symposium and a komos appear in concentric, rather than superimposed, registers inside a fragmentary vase by the Arkesilas Painter (catalog # 24, figure 5.10).[257] At least two male diners served by winged male figures recline near an altar. A female *aulos* player wearing a *mitra* accompanies one of the men and, along with the outdoor setting, gives the scene an Eastern feel.[258] Scholars have posited that the symposium on this vase honors Aphrodite, Helen, Persephone, Artemis or Hera, but it almost certainly illustrates a festival at the Samian Heraion, which was where the vessel was found.[259] Small pieces of the komos are visible on a subordinate, interior circular register beneath the diners. Although the Arkesilas

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[255] Pelagatti, following Weicker, views it as a funerary banquet; see Pelagatti 1955-1956, 38. In his discussion of this vase, Fehr points out Nilsson's observation that snakes, like the one here, do not necessarily have connotations of death; see Fehr 1971, 42. Lane suggests that the beardless "lyre-player" is Apollo appearing before a "reveler" who he sees as Dionysos; Lane 1933-1934, 153 and 159. Notably, Stibbe sees the decoration of this vase as a random combination of themes; see Stibbe 1986, 33.

[256] Stibbe suggests that the dance should be read separately from the *kitharode* and symposiast; see Stibbe 1986, 33.

[257] See Muthmann 1982, 48 and Stibbe 1972, 107 and 113.

[258] Pipili 1989, 90.

[259] See Pipili 1987, 73. Artemis, Aphrodite and Helen are all suggested by Diehl; see Diehl 1964, 569-570. Aphrodite is also suggested by Prückner and Muthmann; see Prückner 1968, 150 and Muthmann 1982, 48. Persephone is suggested by Stibbe; see Stibbe 1974, 23. Pipili suggests Artemis or Hera, since the two goddesses' Samian festivals included "musical and athletic contests"; see Pipili 1989, 90.

Painter varies the composition, like the Naukratis Painter and the Rider Painter he arranges various components of a single festival hierarchically in his tondo.

### 5.4 Paradigmatic Relationships in Lakonian Tondos

Paradigmatic simile relationships are also apparent on some Lakonian kylikes. On an example by the Boreads Painter a wild boar decorates the exergue beneath an image of the introduction of Herakles to Olympus (catalog # 17, figure 5.11).[260] Here the animal, whose courage, strength and tenacity are respected throughout Greek myth and epic, exemplifies the virtues that enabled Herakles to complete his labors and take his place among the gods.[261]

Confronted lions in the exergues of vases in the manner of the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 13, figure 5.12) and by the Hunt Painter (catalog # 51, figure 5.13) seem to use a simile familiar from Homer to suggest the ferocity of the hoplites

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[260] Curtius originally thought the vase depicted Hyakinthos and Polyboia approaching the gods, but Lane, Shefton, Pelagatti, Stibbe and Pipili have subsequently agreed that the introduction of Herakles is shown; see Lane 1933-1934, 163-164; Shefton 1954, 300; Pelagatti 1958, 493; Stibbe 1972, 98; and Pipili 1987, 11-12.

[261] See Davies 2001, 1 and Buchholz, Jöhrens and Irmgard 1973, 32. Characterizations of the courage and power of wild boars are numerous in the *Iliad.* One telling example is *Iliad* 17.21, in which Menelaus describes the wild boar as the "fiercest and most dauntless of all creatures." It seems unlikely that the boar on the vase refers to the Erymanthian Boar, a theme that only appeared in vase painting around the middle of the sixth century B.C. and usually includes Eurystheus; see Brommer 1986, 19-20.

fighting above them.[262] However, unlike the hoplites, who are entangled in combat, the lions are static, confounding this simple interpretation.

Confronted lions also appear in exergues beneath images of seated gods, as on a kylix in the manner of the Naukratis Painter showing two seated figures that Pipili, Woodward, Lane, Shefton, and Stibbe agree represent Zeus and Hera facing one another with their hands raised in a gesture of conversation (catalog # 15, figure 5.14).[263] Juxtaposed to these seated divinities, the confronted lions recall

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[262] On the Naukratis Painter's vase, both the lions and the hoplites use the line that separates the exergue from the main scene as a groundline, so that the viewer must turn the vase in order to view both compositions; see Stibbe 1972, 81-82. Lane suggested that this vase was by the Hunt Painter since the warriors barely fit into the tondo and the crests of their helmets disappear above the frame, but Shefton correctly attributed it to the Naukratis Painter; see Lane 1933-1934, 142-143 and Shefton 1954, 304. The example by the Hunt Painter has a very similar composition with the exception that the lions are upright in the exergue. Once again the warriors overlap, the left *holpite's* foot is braced against the frame, and the helmet crests disappear beyond the top of the tondo; see Stibbe 2004, 63. Benson uses *Iliad* 2.473-480 as an example of a Homeric "simile" between the actions of the human protagonists and animals; see Benson in 1995a, 340.

[263] See Pipili 1987, 48; Woodward 1932, 38; Lane 1933-1934; Shefton 1954, 304; and Stibbe 1972, 81-82. Pipili shows that such compositions were borrowed from East Greece and adapted to tondos; see Pipili 1989, 94. Stibbe sees these figures as heroized dead, following a suggestion by Kyrieleis, who connects the dog and the lion-legged throne to the Lakonian hero reliefs; see Kyrieleis 1969, 183-184 and Stibbe 1976, 15. However, Pipili rightly points out that heroized dead would not be a suitable subject for cups used in sacred meals and demonstrates the close similarity between the seated man on this vase and images on other Lakonian vases that are clearly of Zeus; see Pipili 1987, 48. Discussing a similar image by the Chimera Painter, Kassel T 354 (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 353; Pipili 1987, cat. # 132; *LIMC* 5, 346 Hermes 717), Pipili, pointing out that Pausanias describes an image on the altar-tomb of Hyakinthos by Bathykles as "Zeus and Hermes talking to each other," sees Zeus' gesture, which is identical to the one of the vase in the manner of the Naukratis Painter, as an indication that the god is giving instructions to Hermes, who stands and faces him; see Pipili 1987, 47-48 and Pausanias 3.19.3. Regarding the Kassel vase, Woodward says the Zeus "gesticulates with both hands to give emphasis to his words"; see Woodward 1932, 38. Several scholars connect this image to the somewhat later image of Hera bound in the chair made by Hephaistos

sculptures of couchant lions at the entrances to Near Eastern palaces and temples. Eighth-century B.C. examples made in North Syria under Assyrian influence include those "guarding" the outer gates of Zinjirli (ancient Sam'al) and the entrance to the palace at Sakjegözü, as well as lion shaped column bases in the temple at Tell Tayanat.[264] The practice of demarcating important spaces with heraldically confronted lions was adopted throughout Greece, as attested by numerous Archaic pedimental sculptures and grave reliefs.[265] Small limestone reliefs of couchant lions found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta dating to ca. 600 B.C. and thought

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described by Pausanias on the Amyklai throne; see Woodward 1932, 38; Lane 1933-1934, 166; Pipili 1987, 48; and Pausanias 3.18.16. Pipili points out that the cup, dated by Stibbe to ca. 550-530 B.C., is too early to have been influenced by the throne, although she agrees that it could be a similar depiction of the same story. However, this interpretation seems dubious given the lack of indications on the vase itself that Hera is bound. Pipili's dismissive comment that "this is a second rate work and we must excuse such omissions" does not help argue in favor of her identification; see Pipili 1987, 48. Furthermore, on the best-known example of the scene in Attic black figure, which occurs on the François Vase, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209 (*LIMC* 4, 693 Hera 309, pl. 423), Zeus and Hera's thrones face the same direction, although, as Woodward points out, Hera's gesture is similar to the one on the Lakonian vase in Munich; see Woodward 1932, 38.

[264] The examples are provided by Markoe, who cites Frankfort; see Markoe 1989, 87 and Frankfort 1963, 166-167 and 181-182. For a discussion of the origins and the apotropaic role of lion statues in Near Eastern architectural sculpture, see Watanabe 2002, 112-116 and 121-125. Watanabe also points out the association between lions and the warlike goddess Ishtar; see Watanabe 2002, 90-92. For a general discussion of Greek artists' adoption of Syrian antithetical lions, see Todd 1973, 42-44.

[265] For a list of Archaic architectural sculptures and grave reliefs featuring lions, see Müller 1978, 262-265.

to have been architectural decoration on the temple demonstrate that Lakonia was no exception.[266]

The only other Lakonian kylix with a lion in the tondo exergue is a fragmentary cup by the Boreads Painter (catalog # 18, figure 5.15) that likely also depicted a seated divinity in its principal zone.[267] On both this vase and the one in the manner of the Naukratis Painter in Munich (catalog # 15, figure 5.14), the lions indicate that the figures in the main scene are divine and that the space they occupy is sacred.

This interpretation also applies to the combat scenes on the above-mentioned vases by the Naukratis Painter and the Hunt Painter (catalog # 13, figure 5.12 and catalog # 51, figure 5.13). The exergue lions indicate that the hoplites, who unfortunately lack recognizable attributes or inscriptions, could be interpreted as

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[266] See Dawkins 1929, 192. For the role of lions as apotropaic grave watchers and symbols of death in the Archaic period, see Müller 1978, 155-158. The arrow between the lions in the exergue of the Munich vase calls to mind the composition of the Lion Gate at Mycenae, where lions flank a column; the connection between this monument and Near Eastern architecture has also been drawn, although Evans posits an Egyptian origin for the scheme; see Evans 1902, 162-163 and Burkert 1988, 39.

[267] Pipili debunks earlier interpretations of the scene and connects this vase with other representations of a seated divinity, usually Zeus, being approached by one or more figures on foot. She shows that the standing figure holding a pomegranate is male, thereby putting to rest suggestions that this figure was Cyrene or Persephone approaching Apollo or Hades, respectively; see Studniczka 1890, 23 and Woodward 1932, 39. Pipili also points out that this cannot be an image of heroized dead like those on the Lakonian hero reliefs (a theory supported by Stibbe) since such a subject would not be appropriate for a drinking vessel to be used at a sanctuary; see Cook 1914, 95 and Stibbe 1972, 101. Demonstrating that pomegranates, in addition to having chthonic connotations, were fertility symbols in ancient art and were dedicated at Archaic sanctuaries, she concludes that the image shows a deity receiving an offering; see Pipili 1987, 60-61.

superhuman characters in a legendary or mythological event. If this is the case, then the lions here represent a variation on the use of "similes," a practice borrowed from Corinthian art which Benson argues necessarily indicates an "epic or mythological" subject, which would be appropriate decoration for a vase intended for use at a ritual meal.[268] Alternately, the warriors could represent rituals that took place as part of a Spartan festival. As Lévy points out, Pausanias tells us that ephebes used to fight in a sacred grove where images of Herakles and Lycurgus stood, and Plato records that combats, though of naked men, took place during the Gymnopaidiai.[269] Either way, the exergue signifies that the subject of the principal zone is sacred rather than generic.

### 5.5 Conclusion

The large exergues of Archaic Lakonian kylix tondos often contain subjects that are connected to the scenes above them. In some cases, the exergue illustrates a distinct part of the story illustrated in the principal zone, and the two registers can have a variety of spatial and temporal relationships. The various components of other tondos are paradigmatically related. The exergues on these vases can function as a simile to the subject of the principal zone, which is an adaptation of Corinthian practice, or signify that the main image should be interpreted as sacred. The latter function will be explored in the next chapter.

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[268] Benson 1995b, 163-164. Meyboom points out the difficulty of associating such scenes with specific mythological events; see Meyboom 1978, 59.

[269] See Lévy 2003, 100; Pausanias 3.13.8-10; and Plato, *Laws* 633 C.

# 6 Exergues 2

## 6.1 Introduction

The images in Lakonian kylix tondo exergues often have a paradigmatic relationship to the scenes above them. Many of the exergue subjects that are usually dismissed as decorative actually relate to the events depicted in their tondos' principal registers and would have constrained ancient viewer's interpretations of the iconography of the main scene. Several common exergue contents – including columns, waterbirds, and floral complexes – indicate that the primary subject is either a mythological event sanctioned by the gods or part of a sacred festival honoring either Artemis Orthia or another goddess associated with fertility. Although based on the paradigmatic relationships that sometimes exist between the imagery in multiple registers on Corinthian vases, the use of exergues to signify the nature of a vase's main subject is an innovation that demonstrates that Lakonian vase painters were interested in expanding the possibilities of the techniques they appropriated.

## 6.2 Columns

Columns are among the least common subjects of Lakonian kylix exergues, occurring for certain on only four extant vases. These vases have a variety of principal subjects and were decorated by three different painters. The most widely published example is a kylix by the Arkesilas Painter on which the exergue column appears to support the groundline of the main scene, where the punishments of the Titans Prometheus and Atlas, paired on the vase as they are in Hesiod's *Theogeny*,

are shown (catalog # 26, figure 4.2).[270] The column has frequently been interpreted as representing the earth as described by Anaximander, the Milesian philosopher who envisioned the inhabited world resting on one end of a giant cylinder.[271]

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[270] The pairing of Atlas and Prometheus on this vase is seen as a reference to Hesiod, *Theogeny* 517-525, which describes the punishments of the two titans together; see, among others, Helbig 1963, 645 and M. Sannibale, "46: Laconian Kylix," in Kaltsas 2006, 130. Yalouris points out that in the *Theogeny* Prometheus is specifically chained to a column; see Yalouris 1980, 314. Gelzer connects the scene to Pherekydes the Athenians' version of the episode of Herakles fetching the apples of the Hesperides, which is recorded by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius 4 and states that Prometheus helped Herakles trick Atlas as thanks for killing the eagle that perpetually ate his liver; see Gelzer 1979, 170-171 and Scholist on Apollonius Rhodius 4, 1396, *FrGrHist* 3, F 17. Pipili doubts this interpretation; see Pipili 1987, 35. Albizzati, seeing the snake as an indicator that the scene takes place in Hades, originally identified the subject of the tondo as the punishments of Sisyphus and Tityos in Hades; see Albizzati 1924-1929, 66. His confusion is understandable since Atlas' burden looks more like a rock than the heavens mentioned in Hesiod, *Theogeny* 489-492 and 710-711. Also, the fact that Atlas' burden is visible at all differentiates the Arkesilas Painters' image from other Archaic portrayals of Atlas, including a ca. 555 B.C. Attic black figure lip cup by Nearchos from Cerveteri now in a private collection in Bern and a ca. 540 B.C. bronze shield band in the Basel Antikenmuseum Ludwig collection, since these show Atlas' shoulders pressing against, and seeming to support, the frame of the image; see *LIMC* 3, 4 Atlas 2 and 3, pl. 6. The Arkesilas Painter's vase has the earliest known image of Atlas, and it is possible that no standardized iconography existed for the artist to emulate, although he may also have consciously deviated from standard practice. Woodward implausibly sees this unusual representation as a copy of the image of Atlas from the Throne of Bathykles, described in Pausanias 3.18.10, which Woodford dates to the first half of the sixth century B.C., a theory other scholars doubt; see Woodford 1932, 26-27. The image of Prometheus on this vase, though especially gruesome, is fairly consistent with other Archaic representations, and Marangou shows that images of Prometheus were popular throughout the Peloponnese during the Archaic period; see Marangou 1969, 7.

[271] The idea was first put forward in Jucker 1977, 195-196. Also see Gelzer 1979, 175; Yalouris 1980, 314; Schaus 1983, 86; and Pipili 1987, 35. For Anaximander's theory of the shape of the earth, see Kahn 1960, 55 and 81, where the relevant fragments from Hippolytus and Pseudo-Plutarch are analyzed. Schaus suggests that Anaximander's influence in Sparta was great, and that several Lakonian vase painters "could well have listened to him directly"; see Schaus 1983, 87. Kahn points out that Jacoby believes that Anaximander's career flourished around 570 B.C.; see Jacoby 1956, 106 and Kahn 1960, 240. Consistent with this dating, Diogenes

According to much later sources, Anaximander taught in Sparta during the middle of the sixth century B.C., around the time when the vase was made.[272] This reading suggests that the entire tondo forms a single cosmological image where Prometheus, whose punishment took place in the Caucasus, represents the East, and Atlas, whose punishment took place near Gibraltar, represents the West.[273] The stylized lotus buds extending from the column are dismissed as decorative.[274]

Based on the use of columns in the principal zones of other vases, Schaus also connects the exergue of the Arkesilas Painter's vase with divine justice.[275] He cites a cup by the Rider Painter in Tocra (catalog # 28, figure 6.1) that shows Zeus seated on a column and approached by an eagle and snake, animals that Schaus views as

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Laertius says that Anaximander was sixty-four during the fifty-eighth Olympiad (547-546 B.C.), but also mistakenly states that the philosopher believed the earth was spherical, which Kahn describes as "a Hellenistic confusion"; see Diogenes Laertius 2.1.1-2 and Kahn 1960, 56.

[272] Diogenes Laertius mentions that Anaximander put *gnomoi* on sundials in Lacedaemon and Cicero says the philosopher warned the Spartans of an earthquake; see Diogenes Laertius 2.1.1-2; Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.50.112; and Schaus 1983, 86. However, Kahn warns against trusting reports of where and when Anaximander taught; see Kahn 1960, 11.

[273] For the cosmological interpretation of this image, see Baumeister 1888, 1410; Gelzer 1979, 175; Yalouris 1980, 313-315; Schaus 1983, 86; and Schefold 1992, 53.

[274] Helbig first identified the decorations as lotus blossoms, which is now generally accepted; see Helbig 1963, 645. Albizzati, however, calls them "bottoni"; see Albizatti 1924-1929, 67. Shefton 1954, 300 settles for "florals."

[275] Schaus' argument centers on a fragmentary cup by the Hunt Painter from Samos, formerly Kessel S 49 B and now lost (*LIMC* 7, 785 Sisyphos I 37a), which he believes represented Sisyphus, although others have viewed it as a scene of construction. See Schaus 1983, 87; Woodward 1932, 40; Lane 1933-1934, 165-66; and Stibbe 1972, 134.

indicators of "the heavenly and chthonic authority of the god."[276] Although Boardman and Hayes see the column as signifying one of the god's temples, Schaus reads it as a symbol of "the earth over which Zeus holds sway."[277] Schaus does not explicitly say why it is appropriate for a single object to signify both a cosmological view of the earth and divine justice. Perhaps he means to imply that Lakonian vase painters represented the world as necessarily governed by the just will of Zeus, and that an image of a Doric column was enough to trigger such an idea in viewers' minds.

Pipili offers two alternate interpretations of the Arkesilas Painter's vase, neither of which directly connects the column to the main image. In the first, the column is seen simply as a decorative "echo" of the one to which Prometheus is bound.[278] In the second, the two columns in the tondo stand for those which Homer says separate the earth from the sky; in *Odyssey* 1.51-54 Atlas is said to hold up these columns, although in Hesiod, *Theogeny* 517-525 the titan must support the heavens without using them.[279] Pipili posits, then, that the Arkesilas Painter either imagined a combination of the two versions preserved in the literary record or referenced a lost tradition in which there were originally two pillars that separated the earth and sky, as described in Homer, that were replaced by Atlas, as described in Hesiod, but that the original columns continued to exist and were important

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[276] See Schaus 1983, 87.

[277] Boardman and Hayes 1966, 81 and Schaus 1983, 87.

[278] Pipili 1987, 35.

[279] Pipili 1987, 35.

enough to be referenced in vase-painting. Although complex, the second interpretation is not impossible, especially in light of Séchan's theory, championed by Yalouris, that the column to which Prometheus was bound was meant to be one of those that held up the sky.[280]

None of the above interpretations help explain the other Lakonian exergue columns. It is difficult to imagine, for instance, that a vase by the Hunt Painter, on which two male drinkers stand alongside a large vessel supported by a stand, represents a philosopher's model of the earth (catalog # 67, figure 6.2).[281] The men in this image are likely komasts participating in the kind of cult meal at which the kylix would have been used.[282] Although they lack the exaggerated, "padded" features and "bottom-slapping" gesture typical of such figures, their arrangement is identical to definitive komos scenes by the Rider Painter (catalog # 47, figure 2.7 and catalog # 44, figure 4.5) and the image is similar to one by the Allard Pierson Painter that may represent komasts around a krater or dancers competing for a tripod cauldron (catalog # 83, figure 6.3).[283]

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[280] See Yalouris 1980, 314 and Séchan 1951, 36-37.

[281] Stibbe suggests that the vessel between the komasts is a transport amphora; see Stibbe 2004, 64. However, the vase is more likely a krater. Another vase by the Hunt Painter, catalog # 58, shows two komasts, this time with obviously exaggerated bellies and posteriors, next to a large volute krater that tapers to a foot similar to the one shown in the San Antonio vase and also has a jug on top.

[282] The komasts are identified by Stibbe; see Stibbe 2004, 64.

[283] Smith demonstrates that exaggerated features and the "bottom slapping" gesture (I am indebted to her for naming it) are common among Corinthian komasts, although they occur less uniformly in Lakonian representations; see Smith 1998, 75. Carpenter points out that Attic artists mainly depicted komasts simply as nude men; see Carpenter 1986, 86-88. Smith shows that tripod cauldrons were standard

In this case the column, which is decorated with simple vegetal ornaments and flanked by birds, likely relates to the tradition of representing the Olympian deities aniconically. According to the literary record, the earliest representations of the Greek gods were made of unworked material. Pausanias states that the Greeks worshipped "rough stones" in what was to him the ancient past, and Callimachus claims that the earliest cult statue of Hera at Samos was a *xoanon* or "a plank not carved by chisels."[284] Yalouris, pointing out that Pausanias also mentions numerous specific aniconic cult statues, traces the tradition of representing deities in "the form of a column, pillar, cube, pyramid, cone or tree" back through Mycenaean and Minoan times, ultimately citing a Near Eastern origin.[285]

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dedications in sanctuaries and were also given as prizes in dancing contests; see Smith 1998, 76. Lissarrague shows that kraters often form the focal point of komos scenes in Attic vase painting, and there is no reason why the Hunt Painter, who was influenced by his Athenian counterparts, would not do the same. Lissarrague, citing primarily Attic black figure and red figure examples, also shows that symposia and komos scenes can be combined, or even conflated, in order to emphasize the temporal connection between the two events, and that such scenes generally use a krater, which holds the wine necessary for such an event, as a focal point; see Lissarrague 1990, 197-201. In some examples, kraters and altars appear together, as on an Attic red figure hydria, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1262 (*ARV*$^2$ 587 # 62) where Dionysos stands between an altar and a krater while his rhyton is filled by a satyr using an oinochoe, although significantly the serving is done above the altar, not above the krater; Lissarrague 1990, 205. For discussions of the Allard Pierson Painter's vase's subject, see Bloesch 1982, 20; Stibbe 1989, 18-19; and Smith 1998, 76.

[284] The passages referred to are Pausanias 7.22.4 and Callimachus as recorded in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 3.7.98d-3.8.99d. See Burkert 1985, 88 and Donohue 1988, 195. The translations here are from Donohue 1988, 315 and 388. Chittenden points out that heaps of stones were revered during the Bronze Age, and may have been associated with the Master of Animals; see Chittenden 1947, 107-110.

[285] For example, Pausanias 1.44.2 says that the Megarians had "a stone the shape of a small pyramid" that they called Apollo Carinus. In 8.48.6, he says that Zeus Teleios

Although none of these particular representations survive today, the visual record nevertheless supports Pausanias' account and demonstrates that aniconic cult statues were venerated in historical times. Coins from Megara, which was an ally of Sparta during the Peloponnesian war, show a stone pyramid that represented Apollo, and the same god is represented as a pillar on coins from the Corinthian colony of Ambrakia.[286] A small column found near the temple of Artemis on Corcyra was apparently also worshipped as Apollo.[287]

Yalouris sees herms as semi-iconic descendents of aniconic representations of deities, and points out that an Attic red figure stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter now in the British Museum records the practice of decorating sacred pillars with branches (figure 6.4).[288] In this example, the pole, which has a volute capital, is also adorned with a chiton and a Dionysian mask. Similarly decorated poles appear on several contemporary stamnoi, including an additional example by the Villa Giulia Painter (figure 6.5) and two by the Eupolis Painter (figures 6.6 and 6.7), which

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was represented as a square pillar at Tegea, which has led to the identification of twenty stele excavated there, each bearing the name of a single deity in the nominative, as aniconic representations of Olympian gods. In 2.9.6 he mentions a Zeus Meilichius in the shape of a pyramid and an Artemis Patroa in the shape of a pillar near the shrine of Aratus in Sicyon. See Yalouris 1979, 100 and Romaios 1911.

[286] See Yalouris 1979, 100 and plate 45b. For the coin, see *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Copenhagen, Attica-Aegina #'s 477-479.

[287] See Yalouris 1979, 100 and Rhomaios 1925, 215.

[288] Yalouris 1979, 100-103. The stamnos by the Villa Giulia Painter is London, British Museum E 451, from Vulci, ca. 470-450 B.C. (*ARV*$^2$ 621 # 35; *Addenda*$^2$ 270).

appear to depict a Dionysian festival celebrated only by women.[289] Such representations of Dionysos appear in other contexts as well, as on a black figure skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter that depicts a satyr, a maenad, and a group of men dancing around the gods' effigy (figure 6.8).[290]

Yalouris also suggests that the single Corinthian column from the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai was a representation of the god, comparing it with pillars decorated with branches and connecting it to the Arkadian tradition of representing the hyperborean god Apollo Agyieus aniconically.[291] Pointing out that a Lakonian cup was found in a burn layer at Bassai and that lead votives like those from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia were dedicated there as well, Yalouris posits a close

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[289] The other example by the Villa Giulia Painter is Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 90.155a-b, provenance unknown, ca. 450 B.C. (*ARV*$^2$ 621 # 34; *Addenda*$^2$ 270). The examples by the Eupolis Painter are: London, British Museum E 452, from Vulci, ca. 450-440 B.C. (*ARV*$^2$ 1073 # 9; *Paralipomena* 448; *Addenda*$^2$ 326); and Paris, Louvre G 407, from Vulci, ca. 450 B.C. (*ARV*$^2$ 1073 # 10; *Addenda*$^2$ 326; *LIMC* 3, 427, Dionysos 43, pl. 300). For discussions of these vases and the unidentified festival they represent, which is sometimes associated with the Lenaia or the Anthesteria, see Neils 2008, 245 and 246-247 and Chryssoulaki 2008, 269-273.

[290] The skyphos is Athens, National Archaeological Museum 498, from Attica, ca. 525-475 B.C.; see E. Vivliodetis, "126: Black-Figure Skyphos," in Kaltsas and Shapiro 2008, 278.

[291] Yalouris also points out that neither the floor of the cella nor the adyton preserve any traces of a base for a cult statue and debunks Pausanias' suggestion that there was originally a bronze cult statue that was later moved to Megalopolis; see Yalouris 1979, 101-102. Yalouris attributes the North/South orientation of the temple to the god's ancient hyperborean associations, which can be traced through literary sources, and suggests that although this aspect was forgotten or overshadowed in the main Greek centers by the Classical period, it remained in Arcadia because of how isolated the region was; see Yalouris 1979, 96-103.

connection between the two regions in the sixth century B.C., and assumes that deities would have been represented the same way in each.[292]

The tradition of representing deities aniconically was in fact especially strong in Lakonia. As Lévy points out, Pausanias lists fifteen *xoana* in Lakonia, six of which were in Sparta itself; these generally represented goddesses associated with fertility, including Artemis, Aphrodite, Hera, and Persephone, although some apparently represented Apollo.[293] The colossal statue of Apollo at Amyclai, the focus of the Hyakinthia, one of Lakonia's most important annual festivals, was itself only semi-iconic.[294]

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[292] See Yalouris 1979, 91. The cup he mentions is illustrated in Yalouris 1979, plate 40c. Wace points out that lead votive figurines similar to the 100,000 found at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta have been found at other Lakonian sanctuaries, including the Menelaion, the Amyklaion, the Chalkioikos sanctuary, the Eleusinion, the sanctuary of the Megalopolis road, and the shrine of Athena Alea. Wace also posits that Spartans dedicated lead figurines not only because lead was readily available but also because they had "contempt for precious metals evidenced by their iron currency"; see A. J. B. Wace, "IX: The Lead Figurines," in Dawkins 1929, 249-250. Presumably the presence of such votives indicates the presence of Lakonians.

[293] Lévy points out that five of the six *xoana* in Sparta and five of the nine in the rest of Lakonia were of the goddesses mentioned here. Of the five and that were male, four were of Apollo and the fifth was of Orpheus; see Lévy 2003, 98-99 and Pausanias 3.22.1-12. Pausanias also records the presence of seven pillars that supposedly represent the planets near the so-called Tomb of Horse, supposedly the burial place of a horse Tyndareus sacrificed when forcing Helen's suitors to take an oath to defend her; see Pausanias 3.20.9 and Donohue 1988, 195. Lévy also points out that Pausanias mentions an unworked stone in Gytheion called Zeus and a tree in Boiai called Artemis Soteira; see Lévy 2003, 98-99 and Pausanias 3.22.1 and 3.22.12.

[294] For a description of the image of Apollo from the Amyklai throne, see Pausanias 3.19.2. Pettersson illustrates a Roman coin that depicts the statue as a column with arms and a head; see Pettersson 1992, 11.

Pausanias also records a legend claiming that the original cult statue for the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, the most important in Sparta, was a *xoanon* found bound by branches in the marshy areas adjoining the Eurotas river.[295] Rose, one of the excavators of the sanctuary, posits that living branches were used to decorate the statue throughout the Archaic period, suggesting that the arboreal associations of the Spartan goddess were actively maintained.[296]

There may be a kind of truth to the legend that the Spartans discovered their deity in the form of a tree. Jane Carter argues that the principal Spartan goddess Orthia, although later conflated with Artemis, originally came to the Peloponnese from Phoenicia in the eighth century B.C., around the time when Sparta's most prominent sanctuary was founded.[297] Archaeological, art historical and literary evidence clearly demonstrate a close connection between Sparta and Phoenicia in the Archaic period, when Peloponnesian iron would have been traded for Near Easters luxury items, and it is certainly possible that Phoenician customs were

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[295] Pausanias 3.16.7; see Carter 1987, 375. Rose also connects the name of the goddess with a tree-like form, saying it related to the original pillar-like cult statue or *xoana*; see H. J. Rose, "XII: The Cult of Artemis Orthia," in Dawkins 1929, 400-403. Seeberg suggests that the discovery of the cult statue of Artemis Orthia was ritually reenacted and followed by a "frenzied procession" as part of a Lakonian festival; see Seeberg 1966, 50.

[296] See H. J. Rose, "XII: The Cult of Artemis Orthia," in Dawkins 1929, 403. Pettersson notes that in Spartan festivals wreathes made from various types of trees "could be regarded as a general symbol of divine presence"; see Pettersson 1992, 19.

[297] "Artemis" was not added to the deity's name until the Flavian period; see Carter 1987, 374-378. Although Dawkins thought that the sanctuary was founded in the tenth century B.C., too early for Phoenician influence, Carter follows Boardman's review of archaeological evidence placing its origins in the eighth century B.C.; see Dawkins 1929, 18-19; Boardman 1963, 3; and Carter 1987, 374-375.

either brought directly to mainland Greece or learned by Spartans on Samos.[298] Carter connects this Phoenician goddess with *Asherah*, wooden pillars and trees associated with Canaanite shrines in the Old Testament, which call to mind the *xoana* described by Pausanias.[299]

*Asherah* was also the name of a Syrio-Canaanite mother goddess who could be represented as a *potnia theron*, or mistress of animals, in reference to her association with fertility.[300] A thirteenth-century B.C. Aegeanizing ivory pyxis lid from tomb 3 in Minet-el-Beidha, Syria depicting a bare-chested goddess seated on an altar in a rocky landscape feeding two rearing goats may be such a representation (figure 6.9).[301] Its composition recalls early Mesopotamian images of goats on either side of a sacred tree and is echoed on numerous objects from the Spartan sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, such as a seventh-century B.C. ivory fibula

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[298] Lakonian dedications were prevalent at the Samian Heraion until around 540 B.C., when Polykrates took over the island; see Pipili 1998, 85.

[299] Carter points out that 2 Kings 18:4 and 2 Kings 23:14 record that Hezekiah and Josiah forbid *Masseboth*, or standing stones, and *Asherah*, which are tree-like wooden pillars, from Hebrew practice, although *Asherah* were still used by Canaanites and could have come to Sparta via the Phoenicians; see Carter 1987, 375-376. Carter's suggestion fits nicely with Lévy's observation that both Artemis Orthia and Apollo Karneios were Spartan conflations of pre-Olympian and Olympian gods; see Lévy 2003, 92.

[300] See Carter 1987, 377 and S. Caubet, "261: Pyxis Lid with Mistress of Animals," in Aruz, et. al. 2008, 409. For a discussion of problematic inscriptions suggesting that Asherah was at one time considered the consort of YHWH, see Collins 2004, 182-183.

[301] The pyxis lid is in the Louvre. See Kantor 1947, 86-89; Barnett 1982, 30; Carter 1987, 377; and S. Caubet, "261: Pyxis Lid with Mistress of Animals," in Aruz, et. al. 2008, 408-409.

catch plate that shows the goddess as a mistress of animals flanked by aquatic birds that presumably refer to the marshy location of her sanctuary (figure 6.10).[302]

Given the probable origins of Artemis Orthia in a Near Eastern pillar cult, the tradition that her cult statue was an unworked plank found among branches and sometimes decorated with freshly cut tree limbs, and the convention of representing the Spartan goddess as a mistress of animals with aquatic birds on either side, it is possible that Spartan viewers would have understood the column decorated with vegetal ornaments and flanked by birds in the exergue of the Hunt Painter's vase in San Antonio as a representation of their most important goddess.[303] The komos in the principal zone should therefore be interpreted as part of a festival honoring Artemis Orthia. Rather than literally standing beneath the komasts, the column, which occupies the central axis beneath the large vessel above it, figuratively supports or sanctions the ritual activity in the main scene and signifies that the drinking should be interpreted as sacred. The groundline of the principal image, which creates the exergue, both indicates that the column occupies a conceptually

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[302] The fibula catch plate is Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15502; see Dawkins 1929, 208, plate 98 (#2) and A. Gadolou, "22: Fibula Catch-Plate," in Kaltsas 2006, 71. Carved bone waterbirds were also found at the sanctuary; see Dawkins 1929, plate 113.

[303] Pipili identifies the birds as attributes of Artemis in her discussion of the "Lakonian Riders"; see Pipili 1987, 76, notes 725 and 726. Pausanias records that the cult statue of Orthia was found in a marshy area where these kinds of birds would live; see Pausanias 3.16.7.

distinct space and joins it to the vessel whose contents help the komasts connect with their deity.[304]

The column flanked by birds in the exergue of another vase by the Hunt Painter likewise indicates that the image above it represents part of a sacred festival (catalog # 65, figure 6.11). In this example, two komasts, one of whom holds a vegetal fertility symbol, dance on either side of an *aulos* player who stands directly above the column, which once again signifies that the honored goddess supports the ritual and suggests that the music draws her worshippers closer to her. This interpretation does not contradict Cabrera's suggestion that the column refers to the sanctuary in which the celebration occurs, although the reference is certainly to the cult statue, not to an architectural element, and no physical relationship between the two zones of the tondo should be assumed.[305]

The final exergue column in Lakonian vase painting can also be read as a reference to Artemis Orthia. It appears on a vase by the Rider Painter that shows Herakles, devoid of attributes, wrestling the Cretan bull (catalog # 38, figure 4.4).[306] A siren, itself an indicator that a supernatural event is shown, carries lotus blossoms above the combat, and eagles, symbols of the hero's power and reminders that his father was Zeus, fill the empty spaces. The column, which is flanked by birds and has

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[304] Lissarrague shows that a krater, like an altar, can be an intercessor between the human and divine worlds; see Lissarrague 1990, 205-206.

[305] See P. Cabrera, "11: Laconian cup with dancing komasts," in Warden 2004, 90.

[306] As Pipili points out, this vase is too early to represent Theseus and the bull, which first appears in Attic art around 510 B.C. and would not have been an appropriate subject for a Spartan vase; see Pipili 1987, 35 note 353 and *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 19 (1961), 153, fig 3.

only a conceptual relationship to the main image, stands directly beneath the hero's braced foot, suggesting that the goddess sanctions and supports his labors.

Although we are used to seeing Athena aid Herakles in Greek art, it is not surprising that the Rider Painter depicts Artemis Orthia instead. The Spartan kings claimed to be the descendants of Herakles in order to legitimize their authority and symbolize the military power of their state.[307] Spartan soldiers, on the other hand, sacrificed to Artemis Orthia.[308] By using a column to show the principal goddess of Sparta directly supporting the hero who is both the source and symbol of Spartan power, the Rider Painter turns what would otherwise be an illustration of a popular legend into a reiteration of ideology central to the identity of the Lakonian elite.[309]

The column beneath the Arkesilas Painter's depiction of the punishments of Atlas and Prometheus is admittedly different than the other two examples (catalog # 26, figure 4.2). Only half of it is visible, and more of its components, including the flutes and the elements of the capital, are delineated with incision and decorated with alternating black and purple stripes. The lotus buds, however, both recall the vegetal ornaments used to decorate aniconic images of deities and, like the birds found on the other two kylikes as well as on the images showing Artemis Orthia as a mistress of animals, suggest the marshy location of the goddesses' sanctuary.

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[307] See Boardman 1992, 25.

[308] See Powell 1989, 180.

[309] Alternately, Pipili suggests that the use of a column in the exergue, in this case accompanied by waterbirds, is thoughtlessly derivative, since the cup is "a work by the Rider Painter who often takes motifs from other artists' works and uses them at random without paying much attention to their meaning"; see Pipili 1987, 35 note 353.

Although it would be difficult to make a case for Artemis' direct impact on punishments dealt by Zeus, it is safe to say that this vase suggests that divine punishment awaits those who challenge the gods. On all three vases, then, the exergue column indicates the presence of a god or goddess who sanctions the events in the principal scene.

### 6.3 Floral Ornaments

The above-mentioned vase by the Arkesilas Painter contains the only surviving Lakonian representation of the punishments of Atlas and Prometheus (catalog # 26, figure 4.2). However, the labors of Herakles, komos scenes, and Zeus seated are common subjects and, except for two images of Zeus which each occupy an entire tondo, always appear above exergues decorated with columns, lotus buds flanked by birds, or volute-like lotus and palmette ornaments that Lane calls "floral complexes."[310] Spartan viewers would have also understood these floral exergue decorations as signifiers of divine presence and sanction.[311]

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[310] The images of Zeus seated that occupy entire tondos are: Naukratis Painter, Taranto I.G. 4988, from Taranto, ca. 570 B.C. (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 8, Pipili 1987, cat. # 129; *LIMC* 8, 321 Zeus 43, pl. 221); and Naukratis Painter, Paris, Louvre E 668, from the Campana collection, ca. 565-550 B.C. (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 31, Pipili 1987, cat. # 130; *LIMC* 8, 321 Zeus 45, pl. 221). Lane names the ornaments and demonstrates that the lotus and palmette "is the basis of nearly all Lakonian floral complexes"; see Lane 1933-1934, 176-177.

[311] Scholars unanimously interpret such floral motifs as ornamental fillers that lack significance and have no relationship to associated narrative images. In his study of ornaments on Lakonian vase painting, for example, Homann-Wedeking makes no mention of any possible meanings for any ornaments; see Homann-Wedeking 1938, 56-67. Rolley, who uses these ornaments in attributing vases, also does not suggest that they have any meaning; see Rolley 1959. In her discussion of the handful palmettes found in the exergues of Rhodian plates, Todd posits that the motifs were

A typical example of the lotus bud and bird exergue, which combines heraldic Near Eastern images of animals flanking a sacred tree with a floral motif common throughout Egyptian art, appears on a vase by the Hunt Painter that is now in the Cabinet des Médailles (catalog # 58, figure 6.12).[312] The composition recalls the birds flanking a column in the exergue of the same artist's vase in San Antonio, which also shows two komasts and a large krater topped with a jug in the principal zone (catalog # 67, figure 6.2). Like the column, the lotus, a flower associated with water, references aniconic representations of Artemis Orthia, whose *xoanon,* as mentioned above, was, according to tradition, found in a marshy area near the banks of the Eurotas river and was decorated with wreathes and branches during festivals.[313] Once again the birds reference the goddess' role as a *potnia theron.* The lotus bud and birds in the exergue of the vase in the Cabinet des Médailles indicates that the image above it represents a sacred event condoned by Artemis Orthia, whose presence at and distance from the festivities are respectively conveyed by the proximity of her aniconic image and its placement in a separate register.

The same interpretation applies to a similar vase by the Hunt Painter in Florence and an example by the Hoplite Painter in Bonn (catalog # 59, figure 6.13

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chosen simply because their ornaments echoed features of the real or fantastic animals depicted above them; see Todd 1973, 145. Such ornaments are seen as purely decorative on Attic and Corinthian vases as well, a view that needs to be reconsidered in light of the connection between sacred columns and sacred trees in Greece; see Yalours 1979, 102-103.

[312] For the lotus in Egyptian art, see Charvát 1977.

[313] See Pausanias 3.16.7; H. J. Rose, "XII: The Cult of Artemis Orthia," in Dawkins 1929, 403; and Pettersson 1992, 19.

and catalog # 72, figure 6.14). It likely also applies to a vase by the Allard Pierson Painter depicting three komasts, one playing a *kithera* and another holding a wreath, above an exergue containing birds flanking a much simpler lotus bud (catalog # 81, figure 6.15) as well as to another kylix by the same artist that shows two dancers and an *aulos* player above an exergue containing two waterbirds but no lotus bud (catalog # 79, figure 6.16). Three vases by the Hunt Painter with tondos entirely decorated by waterbirds and lotus buds (catalog # 60, figure 6.17; catalog # 68, figure 6.18; and catalog # 56, figure 6.19) should also be connected with Orthia. In these cases, the ornament associates the viewer, who would have been participating in a sacred festival when using the vase, with the goddess directly.

The final exergue subject that accompanies komos scenes is the lotus and palmette complex. Six kylikes combine these two subjects. Early examples of the floral motif tend to be intricate, as on a vase by the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 10, figure 5.7) and another by the Rider Painter showing komasts dancing around an oversized female musician (catalog # 29, figure 6.20).[314] Subsequent versions, like the one appearing beneath another komastic scene by the Rider Painter (catalog #

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[314] Stibbe debunks Schäfer's assertion that the size difference between the musician and komasts on the third vase represents an attempt at perspective and identifies the performer as Dionysos; see Schäfer 1997, 34 and Stibbe 2004, 79 note 312. In his discussion of an image of komasts dancing around a *kitharode* on a volute krater by the Hunt Painter (Switzerland, private collection, supposedly from Sicily, ca. 560 B.C.), Stibbe argues that even musicians who are on the same scale as the dancers should be identified as mortal stand-ins for the god since their central position suggests that they are being worshipped; see Stibbe 1990, 11. Förtsch, however, points out that both *aulos* and *kithara* players appear in komos scenes and asserts that both types should be viewed as mortals; see Förtsch 2001, 149-153. Pipili also sees no reason to identify musicians in Lakonian vase painting as gods; see Pipili 1987, 51-52.

44, figure 4.5), have fewer components, and the latest examples, including one by the Hunt Painter (catalog # 63, figure 6.21) and one by the Allard Pierson Painter (catalog # 83, figure 6.3) are greatly simplified.[315]

Similar ornaments appear in the center of heraldic groups on Corinthian and Attic vases. On the François Vase, for example, such an ornament appears between confronted sphinxes in the lowest register along the central axis and is aligned with various heroic events above.[316] Payne shows that Greek artists appropriated lotus and palmette complexes from the Near East, where the ornaments typically appeared between heraldically confronted humans or animals, as early as the Protocorinthian period, and Lane notes that the ornaments appeared in Lakonian exergues in the early sixth century B.C., at which point they were only slightly modified from their Corinthian prototypes.[317] Lakonian vase painters could have appropriated such ornaments from Corinth, East Greece, or from Near Eastern art directly.[318] By relegating them to the exergues, Spartan artists followed the Assyrian

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[315] Floral ornaments became less intricate over time in Attic black figure vase painting as well; see Boardman 1991, 203-204.

[316] See Payne 1931, 144-145 and 150; and Stewart 1983, 67-68, where the relationships between vertically aligned elements are discussed. The François Vase is Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, from Chiusi, ca. 570-560 B.C. (*ABV* 76 #1, 682; *Paralipomena* 29; *Addenda*[2] 21).

[317] See Riegel 1923, 161; Payne 1931, 148; and Lane 1933-1934, 177.

[318] Pipili and Shefton posit that Spartan artists took these ornaments from East Greek art; see Pipili 1989, 84 and Shefton 1989, 63. In Assyrian art, palmettes could be flanked by geniis, taking the place of the sacred tree, which itself could be associated with the fertility aspects of the goddess Ishtar; see Albenda 2005, 108-111. Albenda's evidence for the connection between the sacred tree and Ishtar is a seventh-century B.C. inscription where the goddess is referred to as a palm tree. Payne also discusses the artificial yet organic character of such ornaments, which

precedent of placing palmettes in decorative border zones distinct from compartments containing figural imagery.[319]

Lotus and palmette complexes in Lakonian kylix tondo exergues, like birds flanking lotus buds or columns, probably refer to aniconic sculptures of deities decorated with living branches and signify the sacred nature of the events depicted above them. Although the motif was used solely for decorative effect in Corinthian and Attic vase painting, Lakonian artists followed the Near Eastern practice of associating such ornaments with supernatural figural scenes.[320] The use of appropriated ornaments to constrain interpretations of an associated image represents a conscious departure from Corinthian precedent.

Lotus and palmette complexes decorate exergues beneath two images of Herakles wrestling the Cretan bull (catalog # 41, figure 6.22 and catalog # 37, figure 6.23) and an image of Zeus seated on a column (catalog # 28, figure 6.1), all by the Rider Painter, and the Arkesilas Painter used the same ornament in the exergue beneath an image of Herakles fighting Amazons (catalog # 22, figure 6.24). Like birds flanking lotus buds or columns, which are the only other exergue subjects

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are, at best, abstracted renditions of the plants they represent; see Payne 1931, 145. Also see Lane 1933-1934, 176.

[319] For the compartmentalization of decorative motifs in Assyrian art, see Albenda 2005, 80-81. For the appearance of decorative motifs on portable ceramic objects, see Albenda 2005, 1.

[320] Hurwit points out that although some artists occasionally blurred the distinction between decorative patterns and landscape elements, the floral ornaments on Archaic Attic vases usually simply delineate elements of the vessel; see Hurwit 1992, especially 66-67. He does not suggest that purely decorative florals have any thematic significance, and further demonstrates that vegetation and other elements of the natural world did not typically interest Greek artists; see Hurwit 1982, 197.

accompanying such scenes, the ornaments indicate the divinity of the tondos' principal subjects.

### 6.4 The Lakonian Riders

Lotus and palmette complexes and lotus buds flanked by waterbirds also occupy exergues beneath the so-called "Lakonian riders," figures exemplified by the Rider Painter's name vases in the British Museum and the Louvre (catalog # 42, figure 6.25 and catalog # 43, figure 6.26).[321] In each tondo a nude youth rides bareback and holds a stick that may be a riding crop. Both riders are accompanied by an eagle, a winged male figure like those found in symposium scenes, and four waterbirds that serve as Artemis Orthia's attributes. On each vase, three waterbirds stand on the groundline among the horse's legs while the fourth perches on the horse's neck.[322] Each rider wears a vegetal headdress. Pipili points out that Artemis Orthia wears a similar ornament on a fragmentary vase by the Naukratis Painter, who also places it on the heads of a winged runner, a *kitharode*, and a sphinx, the latter of which often indicates a sacred location and the intersection of states of being (catalog # 8, figure 5.8; catalog # 9, figure 6.27; catalog # 2, figure 6.28; and

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[321] Stibbe and Pipili interpret a fragment by the Naukratis Painter that was found on Samos and is decorated with a horse's head as the prototype of the Lakonian Riders; see Stibbe 1972, 19-20 and Pipili 1989, 93-94.

[322] Although Stibbe associates them with Eros, Pipili classifies the winged male figures as "nature spirits and attendants of Orthia" and uses the waterbirds, which refer to Orthia's sanctuary and her power over animals, to further her arguments; see Stibbe 1974 and Pipili 1987, 76. In his discussion of the significance of motifs in Geometric art, Roes posits that images of riders that have a bird perched on the horse's rump represent a solar deity, suggesting a longstanding association between similar rider images and the sacred; see Roes 1933, 25.

catalog # 3, figure 6.29).[323] It is tempting to equate these headdresses with the *poloi* made of leaves worn by several seventh-century B.C. bone and ivory images of Orthia found at her Spartan sanctuary and therefore interpret them as references to the divine (figure 6.30).[324]

Puchstein and Lane interpret the riders as victorious athletes and assert that the wreath-holding winged figures are nikai.[325] Pipili, however, asserts that the winged figures are not necessarily nikai since similar wreathes serve as attributes of

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[323] These examples are provided in Stibbe 1974, 29-30. Stibbe cites two other examples of sphinxes with vegetal head ornaments. One, Sparta Museum 15519, is a fragmentary ivory plaque from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and the other is shield band B 1555 from Olympia; see Kunze, 1950, 33; Marangou, 1969, 90, cat. # 39; and Stibbe 1974, 79. A sphinx on a fragmentary early sixth-century B.C. pinax from the Samian Heraion, now Cambridge, Mass., Arthur Sackler Museum, Harvard University 1980.2, has the same headdress. It was originally said to be from Lokri, but is obviously made from the same mold as a plaque in the Getty that Dierichs shows was from Samos; see D. G. Mitten, "67: Fragmentary Pinax with Relief of Sphinx and Griffin," in Padget 2003, 272-273 and Dierichs 1993. Regarding the connotations of sphinxes in general, see Hurwit 2006, 132. Tsiafakis points out that sphinxes guarded Greek sanctuaries in the Bronze Age, a role adapted from the Near East along with the image, and were often apotropaic in the Archaic period; see Tsiafakis 2003, 78-81. Sphinxes were also hybrids that, as Hoffman states, combined "subhuman, human, and superhuman characteristics" and represented boundaries generally and intersections between states of being in particular, a role that dovetailed with their status as guardians on funerary monuments; see Müller 1978, 158-163; Moret 1984, 20-22; Hoffman 1997, 79-80; and Tsiafakis 2003, 82-83. Sphinxes could also be *kourotrophoi* or "devourers of youths," and were shown flanking battle scenes as though waiting to transport the souls of the dead; one of the earliest such representations is on a seventh-century B.C. ivory Lakonian comb. Sphinxes as *kourotrophoi* have also been associated with rites of passage and the maturation of Athenian *ephebes*; see Tsiafakis 2003, 80-81. Payne posits that their connotations were always sinister, as suggested by Hesiod's mention of Theban Sphinx in *Theogeny* 325-330; see Tsiafakis 2003, 78-79 and Payne 1931, 90.

[324] An example of such an image is Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15333, from Sparta, ca. 670-650 B.C.; see Dawkins 1929, plate 119, 1; Pipili 1987, 79; and E. Gadolou, "18: Female Figurine," in Kaltsas 2006, 67.

[325] Puchstein 1881, 234 and Lane 1933-1934, 159-60.

gods and heroes in other contexts.[326] Furthermore, she points out that the figures are derived from prototypes by the Naukratis Painter, who focused on religious imagery.[327] Pipili also dismantles suggestions that the riders represent the heroized dead, arguing that images of the deceased would be inappropriate on vases meant for symposia at religious festivals and that neither rider has attributes that would identify him as an individual.[328] Shefton's suggestion that the riders represent Troilos is easily dismissed given the lack of similarities to the Rider Painter's definitive images of the Trojan prince.[329]

Pipili plausibly interprets the Lakonian riders as references to a hypothetical cavalcade honoring Artemis Orthia that would have been similar to a procession held during the Hyakinthia, the annual Lakonian festival culminating in the presentation of a new chiton to the statue of Apollo at Amyklai.[330] The wreathes held by the winged male figures and worn by the riders strengthen this connection,

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[326] Pipili 1987, 76.

[327] Pipili 1987, 76.

[328] Pipili 1987, 76. For the view that the riders represent heroized dead, see Weicker 1902, 14 ff; Isler-Kerenyi 1969, 53-54; and Stibbe 1974.

[329] Shefton 1954, 301. Also see Pipili 1987, 76 note 723.

[330] See Pipili 1987, 76. According to Lévy, the Hyakinthia was a ten-day celebration with roots that predate the introduction of the Olympian gods. Most of the participants were youths, and on the second day the festivities included musical performances, dancing, and riding decorated horses through the theater; see Lévy 2003, 102 and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 4.139d-f. It likely also included the presentation of a new chiton to the cult statue of Apollo at Amyklai; see Pettersson 1992, 11 and Pausanias 3.16.2. As Pettersson points out, it was celebrated in several Greek cities, although the testimonia all pertain to the Spartan version; see Pettersson 1992, 10.

since wreathes made of palm leaves or reeds were worn during the ritual meals of the Hyakinthia and were featured in other Spartan festivals documented in the literary record, such as the Gymnopaidiai.[331] A bronze statuette of a lyre player dedicated at the Amyklaion probably records such practices (figure 6.31).[332] Wreathes were also often dedicated to Orthia, and, as Rose points out, Pausanias and Plutarch tell us that the Spartan youth who could withstand the most severe beating at the altar of Artemis Orthia was given a wreath as a prize.[333] Flowers were

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[331] The three main Spartan festivals known from literary sources – the Hyakinthia, Carneia and Gymnopadiai – all honored Apollo. According to Pettersson these events constituted a ritual cycle where each, as well as the three together, represented rites of passage connected to the Spartan "age-class" system; see Pettersson 1992, 77. Pettersson resolves the apparent contradiction between Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 4.139d, which says that the Spartans did not wear wreathes at the Hyakinthia because they were mourning the death of the festival's eponymous honoree, and Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.18.2, which relates that wreathes were worn during the festival, by suggesting that they were forbidden during the early phases which commemorated the death of Hyakinthos but were worn during the subsequent meal, which would be consistent with better known Greek practices; see Pettersson 1992, 17-21. Pettersson also points out that according to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 15.22 the leaders of the choirs during the Gymnopaidiai wore palm wreathes meant to commemorate the victory at the legendary battle of Thyrea; see Pettersson 1992, 43 and Lendon 2005, 40-41. Parker notes that according to Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 15.674b, Sosibius the Lacedaemonian recorded that during a festival called the *Promachia* the *perioikoi* youths wore garlands of reeds, although those "reared in the strict discipline" did not; see Parker 1989, 145 and *FGrHist* 595 F 4. Pipili's assumption is that festivals with similar customs honored Orthia; see Pipili 1987, 78.

[332] The statuette is Athens, National Archaeological Museum X 7547, from Amyklai, sixth century B.C. It is impossible to tell whether the wreath on the youth's head is made of palm leaves or reeds; see Pipili 1987, 79.

[333] For Xenophon's description of Spartan soldiers offering garlands to Artemis, see *Agesilaus* 1.27 and Powell 1989, 180. For the prize given to the youth who withstood the most severe beating, see Pausanias 3.16.10; Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus* 18.1; and H. J. Rose, "XII: The Cult of Artemis Orthia," in Dawkins 1929, 404. It is important to note the late date of the literary sources. Rose concludes that the ritual described by Pausanias and Plutarch was likely an "antiquarian" throwback to an actual event,

also prominent in such festivals, as recorded in the visual record. Pipili points out that riders accompany a woman holding a "stylized floral" that she identifies as a priestess with a "cult object" on a lakania fragment by the Arkesilas Painter found at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (catalog # 25, figure 6.32).[334]

Since the riders are participants in a religious festival dedicated to Orthia, a deity descended from a tree cult who could be represented as a pillar decorated with branches and wreathes, it is appropriate that, like the komasts and symposiasts on other vases, they are supported by an ornament that suggests the goddess' presence and sanction. This holds true for the Hoplite Painter's version of the same subject, although in this case the youth leads a second horse and has no ornament on his head; the waterbirds are replaced by lotus buds and palmettes; and a siren, which Pipili interprets somewhat interchangeably with the demons, sits on the horse's rump (catalog # 73, figure 6.33).[335] A rider by the Hunt Painter carrying a spear and appearing above waterbirds flanking a lotus bud should also be interpreted as a festival participant (catalog # 66, figure 6.34). The final Lakonian rider, appearing on a vase in the Hermitage and attributed to the Rider Painter, is nearly identical to the same artists' versions in the British Museum and Louvre, except that the stick carried has a lotus blossom at the end and the exergue is small,

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perhaps even the rite by which youths tried to steal cheese from the altar as described by Xenophon in *Lacedaemonians* 2.9.

[334] See Pipili 76, note 724.

[335] Benson discusses the representation of *metabatai* riding one horse and guiding another in early Greek art; see Benson 1995a, 339. For Pipili's discussion of sirens on sympotic scenes, see Pipili 1987, 72 and 76.

containing only a snake (catalog # 39, figure 6.35). Here the riding crop is replaced with an implement appropriate to a festival for a deity associated with fertility, and a simple indicator of a sacred location appears instead of a proper exergue.

### 6.5 Lotus and Palmette Complexes Outside Exergues

Lakonian vase painters also used lotus and palmette complexes outside of kylix tondo exergues. Regardless of their placement, these decorations are usually paired with, and reinforce the sacred nature of, subjects similar to those found above exergues containing references to aniconic representations of deities.

Lotus and palmette complexes fill the center of a tondo by the Naukratis Painter that has a ring of reclining symposiasts around the edge (catalog # 7, figure 5.2).[336] The sirens and demons accompanying each participant make the sacred nature of the banquet explicit. In this example, the component of a religious festival and floral signifier of divine sanction are paired in concentric zones rather than in superimposed registers.

The ornament is used consistently on other shapes as well. A lotus and palmette complex between two heraldically confronted sphinxes constitutes the only figural imagery on an aryballos in the manner of the Rider Painter (catalog # 27, figure 6.36).[337] As discussed above, sphinxes both protect sacred locations and

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[336] Pipili shows that this arrangement is borrowed from Ionian art, which is not surprising given Sparta's close connection with Samos during the Naukratis Painter's career; see Pipili 1989, 84 and Shefton 1989, 63. The center of the tondo is restored, though Lane is confident of its accuracy; see Lane 1933-1934, 177.

[337] See K. Manchester, "66: Aryballos with Two Sphinxes," in Padgett 2003, 270-271.

represent the intersection of states of being in Greek art, and are therefore appropriate guardians of an aniconic reference to Artemis Orthia. In this case, the heraldic grouping also draws upon the tradition of representing the principal goddess of ancient Sparta as a *potnia theron.*

Heraldic pairings of sphinxes around lotus and palmette complexes also decorate the principal friezes on an amphora, a volute krater, and a fragmentary hydria by the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 5, figure 6.37; catalog # 11, figure 6.38; and catalog # 6, figure 6.39). On the amphora, the figural zone also contains similarly arranged pairs of lions, roosters, and goats. On the volute krater, the sphinxes are accompanied by sirens on either side of a lotus and palmette complex and by a pair of lions confronting a bull. The principal frieze on the hydria also contains roosters flanking a lotus and palmette complex. With the exception of the goats, all of the other animals share the sphinx's connotations. As discussed in chapter 5, lions demarcate sacred spaces in Greek art, and sirens are associated with liminality, a trait that accounts for their popularity in funerary imagery. Stibbe points out that roosters are also frequently found in Lakonian funerary contexts and therefore also symbolize the line between states of being.[338] Each example, though compositionally indebted to the animal friezes of Corinthian vase painting, references Orthia and the intersection of the human and the divine. This connotation is reinforced by the friezes of lotus buds and pomegranates, ornaments

[338] Stibbe 1973, 166. Stibbe cites the hero reliefs as examples and uses the term "*Seelenvogel*" to describe the roosters.

also associated with Orthia and her festivals, which appear above and below the figural decorations on each of these vases.

The pairing of legendary and religious subjects with floral ornaments and heraldic fantastic animals on a hydria by the Hunt Painter most closely reflects the juxtapositions made in kylix tondos (catalog # 54).[339] On the front of the vase, the principal frieze depicts two warriors fighting over a corpse (figure 6.40). The fighters' nudity and the fact that they engage in single combat while *hippotrophoi* look on indicate that they are heroes, although the names inscribed next to them do not correspond to those of any specific combatants known from the literary record.[340] A large lotus and palmette complex occupies the secondary register below them, demonstrating Orthia's sanction of the combat and clarifying its mythological nature. On the other side of the vase, komasts holding lotus buds dance around a waterbird in the main frieze above heraldically paired sphinxes and sirens standing on either side of another waterbird in the subordinate register (figure 6.41). Although no floral ornaments decorate the lower frieze on the reverse of the hydria, the mythological beasts symbolizing the connection between the natural and supernatural realms sufficiently indicate that the mortal komasts attempt to approach the divine by participating in a religious festival.

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[339] For a full description of the vase, see Laurenzi 1936-1944, 85-95.

[340] The inscriptions read right to left and are written in Lakonian script. The warriors are labeled "ΑΡΧΙΛΟΧΙΔΑΣ" and "ΔΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ," and the *hippotrophoi* are labeled "ΑΝΙΟΧΙΔΑΣ" and "ΣΙΝΥΕ"; see M. Filoimonos-Tsopotou, "48: Hydria," in Kaltsas 2006, 132. There is a character names Deinomachus in Lucian, *Philopseudes*, but he is obviously not portrayed as a warrior.

These examples demonstrate that the significance of lotus and palmette complexes was standardized throughout Lakonian vase painting and that the practice of using secondary imagery to qualify principal scenes was not limited to kylix tondos.

### 6.6 Conclusion

Lakonian vase painters used columns, lotusbuds flanked by birds, and lotus and palmette complexes as exergue subjects to call to mind aniconic images of deities and thereby signify that the subjects in their tondos' principal zones were either divine, divinely sanctioned, or part of a religious festival. This practice is a departure from the apparently purely decorative uses of the same ornaments by artists in other parts of Greece, although it is indebted to Corinthian creations of thematic unity between images in multiple registers and emulates the contextual connotations of Near Eastern prototypes. The use of ornamental exergues to qualify interpretations of the principal images in kylix tondos is a Lakonian innovation that demonstrates the understanding of, as well as the ability to modify, multiple precedents.

# 7 Exergues 3

## 7.1 Introduction

As discussed in the previous two chapters, the images in Lakonian kylix tondo exergues have either paradigmatic or syntagmatic relationships with the scenes depicted above them. Syntagmatically related exergue subjects illustrate elements of the vase's primary episode, but the implied spatial and temporal connection between the two registers can vary. Paradigmatically related examples either provide similes to or otherwise qualify the tondos' principal subjects. The most common exergue subjects in the latter category – confronted lions, columns, waterbirds flanking lotus blossoms, and lotus and palmette complexes – each signify a single idea throughout Lakonian vase painting.

The uses of the two remaining prevalent exergue contents – roosters and fish – are not as standardized. Both motifs can be connected to primary subjects in several of the ways discussed above, demonstrating the flexibility with which Spartan artists combined images. Rooster and fish exergues also illustrate that Lakonian vase painters' applications of their innovations were dynamic.

## 7.2 Roosters

Confronted roosters frequently decorate Lakonian kylix tondo exergues. On an example by the Hunt Painter, two roosters flank a lotus bud beneath an image of Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion (catalog # 50, figure 7.1).[341] Although the composition is similar to the waterbirds flanking a lotus bud motif that references aniconic images of Artemis Orthia (see section 6.3), it probably does not signify the goddesses' presence or sanction since roosters never accompany anthropomorphic representations of the deity and are conspicuously absent from the ivories, votives, and fragmentary architectural reliefs found at her sanctuary.[342] Furthermore, the arrangement of roosters flanking a lotus and palmette complex that indicates divine presence on a hydria by the Hunt Painter never appears in kylix tondo exergues (catalog # 54, figures 6.40 and 6.41).

The Hunt Painter used confronted roosters without a lotus bud in two exergues. One appears beneath his image of Herakles and Cerberus (catalog # 49,

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[341] Brommer and Pipili note that Herakles is shown as a hoplite, as is typical in Lakonian art, and that the absence of a helmet, in addition to the context, distinguishes him from generic warriors; see Brommer 1953, 10 and Pipili 1987, 1. Pipili also points out that the lion's head is turned away from the hero, a composition appropriated from Attic Siana cups; see Pipili 1987, 1-2. Brommer suggests that the "snakes, birds and ornaments" in the main scene are present to "enliven and confuse" the image; see Brommer 1953, 10.

[342] The number of lead rooster figurines recovered from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia is too small to suggest any special association with the goddesses' iconography; see A. J. B. Wace, "IX: The Lead Figurines," in Dawkins 1929, 269. Also note that bone waterbirds were numerous; see Dawkins 1929, 216 and Carter 1989, 369.

figure 1.2).[343] The other is on a vase that shows four beardless warriors armed with spears and greaves carrying a dead, bearded man in the main scene (catalog # 52, figure 7.2).[344] In the latter example, the rightmost and leftmost figures are cropped by the edge of the tondo, indicating that only a small portion of a long procession is shown. A fragmentary vase attributed to the Allard Pierson Painter that originally had at least Pegasus and a snake in the principal zone also has opposed roosters in the exergue (catalog # 84, figure 7.3).[345] Whether or not Bellerophon was originally depicted, the original viewers would likely have associated this image with the hero.

Schefold interprets the birds in these exergues, which appear to be static, as simply heraldic.[346] Stibbe points out that roosters are frequently found on hero reliefs and in other presumably funerary Lakonian contexts.[347] Although the Hunt Painter's image of warriors carrying a corpse could certainly have funerary associations, the same painter's depictions of heroic combats cannot. The roosters could also be symbols of bravery, as Benson suggests they are in Protocorinthian

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[343] Schefold points out that this is the earliest image where Cerberus has three heads, as described by Sophocles in *Women of Trachis* 1198; see Schefold 1992, 129.

[344] See Pernice 1901, 189; Pfuhl 1923, 99; Neugebauer, 1932, 22; Schuchhardt 1940, 127; and Greifenhagen et. al. 1968, 61-62.

[345] See Paul 1997, 25.

[346] Schefold 1992, 95.

[347] Stibbe points out that roosters can represent spirits of the deceased, function as chthonic symbols, or appear as offerings to the herioized dead in Attic and Lakonian funerary contexts; see Stibbe 1973, 165-166.

vase painting, in which case they would signify the virtue of the heroes or mortal warriors depicted above them.[348]

Roosters in Greek art are often associated with competition. Several scholars interpret the cock columns on Panathenaic amphorae, for example, as references to "the fighting spirit," as Beazley puts it.[349] Fowler implies a connection between the agonistic connotations of roosters and the popularity of cockfighting in antiquity, and it is possible that Spartan viewers would have thought of such contests when viewing exergues that show two birds squared off.[350]

Morgan shows that cockfighting was considered a typical Greek pastime by the Romans, and demonstrates that it was practiced throughout the Greek world, although the best birds were said to come from Ionia.[351] Fowler points out that cockfighting was popular in Classical Athens, and that Lucian, Aelian, and Eustathius each mention an annual cockfight that all Athenian men of fighting age were required to attend.[352] Although the literary record does not mention official

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[348] See Benson 1995a, 349. Stibbe also asserts that roosters in Greek art were associated with bravery and eagerness for combat, as they were in Near Eastern art; see Stibbe 1973, 165.

[349] Beazley 1986, 84. The cock columns on Panathenaic amphorae are also sometimes interpreted as indications of a sacred building; see Beazley 1986, 84 and Neils 1992, 37. Neils, who argues that the Panathenaic image of Athena refers to a statue, suggests instead that the columns are illustrations of actual monuments; see Neils 1992, 37-38.

[350] See Fowler 1989, 258.

[351] Morgan 1975, 117 and 119.

[352] See Fowler 1989, 258-259; Lucian, *Anacharsis* 37, where Solon explains that such spectacles give the men an "appetite for danger" and urge them to be at least as brave as the animals; Aelian, *Varia Historia* 2.28, where the author claims that

cockfights in Lakonia, Fowler compares the Athenian contest to descriptions of trained boar fights organized by Spartan youths near the Platanistas following sacrifices at the Phoebaeum, and visual evidence suggests that cockfights took place during other festivals as well.[353] A fragmentary vase by the Hunt Painter, for example, illustrates two cocks fighting while a hen and chicks, rendered on a much smaller scale that Stibbe interprets as a nascent attempt at perspective, stand beneath the combatants (catalog # 53, figure 7.4).[354] The exergue originally contained a lotus and palmette complex, which suggests that the combat was divinely sanctioned and therefore likely part of a celebration honoring a god.

A fragmentary vase by the Arkesilas Painter illustrates an outdoor banquet near an altar on its interior, and in an exterior frieze depicts a man picking up a rooster while another bird lays at his feet with a rope around its neck (catalog # 24, figures 5.10 and 7.5).[355] This scene could represent a recently concluded cockfight, and a third rooster with lines that could indicate spurs on its feet stands as tall as the man on the other side of a tree. The events shown on the exterior of this vase

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Themistocles initiated the event because a speech he gave near a cockfight during the Persian Wars inspired his soldier's bravery; and Eustathius of Thessalonica, *On Iliad* 9.124-127. Also see Lonsdale 1979, 155.

[353] See Fowler 1989, 258-259 and Pausanias 3.14.10.

[354] In the initial publication of the vase, Papadopoulos reads the scene as giant eagle swooping down to capture the hen, despite the fact that he compares the feathers of the hypothetical predator to both the hen's and those of roosters on other vases by the Hunt Painter; see Papadopoulos 1992. Although Papadopoulos' reading is understandable given how fragmentary the vase is, Stibbe's interpretation that a two fighting roosters are illustrated is more plausible; see Stibbe 2004, 63.

[355] Stibbe, however, interprets the scene simply as a man catching chickens and binding them with a strap; see Stibbe 1971, 77.

could easily have been representations of components of the festival indicated in the tondo, and a rooster perched on the lap of one of the symposiasts strengthens the connection between the subjects of the vase's interior and exterior.[356]

A vase by the Rider Painter provides further evidence that cockfights accompanied Lakonian festivals (catalog # 36, figure 7.6). Roosters appear in an exergue beneath an image of a symposiast who is entertained by a dancer and musicians in a space festooned with pomegranates. In this case the diner and the roosters could represent temporally distinct elements of the same festival, like the symposia and komos scenes shown in separate zones on two vases by the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 10, figure 5.7 and catalog # 48, figure 5.9).[357] Van der Grinten suggests that the unusual "downwards-bent groundline" separating the two segments of the Rider Painter's tondo indicates the condensation of an expansive space, meaning that the events are simultaneous and implying that the cockfight, rather than occurring beneath the kline, was part of the entertainment visible to the reveler.[358]

Six vases by the Allard Pierson Painter and one by the Naukratis Painter have tondos decorated entirely by single roosters and further strengthen the connection

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[356] Shapiro points out that gamecocks were the "standard love-gift" given by men to boys in Archaic Attic vase painting; see Shapiro 1981a, 134. A similar connotation could certainly exist in the image by the Arkesilas Painter's discussed here.

[357] The latter example also includes a register containing confronted roosters.

[358] When discussing another vase, van der Grinten also points out that the roosters' feet rest on the curved edge of the tondo as if it were solid ground; see van der Grinten 1966, 20-21.

between such birds and Lakonian festivals.[359] A large lotus bud suggesting a connection with Artemis Orthia appears above the rooster in two examples by the former artist (catalog # 75, figure 7.7 and catalog # 76, figure 7.8).[360] A third vase by the Allard Pierson Painter lacks any accompanying decorations, and only three rosettes appear around the bird on the example by the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 77, figure 7.9 and catalog # 4, 7.10). Nevertheless, the original context in which these vessels were used would have implied a sacred theme. The three remaining examples are fragmentary, and it is impossible to tell what ornaments, if any, once shared the tondos with the roosters.[361]

Since Spartan viewers would likely have associated images of opposed roosters with cockfights that were held during festivals, the exergues of the Hunt Painter's vases depicting Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion (catalog # 50, figure 7.1) and Herakles leading Cerberus out of the underworld (catalog # 49, figure 1.2) were probably intended as both paradigmatic similes to, and indications of the heroic nature of, the contests illustrated above them. The same interpretation applies to the exergue of the vase by the Allard Pierson Painter's vase that references the exploits of Bellerophon (catalog # 84, figure 7.3). The roosters

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[359] Todd points out that the single rooster was an Iranian motif imported by Greek artists around 750 B.C. that was subsequently used by Protocorinthian vase painters; see Todd 1973, 78-79.

[360] See Schwartz 1996, 15-16.

[361] The vases are: Taranto, from Satyrion, ca. 550-520 B.C. (Stibbe 2004, cat. # 320); Taranto, from Satyrion, ca. 550-520 B.C. (Stibbe 2004, cat. # 322); and Netherlands, private collection, supposedly from Taranto, ca. 550-520 B.C. (Stibbe 2004, cat. # 322).

beneath the Hunt Painter's image of warriors carrying the dead (catalog # 52, figure 7.2) also suggest conflict, although here the consequences, rather than the excitement, of combat are emphasized.

Although they likely reference cockfights that took place during Spartan festivals, exergues with confronted roosters did not have a standardized function in Lakonian vase painting. They could alternately provide paradigmatic similes to the scenes above them, signify conflict, or indicate spatially distinct elements of a tondo's primary subject.

### 7.3 Fish

Fish, the only common Lakonian exergue subject not yet discussed, also lacked a standardized function.[362] Fish were frequently used to indicate marine settings, a practice borrowed directly from early Corinthian painting, and several tondos illustrate a cross section of the sea by using the main scene's groundline to represent the water's surface.[363] An example by the Hunt Painter depicts a single

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[362] Geometrically arranged groups of fish fill two extant Lakonian kylix tondos: Painter of the Fish of Taranto, Taranto, from Taranto, ca. 590-570 B.C. (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 332); and Allard Pierson Painter, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3765, provenance unknown, ca. 550-520 B.C. (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 346). These examples, likely visual jokes calling to mind Homer's "wine dark sea" since the fish would have appeared to be swimming in the liquid these cups were designed to hold, do not help decipher the meaning of fish in exergues; see Hurwit 1992, 70.

[363] For the use of fish in early Corinthian vase painting, see Benson 1995a, 349. Several other vases show fish and sea creatures together in tondos without exergues. One example is also by the Hunt Painter and depicts three fish and a squid beneath a man who Stibbe identifies as one of a handful of examples of a beardless Poseidon riding a hippocamp. The vase is in a private Dutch collection (Stibbe 2004, cat. #133); see Heldring and Stibbe 1997, 88-89, where it is pointed out that no other squids appear in Lakonian art. Although Pipili questions the identification of

fish beneath an image of a sea creature that has two human torsos and a fish tail and is accompanied by an eagle, which indicates that it swims along the sea's surface (catalog # 55, figure 7.11). The portion of each animal's tail that extends into its counterpart's compartment reinforces that the subjects of the two registers are literally juxtaposed. Stibbe offers the same interpretation for a kylix interior by the Naukratis Painter (catalog # 12, figure 7.12). In this example, a flying Pegasus is accompanied by an eagle, two lotus buds, and a rosette above an exergue containing a single fish [364] The same division of registers was also used to represent cross sections of the sea in other media, as demonstrated by a seventh-century B.C. semicircular ivory plaque from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia on which three fish appear beneath a ship (figure 7.13).[365]

Since Odysseus' adventures were nautical, Pipili suggests that the fish in the exergue beneath the Rider Painter's synoptic depiction of the blinding of

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the rider as Poseidon, she acknowledges the similarity of the composition to a definitive example of a bearded Poseidon riding a hippokamp on a vase by the Naukratis Painter, Cerveteri 90287 (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 35; Pipili 1987, cat. # 135; *LIMC* 7, 463 Poseidon 154) and demonstrates that similar images of the god, both with an without beards, occur in Corinthian and Attic vase painting; see Pipili 1987, 49-50. It should be noted that while the definitive Poseidon by the Naukratis Painter holds a trident of sorts, with a lotusbud in place of the center prong, and clearly holds a trident in lead figurines found at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, the Hunt Painter's beardless hippocamp rider carries a spear. Both of the vases make clear that all of their subjects are underwater.

[364] See Stibbe 2004, 22.

[365] The plaque is Sparta, Sparta Archaeological Museum 15353. Dawkins points out that an inscription indicates that it was a dedicated to Orthia and suggests that the man on the ship's stern is saying farewell to the woman whose hand he grasps and who he interprets as being on shore although she is perched on a steering oar; see Dawkins 1929, 214-215 and Marangou 1969, 34-35.

Polyphemos also refers to the sea, even though the superposition of registers on this vase does not indicate the literal arrangement of their contents, and several other scholars assert that the animal is purely decorative (catalog # 32, figure 2.6).[366] Pipili, convinced of the consistent use of animals to indicate setting, also follows Schefold in interpreting the snake as signifying that the scene occurs in a cave.[367]

Other interpretations of the fish's significance have been put forward, but they are not as convincing as Pipili's. Touchefeu-Meynier suggests that the animal paradigmatically indicates the foolishness of Polyphemos, who is vanquished by Odysseus' intellect just as fish are caught by trickery.[368] While the wine cup that led

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[366] See Pipili 1987, 33. The fact that this image refers to three separate elements of the story – the Cyclops eating sailors, Odysseus' getting the monster drunk, and the blinding – has often been discussed as an example of synoptic narrative; for a good summary, see Woodford 2003, 39-40. Pipili points out the irresolvable problem of trying to identify one of the men on the vase as Odysseus. On one hand, Homer, *Odyssey* 9.383-289 relates that Odysseus stood at the rear of the olive shaft, as does the only bearded man on the vase. On the other hand, Odysseus is also the one who gives Polyphemos the wine, as does the man in the front of the line on the vase. For scholars who think the fish is purely decorative, see Rolley 1959, 277 and Fellmann 1972, 21. Even Touchefeu-Meynier, who proposes several possibilities for the significance of the fish, admits that it may have nothing to do with the principal scene, and Lane suggests that Lakonian artists simply preferred animate objects for filling ornaments; see Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 15 and Lane 1933-1934, 177. The Rider Painter's use of a fish in connection with the blinding of Polyphemos is unusual. In his survey of Archaic representations of the story, Courbin lists no others that depict fish; see Courbin 1955. The most contemporary example, a Corinthian alabastron, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art GR 501, lacks indications of other points in the episode, animals, or ornaments; see Payne 1931, 319 cat. # 1200, and Pipili 1987, 33. Carpenter points out that the blinding of Polyphemos is rare in Attic vase paining, and lists no examples that include fish; see Carpenter 1991, 233.

[367] See Pipili 1987, 33; Schefold 1992, 295; and Grabow 1998. 98-99.

[368] She also mentions Heydemann's theory that the snake signifies the Cyclops' certain death; see Touchefeu-Meynier 14.

to Polyphemos' vulnerability still touches the Cyclops' lips, the fish appears to open its mouth toward the only other object in the exergue: a circle with a dot in it that Lane asserts is entirely decorative but could represent bait.[369] If the latter suggestion were correct, then the bearded snake, which appears to bite the Cyclops' head, could, as Touchefeu-Meynier suggests, be a simile for Odysseus' cunning.[370] However, the Rider Painter uses a similar ornament between opposed roosters (catalog # 36, figure 7.6) and the Hunt Painter uses one beneath a lion. In these cases the ornament is clearly not bait.[371] Pipili's connection of the fish with seafaring is likely closest to the Rider Painter's intentions.

A nautical setting hardly seems indicated by the remaining fish exergues. The image of two men on a kline in a kylix by the Rider Painter does not seem to be connected with seafaring by the two fish facing each other from either side of a vegetal ornament beneath them (catalog # 31, figure 7.14), and the komasts dancing around a *aulos* player above a single fish in a tondo by the Allard Pierson Painter

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[369] Lane 1933-1934, 177. Conversely, Touchefeu-Meynier reads the object as a ring, suggesting that it represents some now forgotten part of the legend, and cites other stories where giants use magic rings to capture victims; see Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 14 and Germain 1954, 76, where folktales regarding escape from ogres through cunning or magical transformations are discussed.

[370] See Touchefeu-Meynier 1968, 14. Grabow believes that associating the snake with cleverness inappropriately imposes a later Christian interpretation of the animal, and prefers to read the creature as an emblem of prophetic power; see Grabow 1998, 98-99. Fellman discusses Robert's theory that the snake symbolizes Polyphemos' perilous condition, although, like several others, he himself reads it as decorative; see Fellmann 1972, 21.

[371] The Hunt Painter's is Munich, collection of Walter Bareiss, from Sicily, ca. 550-530 B.C. (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 233).

similarly appear to have no nautical associations (catalog # 82, figure 7.15).[372] The principal subjects of each of these vases likely represent aspects of Spartan festivals, which are accompanied by other festival elements or aniconic references to deities on all but these unusual examples, and the connection between the fish and such events is not obvious.

### 7.4 Boar Hunting

The fish occupying exergues beneath scenes of boar hunting, which is one of the most popular subjects in extant Lakonian black figure kylix tondos, also do not indicate setting. Their connection to the scenes above them is obscure, and certainly does not reflect the associations of waterbirds flanking lotus buds, the only other exergue subject appearing beneath Lakonian hunting images.

Fish never appear alongside boar hunting scenes in Attic black figure vase painting. Studies of Archaic Attic representations of boar hunting focus on trying to distinguish between images of contemporary life and depictions of the mythological hunt for the Calydonian boar described by Homer and Bacchylides.[373] Some scholars

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[372] Stibbe regards the fish in the exergue of the Rider Painter's vase as heraldic; see Stibbe 2004, 224. J.P. Small offhandedly suggested to me that it might reflect the cuisine being enjoyed in the principal scene. For the vase by the Allard Pierson Painter, see Stibbe 2004, 243.

[373] Such studies include, but are not limited to: Pipili 1987, 22; Lane 1933-1934, 157; Barringer 2001, 148-149; Brommer 1962, 824; Buchholz, Jöhrens and Irmgard 1973, 36; and Schnapp 1979. The story is told in *Iliad* 9.529-599 and Bacchylides 5; see Barringer 2001, 147-148. The earliest definitive images of the Calydonian boar hunt were made in Athens during the early sixth century B.C. They remained popular until around 550 B.C. and may be related to a lost poem by Steisichoros; see Young 1935, 440-441; Woodford 1992, 430; and Barringer 2001, 148-149. March notes, however, that if there had been a Steisichoran or other lyric poem that

of Attic vase painting argue that the Calydonian hunt is only shown when inscriptions clearly identify the participants, as on the François Vase (figure 5.6), a spurious line of reasoning given antiquity's low literacy rates.[374] Others contend that the inclusion of a woman, always interpreted as Atalanta, is sufficient to identify the mythological event, despite the fact that the heroine's participation is not recorded in any surviving Archaic literary sources.[375] Despite their weaknesses, these approaches to boar hunting scenes are common throughout studies of Greek

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created a standardized sixth-century B.C. version of the myth, it was not composed early enough to prevent the wide variety of versions illustrated on black figure vases; see March 1987, 38.

[374] See Brommer 1962, 824 and Schnapp 1979, 195. The François Vase is Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 4209, from Chiusi, ca. 570-560 B.C. (*ABV* 76 # 1; *Paralipomena* 29; *Addenda*[2] 21). These authors make the risky assumption that vase painting could accurately reflect contemporary life. Barringer points out that vase paintings "are cultural constructs, selective, manipulated images that employ their own language to reflect societal values and beliefs" and cites Neer, who makes the thoroughly modern argument that Greek vase painting did not attempt to represent either visual reality or abstract concepts, but tried only to please viewers by playing games with concepts of representation; see Barringer 2001, 2-3 and Neer 1995, especially 119.

[375] See Brommer 1962, 824; Buchholz, Jöhrens and Irmgard 1973, 31-32; Stibbe 1972, 169; and Schnapp 1979, 195. Atalanta is not mentioned in *Iliad* 9. However, it is important to consider that she could have been mentioned elsewhere by Homer since the "official" versions of his works that were established during the sixth century B.C. may or may not have preserved everything that was in the oral tradition; see Small 1997, 30. The editions that survive today are even less reliable, and of course only a fraction of Homer's epic cycle survives in any form. For a general comment on the completeness of ancient literary sources, see Small 2003, 6. Hesiod mentions Atalanta in *Catalog of Women* 48, but says nothing about her participation in the Calydonian hunt. Atalanta is included by Bacchylides, although Neer observes that lyric poets were primarily concerned with the beauty of their work and had little concern for the veracity of their information; see Neer 2005, 119-121. Writing much later, Apollodoros credits Atalanta with being the first to wound the quarry, and later provides a more complete account of the heroine; see *Library* 1.8.2 and 3.9.2. For more on Atalanta in literature, see Barringer 147-148.

vase painting; Amyx, for example, identifies all of the fourteen known Corinthian boar hunting images as generic since none have inscriptions or include a woman.[376]

An Attic black figure Siana cup by the Painter of Boston C.A. demonstrates the inability of these narrow views to accurately identify representations of the hunt for the Calydonian boar (figure 7.16).[377] The image of six men and three dogs attacking a fantastically large boar on one side of the vase's exterior has neither inscriptions nor a female figure. Nevertheless, the unmistakable death of Kaineus, an invulnerable hero who participated in the Calydonian hunt and was subsequently buried alive by centaurs, is represented on the other side, leading Lapatin to correctly identify the hunt as mythological in a successful demonstration of what Barringer calls a "programmatic" iconographic reading.[378]

Other scholars have proposed broader, but more arbitrary, iconographic criteria for identifying the hunt for the Calydonian boar. Pipili and Barringer consider dogs indicative of the mythological event, even though Xenophon records

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[376] Amyx 1988, 666.

[377] The vase is Malibu, Getty Museum 86.AE.154, provenance unknown, ca. 560 B.C. The boar hunting composition used in this example was common throughout Corinthian and Attic vase painting; see Schnapp 1979, 201-203.

[378] See Barringer 2001, 4 and Lapatin in Padgett 2003, 166-169. Lapatin, pointing out the pairing of centauromachies and the death of Kaineus with the Calydonian hunt on both the François Vase and other cups by the Painter of Boston C.A., identifies the bearded hunter striking the boar's head with a trident as Kaineus. However, the fact that multiple images on Greek vases are not necessarily connected has already been discussed, and even Lapatin points out that it is difficult to see the rider in the interior as a specific person. Although the hero is mentioned by Homer in *Iliad* 1.264, the most complete account of Kaineus' death occurs in Ovid, *Metamorphasos* 12.458-536.

that Spartans used hounds in actual boar hunts.[379] Schnapp argues that the Calydonian hunt is represented whenever a dog appears atop the boar or a fallen hunter is shown; he also asserts that horses occur only in genre scenes.[380]

Uninscribed boar hunting scenes are sometimes considered mythological if their compositions resemble definitive representations of the Calydonian hunt, especially when they employ symmetry, as the François Vase does.[381] Barringer discredits this approach by pointing out inscribed versions of the myth that use unique compositions and noting the ubiquity of symmetrical compositions on all types of Attic hunting scenes. [382]

Still others argue that all boar hunting images would have led ancient viewers to think of the popular myth and can therefore be considered representations of the Calydonian hunt, a view that essentially precludes the possibility that uninscribed vase paintings ever represent genre, since almost any subject can be related to mythology.[383]

The approaches developed to distinguish between myth and genre in Attic boar hunting scenes are even less useful when applied to Lakonian versions of the

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[379] See Pipili 1987, 22 and Barringer 2001, 2. Xenophon, *On Hunting* 10.1 lists "Indian, Cretan, Locrian and Laconian hounds, boar nets, javelins, spears and caltrops" as the essential equipment of boar hunting.

[380] See Schanpp 1979, 214.

[381] See Barringer 2001, 151.

[382] See Barringer 2001, 16 and 151.

[383] This line of reasoning is usually justified by citing scholars who interpret all lion combats from the Protocorinthian period onward as images of Herakles and the Nemean lion; see and Buchholz, Jöhrens and Maull 1973, 36.

subject. Although they rely on compositions borrowed from their Attic counterparts, Spartan boar hunting images are usually considered representations of contemporary life since they depict only one or two hunters, lack inscriptions, and never include a woman.[384] Only the cropped scene inside the name vase of the Hunt Painter, which the artist likely intended to be read as part of a larger event, has been convincingly interpreted as the Calydonian hunt (catalog # 57, figure 4.3).[385] Pipili points out that since one is bearded and one is not, the two hunters, who are clearly the focus of the composition, conform to Lakonian conventions of representing the Dioskouroi, whom Apollodoros lists among the participants in the fantastic chase and who are similarly placed behind the boar in representations of the mythological hunt on the François Vase (figure 5.6) and a dinos by the Group of the Dresden Lekanis (figure 7.17).[386] Three fish decorate this vase's exergue.

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[384] Lane reads all Lakonian boar hunting images as genre scenes; see Lane 1933-1934, 157 and Pipili 1987, 22.

[385] A similarly cropped composition appears on an Attic black figure amphora by the Edinburgh Painter, Altenburg, Lindenau-Museum 207 (*Paralipomena* 217 # 66; *Addenda*$^2$ 120), which dates to 500 B.C., decades later than the Hunt Painter's vase; see Barringer 2001, 19-22.

[386] See Pipili 1987, 22-23. Pausanias mentions the tradition of representing Kastor bearded and Polydeukes beardless during his long description of the Kypselos chest; see Pausanias 5.29.2. Apollodoros lists the Dioskouroi among the participants in *Library* 1.8.2. Daltrop and Schnapp posit that the bearded and beardless hunters represent Meleager and Atalanta, respectively; see Daltrop 1966, 19 and Schnapp 1979, 218. However, it is unusual that Atalanta would be represented using a spear rather than a bow, although she is shown that way on the François Vase (see *LIMC* 2, 941 Atalante 2, pl. 687), and any female figure would likely be white; see Barringer 2001, 149. The dinos is Athens, Agora P 334, and is dated anywhere from 600 B.C. to 550 B.C. (*ABV* 23; *Addenda*$^2$ 7); see Shear 1932, 386-387 and Young 1935.

Pipili cautiously classifies the remaining Lakonian boar hunting scenes as generic.[387] These include examples by the Hunt Painter, in the manner of the Hunt Painter, and by the Allard Pierson Painter showing a single hunter and dogs attacking a cropped boar from the front above exergues containing waterbirds and lotus buds (catalog # 61, figure 7.18; catalog # 62, figure 7.19; and catalog # 78, figure 7.20). A single fish appears beneath a similar composition by the Allard Pierson Painter (catalog # 74, figure 7.21) and two confronted fish share an exergue with two circles with dots in the middle beneath the Hunt Painter's image of a boar beset solely by hounds (catalog # 64, figure 7.22).[388] Boar hunting scenes also appear on fragmentary kylix tondos by the Rider Painter and the Allard Pierson Painter, although the exergues of these are lost (catalog # 30, figures 7.23 and catalog # 85, 7.24).[389]

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[387] Pipili 1987, 22-24. Stibbe admits that in condensed compositions like these it is especially hard to tell what the painter intends since so few figures can be shown; see Stibbe 1973, 169.

[388] Pipili describes the Allard Pierson Painter's vase as an imitation of the Hunt Painter's compositions discussed above; see Pipili 1987, 23. Faustoferri, drawing a tenuous connection between this cropped image and the depiction of the Calydonian hunt on the François Vase (see *LIMC* 6, 416 Meleagros 7, pl. 208), sees the heroic nudity and the chlamys as sufficient for identifying the hunter as Meleager, even though Stibbe reads the scene as generic; see Faustoferri in Pompili 1986, 130 and Stibbe 1973, 168. A chlamys held in the position of a shield is a common motif in Attic boar hunting scenes after 550 B.C.; for a complete discussion, see Barringer 2001, 23-27.

[389] The size of the boar and the fact that the dog tears into it make the Rider Painter's version unusual; see Stibbe 2004, 79. The vase by the Allard Pierson Painter includes a dog that has been killed by the boar, a feature that first appears on a late seventh-century B.C. Corinthian alabastron, Paris, Louvre S 1104 (*LIMC* 3, 428 Dionysos 49, pl. 300), which Schnapp identifies as mythological; see Schnapp 1979, 196-197.

The tondos that have exergues containing waterbirds flanking lotus buds should be associated with Artemis Orthia. However, this association does not necessarily indicate that the Calydonian hunt is shown. One the one hand, Artemis was a central part of the myth since she sent the monstrous boar to destroy the orchard of king Oeneus in Calydonia as punishment for his failure to offer her the first fruits of his harvest.[390] The legend, which featured the Lakonian-born Dioskouroi and was illustrated on the Amyklai throne, was well known in Archaic Sparta, and a story about the consequences of failing to honor Artemis would have been an appropriate subject for vases used in sacred contexts.[391]

On the other hand, Spartan viewers would likely have associated any hunting scene with Artemis and her brother Apollo, who were the most frequently honored deities in Lakonia and were credited with teaching mortals how to hunt. In the opening passage of his treatise on hunting, Xenophon states that Artemis and Apollo invented hunting and gave it to the wise centaur Chiron, who later taught it to the greatest Greek heroes.[392] Xenophon also states that hunters should promise to share portions of their catch with the two deities.[393] Spartan viewers may even have

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[390] See Homer, *Iliad* 9.533-535 and Davies 2001, 2.

[391] Note that the extant vases with boar hunting scenes and known provenances come either from sanctuary sites near Taranto or Cyrene or from sites indicative of secondary Italian markets. The Amyklai throne is described in Pausanias, 3.15.18-3.19.5.

[392] Xenophon, *On Hunting* 1.1.

[393] Xenophon, *On Hunting* 6.13. Also see Barringer 2001, 11.

associated any hunting scene with their own lives, since boys began hunting at an early age as part of the *agôge*.[394]

The diverse associations that Lakonian boar hunting images would have triggered in the minds of ancient Spartan viewers complicate the modern distinction between myth and reality. Offering a resolution to this apparent conflict, Barringer suggests that vase painters sometimes made images that were ambiguous about whether they depicted real or fantastic events and that this approach was designed to connect the viewer's world with the mythological realm.[395] Hunting scenes are well suited to this ambiguity since, as Barringer states, "heroes hunt and fight, and so do real men."[396] She posits that boar hunting scenes that only implicitly represent the Calydonian hunt "heroize the hunt in general" and "lend heroic luster to daily routine."[397] Ancient viewers likely would have been comfortable interpreting the images discussed above as references to both mythological events and contemporary life. The primary function of Lakonian boar hunting scenes was not to illustrate a mythological or contemporary event, but to exemplify and help instill the importance of courage, fighting skill and an aristocratic sense of dominance, all key

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[394] Barringer shows that hunting was part of male training in Sparta and Crete, and likely Athens as well; see Barringer 2001, 10-11 and 47-53. Ten year old boys may have fought animals in the *Kasseratorian* festival, although Rose asserts that this must have been a game given the age of the participants despite the other hardships Spartan youths are known to have endured; see H. J. Rose, "XII: The Cult of Artemis Orthia," in Dawkins 1929, 406.

[395] Barringer 2001, 4-5.

[396] Barringer 2001, 43.

[397] Barringer 2001, 27.

elements in Spartan identity, in the men who used the kylikes and who would have been called upon to defend Sparta and suppress helots.[398]

In antiquity, boar hunting was considered especially dangerous, and required more courage than the pursuit of other game. The ferocity of the wild boar is frequently used as a simile in the *Iliad*, and the perils of boar hunting are demonstrated throughout Greek mythology, where it directly leads to the death of heroes like Adonis and indirectly causes the demise of others like Meleager.[399] Schnapp posits that Lakonian boar hunting scenes, which tend to show solitary hunters, unlike Corinthian and Attic scenes that are usually crowded with figures, are designed to heroize Spartan individuals who demonstrate remarkable courage.[400] These images present ideal Spartans as models to aspire to and as a notion of the self to internalize. The ritual context in which these vases would have been used sanctifies this ideal. Furthermore, the intimacy of images that occupy the interiors of wine cups and that could only be seen by one person at a time encourages a close, personal connection between the viewer and the concept represented.

Although hunting was only heroic if it involved dangerous game like boar, Barringer points out that hunting in general was seen throughout Greece as an

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[398] According to Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28, Spartan youths were, as part of their training, required to hunt and kill helots at night using only daggers; see Pettersson 1992, 45 and Barringer 2001, 13.

[399] See Davies 2001, 1-2 and 5 and Buchholz, Jöhrens and Maull 1973, 32.

[400] Schnapp 1979, 217-218. Of course, the lack of additional figures can be seen merely as a necessity of adapting a multi-figure composition to a tondo.

appropriate way for young men to develop the skills they would need as soldiers.[401] In enumerating the benefits of hunting, Xenophon wrote that not only did it improve health, sharpen sight and hearing, develop courage, and prevent aging, but it also prepared men for the hardships of campaigning, which included long marches, sleeping outdoors, and foraging for food.[402] Xenophon also wrote that hunting was "the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed."[403] Plato also praised hunting, although with more moderation.[404]

The antiquity of the ideas expressed by these Classical writers is apparent in Homer, who uses hunting metaphors to describe battles, which further suggests that

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[401] In his discussion of the Chigi Vase, Hurwit describes the hare hunting, lion hunting, and hoplite warfare that appear along a vertical axis from bottom to top as illustrations of stages of male maturity. He also compares this three-tiered system with the three stages of the Spartan *agôgê*; see Hurwit 2002, 17-18. Anderson describes the role of hunting in the education of Spartan males, and points to the similarities with Cretan practices referred to in the literary record; see Anderson 1985, 26-28. Barringer also summarizes the virtues of hunting preserved in the literary record; see Barringer 2001, 11-15. Some of the texts cited by these authors are: Xenophon, *On Hunting* 1.18, 6.13, 12.1-14, 13.11-15, and 22.1; Plato, *Laws* 763b; Plato, *Protagoras* 322b; Plato, *Republic* 549a; and Aristotle, *Politics* 1256b, 20-26. Barringer also notes the frequency with which hunting scenes are juxtaposed to battle scenes in Attic vase painting; see Barringer 2001, 33-36.

[402] Xenophon, *On Hunting* 12.1-5. Also see Xenophon, *Laceaemonians* 4.5.7, where he claims that Lycurgus thought hunting was a good way for older men to stay in shape.

[403] Xenophon, *On Hunting* 1.18.

[404] Plato states that a man virtuously preparing for war "would be a devotee of gymnastics and hunting" in *Republic* 8.549A. He also points out that hunting helps men learn their country's landscape, which is also useful in warfare; see Plato, *Laws* 6.763B.

hunting played a role in male development as early as the late Bronze Age.[405] The images on these kylikes, therefore, remind the Spartan man of his duty to spend his life training for war.

Images of boar hunting would have also helped define a viewer's social position and justify the Spartan aristocracy.[406] The tradition of using visual images to reinforce the aristocratic connotations of hunting also reaches back to the Bronze Age in Greece, although it likely influenced Spartan practice through more contemporary Near Eastern art.[407]

In Mycenaean art, boar hunting images appeared exclusively in royal contexts. A lengthy fresco found near the megaron of Tiryns contains many of the elements found in Archaic boar hunting scenes, including hunters on foot, women in a chariot who may or may not be participating, and a dramatic end for the boar (figures 7.25, 7.26 and 7.27).[408] Similar frescos decorated the megaron at

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[405] See Barringer 2001, 43, where the example of Homer, *Iliad* 10.360-365 is provided.

[406] See Anderson 1985, 18-19, 26-27, and 31; and Faustoferri 1986, 130. Barringer points out the link between aristocratic prerogative and the preparation for warfare, which would itself have been carried out by those from the upper echelons of society, and demonstrates the connection with Homeric values; see Barringer 2001, 10.

[407] See Cultraro 2004, 119-123. Also see Buchholz, Jöhrens and Maull 1973, 31-35. Barringer describes the use of hunting in Attic vase painting as reasserting and preserving aristocratic identity during the early years of the democracy; see Barringer 2001, 15-16 and 46.

[408] The frescos are Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5878-5882. See Cultraro 2004, 119 and Immerwahr 1990, 129-130.

Orchomenos and a room used for sacred banquets at Pylos.[409] As Cultraro points out, archaeological evidence demonstrates that wild game, an especially precious form of meat, was a central part of religious feasting in Mycenaean palaces.[410] Furthermore, aristocratic Mycenaean graves, including one from Vaphio in Lakonia, have produced numerous seals with boar hunting scenes (figure 7.28).[411] Together, these images demonstrate that hunting and sacred dining helped define the aristocracy in Mycenaean times, just as they did in Archaic Lakonia.

Although it is unlikely that these images directly influenced Archaic vase painters, the tradition of Bronze Age hunting scenes did survive in Near Eastern art, and reached its most notable form in Assyrian royal commissions where rulers show themselves hunting lions. In addition to commissioning these images, Assyrian kings staged public lion hunting spectacles, creating a reciprocal relationship between art and life, just as Lakonian vase painters did. Such spectacles may have formed part of religious festivals; Weissert suggests that ritualized lion hunts were included in both the *akitu* festival, a triumphal procession honoring Ishtar, and New Year's celebrations.[412] The reliefs of room C from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, which depict spectators on a hilltop watching the king shoot lions

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[409] See Cultraro 2004, 120.

[410] See Cultraro 2004, 120-121.

[411] See Cultraro 2004, 119-120. The seal shown here is from Vaphio, Athens National Museum 1772, and is 1.90-2.05 cm in diameter; see Matz and Beisantz 1964, 260, cat. # 227.

[412] See Weissert 1997, 348-349.

released from cages in an arena formed by shield bearers, represent such a spectacle (figure 7.29).[413]

Watanabe summarizes several theories regarding the significance of Assyrian royal lion hunts.[414] One suggests that the hunts showed the king dominating and defending the people against wild beasts that were both literal threats to human life and symbols of chaos and barbarism.[415] According to this theory, the royal hunt justifies the king's authority by presenting it as the exclusive means of maintaining civilization.

Another theory sees the royal hunt as a venue for the king to demonstrate the power given to him by the gods. Once again, royal authority is justified, although this time through divine sanction.[416] Albenda shows that in Assyrian wall reliefs the king is sometimes accompanied by, and even emulates, images of winged disks that serve as emblems for either Ashur or Ninurta, deities who are invoked in inscriptions that deal with the royal hunt; Ashur and Ninurta also emerge from such

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[413] See Weissert 1997, 351 and Barnett 1976, 12b-13a and plates VI-IX. The reliefs are in London, British Museum.

[414] Watanabe 2002, 70-71.

[415] Watanabe 2002, 4-5 and 70-71. In his discussion of formulaic texts describing Ashurbanipal hunting lions, Weissert shows that the king is presented as a savior who frees otherwise peaceful people and animals from lions that harass them; see Weissert 1997, 343. Weissert also points out that the king is presented as a "faithful shepherd," a role thoroughly discussed by Maul, who also states that by defeating lions the king demonstrates the victory of civilization over chaos; see Weissert 1997, 343 and Maul 1995, 398-399.

[416] See Watanabe, 70-71. Maul describes the kings in such scenes as "proxy Enlils"; see Maul 1995, 400,

disks with bows and arrows.[417] Palmettes occasionally occur beneath winged disks in Assyrian painting.[418]

The Assyrian king's periodic defeat of lions in public spectacles parallels the mythical, recurring battle between Ashur, the god of civilization, and Tiamat, the epitome of chaos.[419] As Weissert shows, both the real and mythological events were connected to annual festivals and are described using comparable formulas in the literary record.[420] Lion hunts, therefore, were also a way for the king to associate himself with a popular myth. These theories are not mutually exclusive. Lion hunts, whether real, staged, or illustrated, showed the king as protector of the people and a divine subduer of chaos.[421]

Spartan artists likely adapted these compositions and their inherent meaning, which they knew through Phoenician minor arts that were themselves indebted to the monumental Assyrian works, to their own purposes. Although they substituted the boar, an animal that would have been hunted in real life and figured in a myth important to Lakonia and its most important goddess, for the more exotic lion, the Lakonian hunting scenes, like their Assyrian predecessors, both model and justify the status of elites by showing them performing divinely sanctioned

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[417] See Albenda 1972, 176-178, For winged disks in Assyrian art in general, see Pering 1932-1933, who discusses the identification of the particular deity on 287-288.

[418] See Albenda 2005, 110.

[419] See Weissert 1997, 350.

[420] See Weissert 1997, 350.

[421] See Weissert 1997, 350-355.

superhuman acts. Also like their Assyrian counterparts, Lakonian hunting scenes deliberately blur the line between myth and reality, connecting rulers' real-world activities with ancient myths. Unlike the Assyrian reliefs, however, Lakonian boar hunting scenes were personal. Rather than presenting an image of the Spartan aristocrat to the public, these images sought to reiterate to the aristocrats themselves who they were and what was expected of them.

The aniconic references to Artemis Orthia, who was both a principal deity of ancient Sparta and a patron of hunting, made by the waterbirds flanking lotus buds in the exergues accompanying three of the Lakonian boar hunting scenes sanctifies the role of fearlessness, martial preparedness, and aristocratic superiority in Spartan identity that is implied by the simultaneously generic and mythological scenes above them. The fish appearing beneath the remaining images are harder to explain. They neither indicate a nautical setting nor reference the Dioskouroi who, despite their maritime aspect, never appear with fish in Archaic Lakonian art.[422] The fishes' only connection to the virtues and ideology expressed by hunting dangerous game is as a foil; whereas hunting was considered a valiant aristocratic pursuit in ancient Greece, fishing was derided as suitable only for the lazy and low-born.[423]

The use of two widely different exergue subjects beneath scenes exemplifying ideals of Spartan identity further illustrates the lack of standardization in how images were juxtaposed and conceptually related in Archaic Lakonian vase

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[422] Nothing in either Homers' or Bacchylides' accounts of the Calydonian hunt suggests any reference to the sea. For a discussion of the iconography of the Dioskouroi in Archaic Lakonia, see Pipili 1987, 54-58.

[423] Plato, for example, disparages fishing as "idle" and unworthy of virtuous young men; see *Laws* 823d-824 and Anderson 1985, 20-22.

painting. This fluid approach to iconography demonstrates both painters' innovations and viewers' sophistication.

### 7.5 Conclusion

Roosters and fish are the only two Lakonian exergue subjects that do not have standardized meanings or uniform relationships to the images above them. Roosters, which likely refer to cockfighting, can function as paradigmatic similes indicating the bravery of the heroes or the intensity of the conflict shown in the main register. Roosters can also illustrate elements of festivals that comprise a vase's primary subject. Fish usually refer to the sea, and often form part of the primary image. Fish also appear beneath a symposium, a komos, and boar hunting scenes that do not have obvious maritime connections, although in the latter case they may reiterate Greek notions of the inherent nobility of hunting by referencing contemporary views of the servile nature of fishing. The variety of ways in which these subjects are used demonstrate the flexibility with which Lakonian vase painters applied the technique of combining images in tondos.

# 8 Other Combinations of Images

## 8.1 Introduction

Spartan vase painters' combinations of related images were not limited to hierarchically arranged registers inside kylikes. Tondos sometimes contained two equally sized thematically connected scenes, and both narrative and emblematic exterior decorations could have either syntagmatic or paradigmatic relationships with interior subjects. These practices represent innovations on Corinthian and Attic juxtapositions of related primary and secondary imagery and further demonstrate that practices borrowed from the principal artistic centers of Greece were both understood and expanded on in Lakonia.

## 8.2 Rhodes 10.711

Rather than utilizing the typical Lakonian combination of a primary narrative scene and a secondary emblematic exergue image, a kylix tondo by the Boreads Painter presents two mythological subjects in equally sized semicircular areas that are formed by a line bisecting the interior of the cup along the axis made by the vase's handles (catalog # 21, figure 8.1).[424] Since the figures in each compartment are oriented toward the vase's exterior, the viewer is encouraged to rotate the vessel.[425]

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[424] Van der Grinten points out that the line bisecting the tondo lines up with the vase's handles; see Van der Grinten 1966, 21.

[425] This observation is made in Stibbe 1972, 105. Pipili notes that multiple scenes were oriented in different directions in two other Lakonian kylix tondos: Naukratis

One compartment clearly illustrates the return of Hephaistos. The inebriated god is shown sitting sidesaddle on an ithyphallic mule and holding out his drinking horn, which is filled by Dionysos, who follows carrying a large wineskin.[426] Although indebted to Corinthian and Attic compositions that include processions of satyrs, the image successfully presents the story synoptically with the fewest possible figures.[427] As Pipili points out, the subject is an appropriate decoration for a wine cup since it illustrates Dionysos' power.[428]

The second image is harder to identify. Using a composition that mirrors its counterpart, it depicts a bearded man in a short chiton kneeling behind a roped lion.[429] An owl and a waterbird resembling a heron accompany the scene. Woodward identifies the image as Herakles capturing Cerberus, although

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Painter, once Samos, from Samos, ca. 565-560 B.C. (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 26; Pipili 1997, cat. # 80); and Arkesilas Painter, Samos K 3167 and K 3326, from Samos, ca. 565 B.C. (Stibbe 1972, cat. # 197; Pipili 1987, cat. # 203c); see Pipili 1987, 24 note 222. Although these examples likely represent an approach to combining images similar to the Boreads Painter's described here, they are too fragmentary to include in the present discussion.

[426] Most scholars agree that the nude reveler represents Dionysos; see Lane 1933-1934, 130 and Pipili 1987, 54. Stibbe is less certain, suggesting that the figure could simply be one of Dionysos' followers, and Mayer identifies him as a satyr; see Mayer 1932, 127 and Stibbe 1972, 105.

[427] Pipili praises the Boreads Painter's economical approach, but argues that the artist did not follow Corinthian and Attic precedents since Hephaistos' feet are not deformed; see Pipili 1987, 54.

[428] Pipili 1987, 54. Seeberg posits that the myth illustrated here was "inspired" by pre-existing rituals, suggesting an additional parallel between the image and its original context. He also believes that the influence of East Greek cult practices facilitated Dionysos' inclusion; see Seeberg 1965, 106.

[429] Stibbe, praising the cleverness of the composition, points out that the two images counterbalance one another; see Stibbe 1972, 105.

subsequent authors doubt that the Boreads Painter would have accidentally rendered a lion instead of a two-headed dog.[430] Following Woodward's assertion that the owl represents Athena as in later Attic art, Stibbe posits that the scene might represent Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion.[431]

More often the scene is identified as a truncated depiction of Admetos yoking a lion and a boar to a chariot, a task that was given to him as a condition for marrying Alkestis.[432] Although no other Archaic images of the event exist, it was illustrated on the Amyklai throne, where presumably there was space to include all of the elements.[433] Apollo and Artemis – the two most celebrated deities in Lakonia – both appear in Apollodoros' version of the story. The former helps Admetos

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[430] See Woodward 1932, 31; Lane 1933-1934, 168; and Pipili 1987, 24.

[431] Stibbe 1972, 106. It is not clear when the owl was first associated with Athena, although it was an established symbol of the goddess by the fifth century B.C.; see Meillier 1970, 5-12, where the difficulties of dating sixth-century B.C. Athenian coins and theories that the iconography of the owl was introduced under Peisistratus or Solon are discussed. Pipili points out that herons are also sometimes associated with Athena since the goddess uses one to guide Odysseus and Diomedes during their night raid; see Pipili 1987, 24 and Homer, *Iliad* 10.274-276. Mayer suggests that the birds on the vase indicate that the event took place at night and near water; see Mayer 1932, 127. Schauenberg, pointing out that the use of a rope indicates that no typical hunting scene is shown, views the birds as decorative; see Schauenberg 216.

[432] For this theory, see Mayer 1932, 127-128; Lane 1933-1934, 168; Stibbe 1972, 106; and Pipili 1987, 24. The story is told in Apollodoros, *Library* 1.9.15 and Hyginus, *Fables* 50-51, which each accredit Admetos' success to Apollo's assistance.

[433] Pausanias 3.18.16. The same passage mentions an illustration of Hephaistos binding Hera. Mariolea suggests that a Protocorinthian fragment from Perachora depicting a man leading a lion by a rope should be considered a representation of the same event; see Mariolea 1973, 81-82 and Dunbabin 1962, 81 no. 716. Pipili ascribes the absence of a boar or chariot on the Boreads Painter's kylix to a lack of space; see Pipili 1987, 24.

complete his task, and the latter fills the hero's marriage chamber with snakes as punishment for forgetting to sacrifice to her during the wedding.[434]

While compelling, this theory implies that the tondo's two images are not thematically related. An alternate, overlooked suggestion by Lane, however, proposes that the lion-catching image, like the return of Hephaistos, illustrates the intercessory power of Dionysos.[435] Lane cites a passage by Aelian that itself recalls Pliny's account of a Samian named Elpis who dedicated a shrine to Dionysos the Open-Mouthed in order to thank the god for saving him from the jaws of a Libyan lion.[436] Lane posits that the Boreads Painter's image references that shrine's statue of Dionysos, which Aelian's passage suggests was accompanied by a lion.[437] Furthermore, Lane proposes that the vase could have been made specifically for use at the shrine since Lakonia had close ties to Samos during the middle of the sixth century B.C. and Spartan artists sometimes made special commissions for cult centers in their primary markets.[438] The Rhodian grave where the vase was found could plausibly represent a secondary or unintended destination.

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[434] Apollodoros, *Library* 1.9.15.

[435] See Lane, 1933-1934, 168 and Pipili 1987, 24.

[436] Lane 1933-1934, 168; Pliny, *Natural History* 8.57-58; and Aelian, *On the Nature of Animals* 7.48.

[437] Lane admits that Aelian's "corrupt" text could mean either that Dionysos was represented with a lion's head or alongside a lion; see Lane 1933-1934, 168.

[438] For the relationship between Sparta and Samos in the Archaic period, see Cartledge 1982. For the possibility that some Lakonian vases were made specifically for the sanctuary at Gravisca and the corollary that special commissions were made for other sanctuaries as well, see section 2.3 above.

In addition to crediting the two images in the kylix with thematic unity, Lane's identification explains the tondo's atypical organization: the two scenes are given equal space since each features a divine protagonist. The symmetrical arrangement departs from the standard use of a secondary, emblematic exergue subject to qualify a primary image, thereby demonstrating the innovative flexibility with which Spartan vase painters combined images.

### 8.3 Exteriors

Most Lakonian kylix exteriors are decorated primarily with handle palmettes, a design appropriated from Protocorinthian painting.[439] Lane points out the inconsistent quality of these elements within single workshops and posits that apprentices, rather than masters, rendered them.[440] Like the ray friezes adjacent to stems, handle palmettes are not thematically connected to vases' interior scenes.

Nevertheless, Spartan vase painters occasionally placed images associated with their tondo subjects on cup exteriors, a practice that Meyboom first attributes to Attic red figure artists such as the Foundry Painter, the Brygos Painter, Douris, and Onesimos.[441] Narrative examples illustrating parts of the stories depicted inside include the image of a man catching roosters on the outside of a kylix by the Arkesilas Painter that likely represents part of the festival shown inside the vase (catalog # 24, figures 5.10 and 7.5) and an exterior hunting frieze the Naukratis

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[439] See Payne 1931, 152 and Homann-Wedeking 1938, 59.

[440] Lane 1933-1934, 129.

[441] Meyboom 1978, 61-62.

Painter combined with a komastic tondo subject (catalog # 10, figures 2.17 and 5.7). The Naukratis Painter also used exterior friezes of emblematic animals and floral ornaments to paradigmatically reinforce the sacred nature of tondos showing Artemis Orthia (catalog # 8, figure 5.8) and a festival held in her honor (catalog # 7, figure 5.2), as did the Rider Painter (catalog # 48, figure 5.9).

With the exception of the Hunt Painter, each Lakonian master also sometimes placed friezes of stylized pomegranates or lotus buds on the exterior of vases that illustrate mythological events or religious festivals in their tondos. Pointing out that these friezes were not borrowed from Corinth or Athens, Pfuhl and Homann-Wedeking suggest that the decorations were Egyptian motifs brought to Greece via Ionian metalwork.[442] Pomegranates and lotus buds, which were associated with fertility, were appropriate adornments for vases designed for use at sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis, Hera, Persephone, and Aphrodite. Like other floral and animal ornaments, these vegetal patterns paradigmatically signify the sacred nature of the symposia and heroic feats shown elsewhere on the vases they decorate.[443]

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[442] Pfuhl 1923, 227; Homann-Wedeking 1938, 57-63; and Charvát 1977, 320, who suggests that the designs could have been learned directly by Lakonian artists visiting Naukratis.

[443] The vases with these friezes were found at cult sites near Taranto or Gravisca, at the Samian Heraion, or in Etruscan graves that represent a secondary market; many, of course, have no provenance.

## 8.4 Conclusion

Lakonian adaptations of the Corinthian and Attic practice of creating syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships between multiple images on a single vase were not limited to the types of connections between the exergues and primary subjects of kylix tondos discussed in the preceding chapters. Spartan artists expanded on this appropriated approach to vase painting, sometimes placing equally important narrative scenes side by side, occasionally placing elements of the principal subject on the outside of a cup, and often using exterior decorations appropriated from Ionian art to qualify a vase's interior subject. Rather than slavish imitations, these approaches represent distinctive innovations.

# 9 Conclusion

Archaic Lakonian vase painting, architectural sculpture, and ivory carving display numerous sophisticated and novel reactions to work from the principal artistic centers of the ancient Mediterranean. Lakonian artists' appropriations, combinations, and modifications of Corinthian, Attic, and Near Eastern precedents exhibit both a thorough understanding of borrowed conventions and the ability to develop innovative approaches to narrative imagery tailored to specific contexts and viewers. Although the decline of Lakonian art around 520 B.C. prevented Spartan artists from contributing to the artistic developments of the Classical period, the prevailing view that Lakonian craftsmen were incompetent provincials is not sustainable.

Lakonian vase painters' innovations were not limited to adapting imported frieze-like compositions to the circular interiors of kylikes intended for use at festivals. Often the borrowed prototypes' narrative systems and methods of representing space and time were changed. Spartan artists, working either directly from foreign models or from the innovations of local predecessors, also adapted existing Corinthian compositions in order to depict subjects for which no precedent was available. When representing original subjects Lakonian vase painters also sometimes selected and amalgamated multiple models that had useful compositions or inherent associations suitable to the unprecedented theme, an approach that is also apparent in surviving architectural sculpture. Furthermore, vase painting and architectural sculpture were each influenced by free painting long after the three

media had become distinct in Corinth and Athens. As a result, Archaic Spartan art anticipates, although it did not influence, Classical developments in the representations of three-dimensional forms.

Spartan vase painters also expanded on typical Corinthian and Attic uses of conceptually related juxtaposed imagery. Lakonian kylix tondo exergues are unusually large so that they can contain subjects connected to the primary scenes above them. The relationship between the multiple images inside a cup can be syntagmatic, so that each register illustrates portions of a single event, or paradigmatic, where subordinate images qualify or comment on those above them. Some Lakonian exergue subjects, including heraldically confronted lions, signify that their tondos' primary image should be interpreted as sacred or supernatural. Columns, floral complexes, and lotus buds flanked by waterbirds are among the most common such subjects and announce the importance of a vase's main scene by referencing the Lakonian tradition of representing Artemis Orthia and other deities associated with fertility aniconically.

Although the functions of some exergue subjects were standardized throughout the history of Lakonian black figure vase painting, other motifs were used less uniformly. Roosters, for example, could syntagmatically represent components of festivals or paradigmatically reinforce ideas of courage and strife. Fish also had multiple uses, and although they often indicate a nautical setting, they also frequently appear inexplicably beneath boar hunting scenes that embody core Spartan values. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships are also present

between equally prominent tondo subjects, and exterior decorative motifs sometimes relate to the narrative contents of kylix interiors.

Lakonian artists' uses of appropriated compositions and visual techniques were neither slavish nor inept. Lakonian painters' and sculptors' grasp of precedents borrowed from primary artistic centers enabled them to modify and combine existing practices in order to create decidedly Spartan images. The originality and sophistication of Archaic Lakonian art should be recognized, and the relationship between central and peripheral sites of artistic production in Archaic Greece should be reexamined.

## Catalog of Lakonian Vases Discussed

### Naukratis Painter

**1** (Figure 5.1) Kylix. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 64.1459. Provenance unknown. Ca. 575-565 B.C. Interior: Winged figure. No exergue. Exterior: Lotus buds at handles; rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 9; Pipili 1987, cat. #172; *LIMC* 3, 129 Boreadai 32, pl. 106.

**2** (Figure 6.28) Kylix. Florence, Museo Archeologico 3882. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570 B.C. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 71; Pipili 1987, cat. # 205a.

**3** (Figure 6.29) Kylix. Paris, Louvre E 664. From the Campana collection. Ca. 570 B.C. Interior: Sphinx. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Black bands only. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 7; *LIMC* 8, 1153 Sphinx 37, pl. 796.

**4** (Figure 7.10) Kylix. Basel, Antikenmusuem and Sammlung Ludwig. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570 B.C. Interior: Rooster and three rosettes. No exergue. Exterior: Lotus buds at handles, rays, pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 9.

**5** (Figure 6.37) Amphora. Toledo, OH, Toledo Museum of Art 64.53. From Vulci. Ca. 570-555 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 41.

**6** (Figure 6.39) Hydria. Paris, Louvre S 3996. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570-550 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 44.

**7** (Figure 5.2) Kylix. Paris, Louvre E 667. From the Campana collection. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Symposiasts around a floral ornament. No exergue. Exterior: Pomegranates around lip; lotus bud frieze; animal frieze with eagles, sphinxes, roosters, waterbirds, and floral complexes under the handles; lotus buds. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 13; Pipili 1987, cat. # 194; *LIMC* 3, 905 Eros 636, pl. 645.

**8** (Figure 5.8) Kylix. London, British Museum B 4. From Naukratis. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Artemis Orthia. Exterior: Animal frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 23; Pipili 1987, cat. # 101; *LIMC* 3, 921 Eros 842b; *LIMC* 6, 168 Kyrene 11.

**9** (Figure 6.27) Kylix. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 382. From Vulci. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Flying figure. No exergue. Exterior: Black bands only. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 29; Pipili 1987, cat. # 173.

**10** (Figures 2.17 and 5.7) Kylix. Practica di Mare E 1986. From Practica di Mare. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Symposiasts and Komasts in two registers. Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Hunting, possibly Bellerophon and the Chimera (see figure 2.17). Stibbe 1972, cat. # 19; Pipili 1987, cat. #'s 55, 195 and 204a.

**11** (Figure 6.38) Volute krater. Paris, Louvre E 661. From the Campana collection. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 42.

**12** (Figure 7.12) Kylix. Zurich, private collection. Supposedly from Cerveteri. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Pegasus. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 17.

**Naukratis Painter – Manner**

**13** (Figure 5.12) Kylix. Bryn Mawr P-81. From Castel Campanile. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Hoplite combat. Exergue: Confronted lions. Exterior: Rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 93.

**14** (Figure 2.15) Kylix. London, British Museum B 2. From Capua. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Man between horses. Exterior: Handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 96; Pipili 1987, cat. # 96; *LIMC* 8, 556 Despotes Theron 27.

**15** (Figure 5.14) Kylix. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 384. From Vulci. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Zeus and Hera (?) seated and conversing. Exergue: Confronted lions. Exterior: Rays. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 95; Pipili 1987, cat. # 133; *LIMC* 4, 686-687 Hera 236.

**Boreads Painter**

**16** (Figure 2.2) Kylix. Samos K 1199. From the Samian Heraion. Ca 575-570 B.C. Interior: Ambush of Troilos. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: At least one pomegranate frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 123; Pipili 1987, cat. # 82; *LIMC* 1, 78 Achilleus 262.

**17** (Figure 5.11) Kylix. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 50.11.7. From Italy. Ca. 570-565 B.C. Interior: Introduction of Herakles to Olympus. Exergue: Boar. Exterior: Handle palmettes over rays; pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 140; Pipili 1987, cat. # 23; *LIMC* 4, 714, Hera 459, pl. 433; *LIMC* 5, 124 Herakles 2861; *LIMC* 5, 549-550 Hyakinthos 49.

**18** (Figure 5.15) Kylix. London, British Museum B 6. From Naukratis. Ca. 570-565 B.C. Interior: Youth with pomegranate approaching seated figure. Exergue: Lion. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 154; Pipili 1987, cat. # 158; *LIMC* 6, 168 Kyrene 10.

**19** (Figure 2.3) Kylix. London, British Museum B 7.4.10-12. From Naukratis. Ca. 570-565 B.C. Interior: Ambush of Troilos. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: Not

preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 156; 156; Pipili 1987, cat. # 83; *LIMC* 1, 77 Achilleus 255.

**20** (Figure 2.16) Kylix. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.121. Provenance unknown. Ca. 565 B.C. Interior: Bellerophon and the Chimera. Exterior: Handle palmettes over rays; pomegranates around stem. Pipili 1987, cat. #57; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 84; *LIMC* 7, 228 Pegasos 223, pl. 169.

**21** (Figure 8.1) Kylix. Rhodes 10.711. From Ialysos. Ca. 560 B.C. Interior: Return of Hephaistos; Ademetos or Dionysos. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays, lotus buds around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 190; Pipili 1987, cat. #'s 77 and 149; *LIMC* 1, 221, Admetos I 17; *LIMC* 3, 470, Dionysos 550; *LIMC* 4, 639, Hephaistos 132; *LIMC* 5, 874, Kadmos I 59.

**Arkesilas Painter**

**22** (Figure 6.24) Kylix. Rome, Villa Giulia. Possibly from Cerveteri. Ca. 565-560 B.C. Interior: Herakles and Amazons. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Ornamental frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 193, Pipili 1987, cat. # 14.

**23** (Figure 1.1) Kylix. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 189. From Vulci. Ca. 565-550 B.C. Interior: Arkesilas weighing Silphion. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: Pomegranates frieze above lotus bud frieze; handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 194.

**24** (Figures 5.10 and 7.5) Kylix. Samos K 1203, K 1541, K 2402, and Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 478x, 460x. From the Samian Heraion. Ca. 555 B.C. Interior: Symposium and komos in concentric registers. Exterior: Pomegranates over frieze with man catching roosters over lotus buds. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 191; Pipili 1987 cat. # 196 and 204b; *LIMC* 3, 905 Eros 637.

**25** (Figure 6.32) Lakania. Sparta. From Sparta. Ca. 555 B.C. Priestess and riders. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 205.

**26** (Figure 4.2) Kylix. Vatican 16592. From Cerveteri. Ca. 550 B.C. Interior: Punishments of Prometheus and Atlas. Exergue: Column. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 196; *LIMC* 3, 4 Atlas 1, pl. 6; *LIMC* 7, 539 Prometheus 54, pl. 424; *LIMC* 8, 41 Tityos 43.

**Rider Painter**

**27** (Figure 6.36) Aryballos. Cambridge, MA, private collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570 B.C. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 233.

**28** (Figure 6.1) Kylix. Tocra 932. From Tocra. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Interior: Zeus seated on a column approached by eagles and a snake. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 285; Pipili 1987, cat. # 131; *LIMC* 8, 321 Zeus 44, pl. 221.

**29** (Figure 6.20) Kylix. Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Provenance unknown. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Interior: Komasts and kitharode. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Vegetal frieze, handle palmettes, rays. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 182.

**30** (Figure 7.23) Kylix. Taranto, Museo Nazionale. From Satyrion. Ca. 570-560 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays, pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 183.

**31** (Figure 7.14) Kylix. Swiss art market as of 2004. Supposedly from Cerveteri Ca. 570-560 B.C. Interior: Symposiasts. Exergue: Confronted fish. Exterior: Lotus buds at handles, rays, pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 184.

**32** (Figure 2.6) Kylix. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 190. From Nola. Ca. 560 B.C. Interior: Blinding of Polyphemos. Exergue: Single fish facing left, circle with dot. Exterior: Pomegranate frieze over empty frieze over rays; handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 289; Pipili 1987, cat. # 89; *LIMC* 6, 954-955 Odysseus 67; *LIMC* 8, 1014 Polyphemos I 18, pl. 668.

**33** (Figure 2.4) Kylix. Rome, Villa Giulia. From Cerveteri. Ca. 560 B.C. Interior: Ambush of Troilos. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: Pomegranate frieze over lotus bud frieze; lotus buds at handles. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 291; Pipili 1987, cat. # 84.

**34** (Figure 2.10) Kylix. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung WS 4. From Samos. Ca. 560 B.C. Interior: Capture of Silenos. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 292; Pipili 1987, cat. # 98; *LIMC* 8, 847 Midas 8, pl. 569.

**35** (Figure 2.5) Kylix. Once Samos. From Samos. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Ambush of Troilos. Exergue: Part of main scene. Exterior: Pomegranate frieze over lotus bud frieze over rays; lotus buds at handles. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 294; Pipili 1987, cat. # 85.

**36** (Figure 7.6) Kylix. Würzburg 166. From the Feoli collection. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Symposiast. Exergue: Confronted roosters. Exterior: Pomegrantes, handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 298; Pipili 1987, cat. # 201.

**37** (Figure 6.23) Kylix. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1995.841. Provenance unknown. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Herakles and the Cretan bull. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 195.

**38** (Figure 4.4) Kylix. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.15. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550 B.C. Interior: Herakles and the Cretan bull. Exergue: Column flanked by birds. Exterior: Ornamental frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 300; Pipili 1987, cat. # 8; *LIMC* 5 61, Herakles 2317, pl. 74.

**39** (Figure 6.35) Kylix. St. Petersburg, Hermitage 183. From Canino. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Snake. Exterior: Ornamental frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 302; Pipili 1987, cat. # 213.

**40** (Figure 2.8) Kylix. Paris, Louvre E 669. From Gravisca. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Apollo and Python. Exergue: Hare and two rosettes. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays and pomegranates around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 303; Pipili 1987, cat. # 141; *LIMC* 1, 77 Achilleus 257; *LIMC* 4, 301 Gorgo, Gorgones 167, pl. 174; *LIMC* 5, 866 Kadmos I 11.

**41** (Figure 6.22) Kylix. Paris, Louvre E 666. From the Campana collection. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Herakles and the Cretan bull. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 304; Pipili 1987, cat. # 11.

**42** (Figure 6.25) Kylix. London, British Museum B 1. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Lotus and Palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 306; Pipili 1987, cat. # 214.

**43** (Figure 6.26) Kylix. Paris, Louvre E 665. From the Campana collection. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Lotus and Palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 307; Pipili 1987, cat. # 215.

**44** (Figure 4.5) Kylix. London, British Museum B 3. From Sicyon. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Komasts. Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 308; and Pipili 1987, cat. # 206d.

**45** (Figure 2.9) Kylix. Tarquinia and Villa Giulia II 7762. From Gravisca. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Apollo and Python. Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays and pomegranates around stem. Pipili 1987, cat. # 142; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 197.

**46** (Figure 2.18) Kylix. Catania. From Catania. Ca. 550-540 B.C. Interior: Bellerophon. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 318; Pipili 1987, cat. # 56.

**47** (Figure 2.7) Dinos. Paris, Louvre E 662. From Cerveteri. Ca. 545-535 B.C. Herakles fighting Centaurs; komos; ambush of Troilos; real and fantasic animals. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 313; Pipili 1987 cat. # 86; *LIMC* 1, 77 Achilleus 256, pl. 82; *LIMC* 8, 693 Kentauroi et Kentaurides 254, pl. 446.

**48** (Figure 5.9) Kylix. Taranto 20909. From Taranto. Ca. 540 B.C. Interior: Symposium over waterbird, lions and eagles. Exergue: Komasts. Exterior: Pomegranate, animal frieze with roosters, lions, and eagles. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 312; Pipili 1987, cat. # 198, 204d; *LIMC* 3, 467 Dionysos 512.

**Hunt Painter**

**49** (Figure 1.2) Kylix. Once London, Erskine Collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Herakles and Hermes leading Cerberus from the Underworld. Exergue: Opposed roosters. Exterior: handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 194; Pipili 1987, cat. # 12; *LIMC* 5, 91 Herakles 2605; *LIMC* 5, 329 Hermes 518; *LIMC* 6, 26 Kerberos 25, pl. 13.

**50** (Figure 7.1) Kylix. Samos K 1189. From Samos. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Herakles wrestling the Nemean Lion. Exergue: Roosters flanking a lotusbud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 212; Pipili 1987, cat. # 1; *LIMC* 5, 17 Herakles 1764, pl. 33.

**51** (Figure 5.13) Kylix. Paris, Louvre E 671 and Switzerland, private collection. Louvre fragment from Campana collection. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Hoplite combat. Exergue: Confronted lions. Exterior: Handle palmettes; rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 214.

**52** (Figure 7.2) Kylix. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 3404. From Tarquinia. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Procession of warriors carrying a dead warrior. Exergue: Confronted roosters. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 218.

**53** (Figure 7.4) Kylix. Sydney, Sydney University Nicholson Museum AC 15. Provenance unknown. Ca. 560-550 B.C. Interior: Cockfight with hen and chicks. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Only rays around stem preserved. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 129.

**54** (Figures 6.40 and 6.41) Hydria. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15272. From Rhodes. Ca. 555-550 B.C. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 219; Pipili 1987, cat. # 209c.

**55** (Figure 7.11) Kylix. Bern, Bernishces Historisches Museum X 74-760. Provenance unknown. Ca. 555-545 B.C. Interior: Sea creature. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 132.

**56** (Figure 6.19) Kylix. Netherlands, private collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 555-545 B.C. Interior: Waterbirds around an eagle. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 137.

**57** (Figure 4.3) Kylix. Paris, Louvre E 670. From the Campana collection. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Dioskouroi hunting the Calydonian boar. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Ornamental frieze. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 220; Pipili 1987, cat. # 69; *LIMC* 2, 948 Atalante 95; *LIMC* 6, 418 Meleagros 35.

**58** (Figure 6.12) Kylix. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 192. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Komasts and volute krater topped with an oinochoe. Exergue: Birds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 228; Pipili 1987, cat. # 206e.

**59** (Figure 6.13) Kylix. Florence, Museo Archeologico 3879. Possibly from Cerveteri. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Three komasts. Exergue: Waterbirds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 227; Pipili 1987, cat. # 209f.

**60** (Figure 6.17) Kylix. Leiden I 1961/6.1. From Italy. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Waterbirds around an eagle. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 231.

**61** (Figure 7.18) Kylix. Leipzig T 302 and Florence 85118. Supposedly from Italy. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Waterbirds and lotus buds. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 225; Pipili 1987, cat. # 70.

**62** (Figure 7.19) Kylix. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 383. Supposedly from Italy. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Waterbirds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 262; Pipili 1987, cat. # 71.

**63** (Figure 6.21) Kylix. Vatican, Guglielmi Collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Komasts and kitharode. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 272.

**64** (Figure 7.22) Kylix. Tolfa, Museo Etrusco. From the Pian Li Santi necropolis. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Boar attacked by dogs. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 162.

**65** (Figure 6.11) Kylix. Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 1999.99.45. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Komasts dancing around an aulos player. Exergue: Column flanked by birds. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem.

**66** (Figure 6.34) Kylix. Art market as of 2004. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Waterbirds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 135.

**67** (Figure 6.2) Kylix. San Antonio, San Antonio Museum of Art 2005.1.63. Provenance unknown. Ca. 545 B.C. Interior: Komasts around a krater. Exergue:

Column flanked by birds. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe, 2004 cat. # 134.

**68** (Figure 6.18) Kylix. Zurich art market as of 2004. Provenance unknown. Ca. 540 B.C. Interior: Waterbirds around an eagle. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 136.

**69** (Figure 2.11) Kylix. Kavala. From Kavala. Undated. Interior: Silenos captured. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Not preserved. Pipili 1987, cat. # 99; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 143; *LIMC* 8, 848 Midas 33.

**Typhon Painter**

**70** (Figure 2.13) Kylix. Rome, Villa Giulia 57231. From Bisenzio. Ca. 560-555 B.C. Interior: Capture of Silenos in two sequential registers. Exergue: confronted lions. Exterior: Handle palmettes over rays. Stibbe 1972, cat. # 342; Pipili 1987, cat. # 97; *LIMC* 8, 847 Midas 7, pl. 569.

**Hoplite Painter**

**71** (Figure 2.12) Kylix. Taranto. From Satyrion. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Hoplite advancing toward a building. Exergue: Floral complex. Exterior: Pomegranates and rays preserved. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 298.

**72** (Figure 6.14) Kylix. Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 3144. Provenance unkown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Two nude drinkers. Exergue: Birds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 294.

**73** (Figure 6.33) Kylix. Budapest, Musée des Beaux Arts. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-530 B.C. Interior: Rider. Exergue: Lotus and palmette complex. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 292.

**Allard Pierson Painter**

**74** (Figure 7.21) Kylix. Basel, Antikenmuseum. From the Moretti Collection. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 1972, cat. #350; Pipili 1987, cat. # 72.

**75** (Figure 7.7) Kylix. Washington, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution 440201. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Rooster and lotus bud. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 318.

**76** (Figure 7.8) Kylix. Rome, private collection. Supposedly from near Policoro. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Rooster and lotus bud. No exergue. Exterior: Lotus buds. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 319.

**77** (Figure 7.9) Kylix. Art market as of 2004. Supposedly from a grave near Taranto. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Rooster. No exergue. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 321.

**78** (Figure 7.20) Kylix. Taranto, Museo Nazionale and Rome, Villa Giulia. From Satyrion. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Waterbird and lotus bud. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 328.

**79** (Figure 6.16) Kylix. Bochum, Ruhr-Universität. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komasts and aulos player. Exergue: Waterbirds. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 335.

**80** (Figure 2.14) Kylix. Bonn, private collection. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komast at fountain house. Exergue: Birds and lotus bud. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 336.

**81** (Figure 6.15) Kylix. Rome, Sinopoli Collection. Supposedly from Tarento. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komasts. Exergue: Birds and lotus bud. Exterior: Pomegranates, rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 337.

**82** (Figure 7.15) Kylix. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 82.1. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komasts and aulos player. Exergue: Fish. Exterior: Rays around stem. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 339.

**83** (Figure 6.3) Kylix. Zurich, collection of Carl Hirschmann. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Komasts around a krater. Exergue: Floral ornament. Exterior: Handle palmettes, rays around stem. Pipili 1987, cat. # 209h; Stibbe 2004, cat. # 340.

**84** (Figure 7.3) Kylix. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Art Museums 1995.18.14. Provenance unknown. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Pegasus. Exergue: Confronted roosters. Exterior: Not preserved. Stibbe 2004, cat. # 350.

**85** (Figure 7.24) Kylix. Cyrene. From Cyrene. Ca. 550-520 B.C. Interior: Boar hunt. Exergue: Not preserved. Exterior: Not preserved. Pipili 1987, cat. # 74; Stibbe 2004, ca. # 359.

# Concordance Tables

## 1 By Catalog Number

| Catalog | Figure | Stibbe 1972 | Pipili 1987 | Stibbe 2004 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 5.1 | 9 | 172 | |
| 2 | 6.28 | 71 | 205a | |
| 3 | 6.29 | 7 | | |
| 4 | 7.10 | | | 9 |
| 5 | 6.37 | 41 | | |
| 6 | 6.39 | 44 | | |
| 7 | 5.2 | 13 | 194 | |
| 8 | 5.8 | 23 | 101 | |
| 9 | 6.27 | 29 | 173 | |
| 10 | 2.17 and 5.7 | 19 | 55, 195 and 204a | |
| 11 | 6.38 | 42 | | |
| 12 | 7.12 | | | 17 |
| 13 | 5.12 | 93 | | |
| 14 | 2.15 | 96 | 96 | |
| 15 | 5.14 | 95 | 133 | |
| 16 | 2.2 | 123 | 82 | |
| 17 | 5.11 | 140 | 23 | |
| 18 | 5.15 | 154 | 158 | |
| 19 | 2.3 | 156 | 83 | |
| 20 | 2.16 | | 57 | 84 |
| 21 | 8.1 | 190 | 77 and 149 | |
| 22 | 6.24 | 193 | 14 | |
| 23 | 1.1 | 194 | | |
| 24 | 5.10 and 7.5 | 191 | 196 and 204b | |
| 25 | 6.32 | 205 | | |
| 26 | 4.2 | 196 | | |
| 27 | 6.36 | | | 233 |
| 28 | 6.1 | 285 | 131 | |
| 29 | 6.20 | | | 182 |
| 30 | 7.23 | | | 183 |
| 31 | 7.14 | | | 184 |
| 32 | 2.6 | 289 | 89 | |
| 33 | 2.4 | 291 | 84 | |
| 34 | 2.10 | 292 | 98 | |
| 35 | 2.5 | 294 | 85 | |
| 36 | 7.6 | 298 | 201 | |
| 37 | 6.23 | | | 195 |
| 38 | 4.4 | 300 | 8 | |
| 39 | 6.35 | 302 | 213 | |
| 40 | 2.8 | 303 | 141 | |
| 41 | 6.22 | 304 | 11 | |
| 42 | 6.25 | 306 | 214 | |
| 43 | 6.26 | 307 | 215 | |
| 44 | 4.5 | 308 | 206d | |
| 45 | 2.9 | | 142 | 197 |
| 46 | 2.18 | 318 | 56 | |
| 47 | 2.7 | 313 | 86 | |
| 48 | 5.9 | 312 | 198 and 204d | |
| 49 | 7.1 | 212 | 1 | |

| Catalog | Figure | Stibbe 1972 | Pipili 1987 | Stibbe 2004 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 50 | 5.13 | 214 | | |
| 51 | 7.2 | 218 | | |
| 52 | 7.4 | | | 129 |
| 53 | 6.40 and 6.41 | 219 | 209c | |
| 54 | 7.11 | | | 132 |
| 55 | 6.19 | | | 137 |
| 56 | 4.3 | 220 | 69 | |
| 57 | 6.12 | 228 | 206e | |
| 58 | 6.13 | 227 | 209f | |
| 59 | 6.17 | 231 | | |
| 60 | 7.18 | 225 | 70 | |
| 61 | 7.19 | 262 | 71 | |
| 62 | 6.21 | 272 | | |
| 63 | 7.22 | | | 162 |
| 64 | 6.11 | | | |
| 65 | 6.34 | | | 135 |
| 66 | 6.2 | | | 134 |
| 67 | 6.18 | | | 136 |
| 68 | | | 99 | 143 |
| 69 | 2.13 | 342 | 97 | |
| 70 | 2.12 | | | 298 |
| 71 | 6.14 | | | 294 |
| 72 | 6.33 | | | 292 |
| 73 | 7.21 | 350 | 72 | |
| 74 | 7.7 | | | 318 |
| 75 | 7.8 | | | 319 |
| 76 | 7.9 | | | 321 |
| 77 | 7.20 | | | 328 |
| 78 | 6.16 | | | 335 |
| 79 | 2.14 | | | 336 |
| 80 | 6.15 | | | 337 |
| 81 | 7.15 | | | 339 |
| 82 | 6.30 | | 209h | 340 |
| 83 | 7.3 | | | 350 |
| 84 | 7.24 | | 74 | 359 |

## 2 By Stibbe 1972 Catalog Number

| Stibbe 1972 | Catalog | Figure | Pipili 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | 3 | 6.29 | |
| 9 | 1 | 5.1 | 172 |
| 13 | 7 | 5.2 | 194 |
| 19 | 10 | 2.17 and 5.7 | 55, 195 and 204a |
| 23 | 8 | 5.8 | 101 |
| 29 | 9 | 6.27 | 173 |
| 41 | 5 | 6.37 | |
| 42 | 11 | 6.38 | |
| 44 | 6 | 6.39 | |
| 71 | 2 | 6.28 | 205a |
| 93 | 13 | 5.12 | |
| 95 | 15 | 5.14 | 133 |
| 96 | 14 | 2.15 | 96 |
| 123 | 16 | 2.2 | 82 |
| 140 | 17 | 5.11 | 23 |
| 154 | 18 | 5.15 | 158 |
| 156 | 19 | 2.3 | 83 |
| 190 | 21 | 8.1 | 77 and 149 |
| 191 | 24 | 5.10 and 7.5 | 196 and 204b |
| 193 | 22 | 6.24 | 14 |
| 194 | 23 | 1.1 | |
| 196 | 26 | 4.2 | |
| 205 | 25 | 6.32 | |
| 212 | 49 | 7.1 | 1 |
| 214 | 50 | 5.13 | |
| 218 | 51 | 7.2 | |
| 219 | 53 | 6.40 and 6.41 | 209c |
| 220 | 56 | 4.3 | 69 |
| 225 | 60 | 7.18 | 70 |
| 227 | 58 | 6.13 | 209f |
| 228 | 57 | 6.12 | 206e |
| 231 | 59 | 6.17 | |
| 262 | 61 | 7.19 | 71 |
| 272 | 62 | 6.21 | |
| 285 | 28 | 6.1 | 131 |
| 289 | 32 | 2.6 | 89 |
| 291 | 33 | 2.4 | 84 |
| 292 | 34 | 2.10 | 98 |
| 294 | 35 | 2.5 | 85 |
| 298 | 36 | 7.6 | 201 |
| 300 | 38 | 4.4 | 8 |
| 302 | 39 | 6.35 | 213 |
| 303 | 40 | 2.8 | 141 |
| 304 | 41 | 6.22 | 11 |
| 306 | 42 | 6.25 | 214 |
| 307 | 43 | 6.26 | 215 |
| 308 | 44 | 4.5 | 206d |
| 312 | 48 | 5.9 | 198 and 204d |
| 313 | 47 | 2.7 | 86 |
| 318 | 46 | 2.18 | 56 |
| 342 | 69 | 2.13 | 97 |
| 350 | 73 | 7.21 | 72 |

## 3 By Pipili 1987 Catalog Number

| Pipili 1987 | Catalog | Figure | Stibbe 1972 | Stibbe 2004 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 49 | 7.1 | 212 | |
| 8 | 38 | 4.4 | 300 | |
| 11 | 41 | 6.22 | 304 | |
| 14 | 22 | 6.24 | 193 | |
| 23 | 17 | 5.11 | 140 | |
| 56 | 46 | 2.18 | 318 | |
| 57 | 20 | 2.16 | | 84 |
| 69 | 56 | 4.3 | 220 | |
| 70 | 60 | 7.18 | 225 | |
| 71 | 61 | 7.19 | 262 | |
| 72 | 73 | 7.21 | 350 | |
| 74 | 84 | 7.24 | | 359 |
| 82 | 16 | 2.2 | 123 | |
| 83 | 19 | 2.3 | 156 | |
| 84 | 33 | 2.4 | 291 | |
| 85 | 35 | 2.5 | 294 | |
| 86 | 47 | 2.7 | 313 | |
| 89 | 32 | 2.6 | 289 | |
| 96 | 14 | 2.15 | 96 | |
| 97 | 69 | 2.13 | 342 | |
| 98 | 34 | 2.10 | 292 | |
| 99 | 68 | | | 143 |
| 101 | 8 | 5.8 | 23 | |
| 131 | 28 | 6.1 | 285 | |
| 133 | 15 | 5.14 | 95 | |
| 141 | 40 | 2.8 | 303 | |
| 142 | 45 | 2.9 | | 197 |
| 158 | 18 | 5.15 | 154 | |
| 172 | 1 | 5.1 | 9 | |
| 173 | 9 | 6.27 | 29 | |
| 194 | 7 | 5.2 | 13 | |
| 201 | 36 | 7.6 | 298 | |
| 213 | 39 | 6.35 | 302 | |
| 214 | 42 | 6.25 | 306 | |
| 215 | 43 | 6.26 | 307 | |
| 196 | 24 | 5.10 and 7.5 | 191 | |
| 204b | 24 | 5.10 and 7.5 | 191 | |
| 198 | 48 | 5.9 | 312 | |
| 204d | 48 | 5.9 | 312 | |
| 205a | 2 | 6.28 | 71 | |
| 206d | 44 | 4.5 | 308 | |
| 206e | 57 | 6.12 | 228 | |
| 209c | 53 | 6.40 and 6.41 | 219 | |
| 209f | 58 | 6.13 | 227 | |
| 209h | 82 | 6.30 | | 340 |
| 55 | 10 | 2.17 and 5.7 | 19 | |
| 195 | 10 | 2.17 and 5.7 | 19 | |
| 204a | 10 | 2.17 and 5.7 | 19 | |
| 77 | 21 | 8.1 | 190 | |
| 149 | 21 | 8.1 | 190 | |

## 4 By Stibbe 2004 Catalog Number

| Stibbe 2004 | Catalog | Figure | Stibbe 1972 | Pipili 1987 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | 4 | 7.10 | | |
| 17 | 12 | 7.12 | | |
| 84 | 20 | 2.16 | | 57 |
| 129 | 52 | 7.4 | | |
| 132 | 54 | 7.11 | | |
| 134 | 66 | 6.2 | | |
| 135 | 65 | 6.34 | | |
| 136 | 67 | 6.18 | | |
| 137 | 55 | 6.19 | | |
| 143 | 68 | | | 99 |
| 162 | 63 | 7.22 | | |
| 182 | 29 | 6.20 | | |
| 183 | 30 | 7.23 | | |
| 184 | 31 | 7.14 | | |
| 195 | 37 | 6.23 | | |
| 197 | 45 | 2.9 | | 142 |
| 233 | 27 | 6.36 | | |
| 292 | 72 | 6.33 | | |
| 294 | 71 | 6.14 | | |
| 298 | 70 | 2.12 | | |
| 318 | 74 | 7.7 | | |
| 319 | 75 | 7.8 | | |
| 321 | 76 | 7.9 | | |
| 328 | 77 | 7.20 | | |
| 335 | 78 | 6.16 | | |
| 336 | 79 | 2.14 | | |
| 337 | 80 | 6.15 | | |
| 339 | 81 | 7.15 | | |
| 340 | 82 | 6.30 | | 209h |
| 350 | 83 | 7.3 | | |
| 359 | 84 | 7.24 | | 74 |

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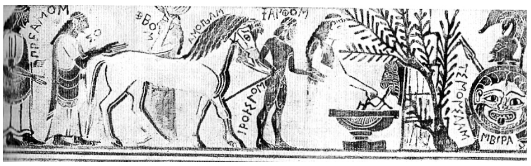
# Figures

## Chapter 1

**Figure 1.1**

**Figure 1.2**

**Chapter 2**



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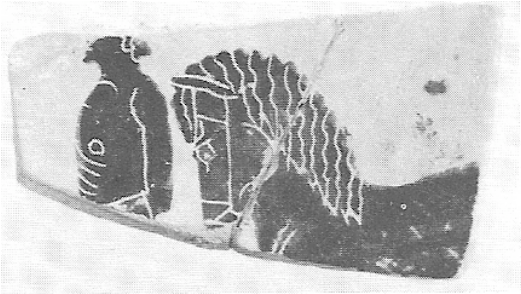

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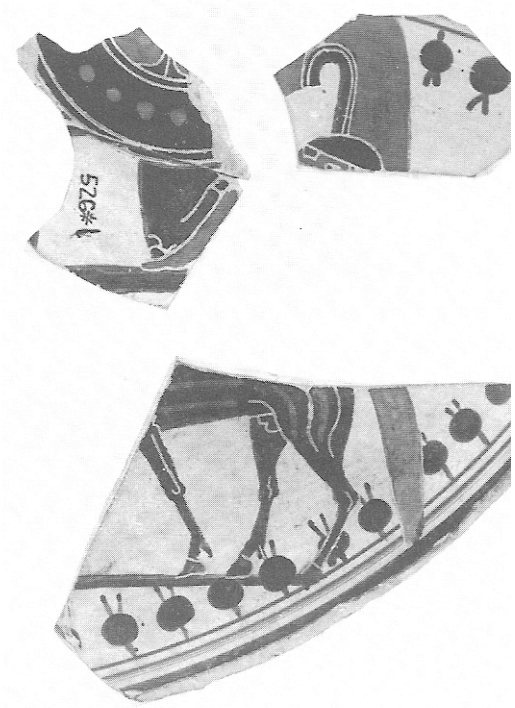

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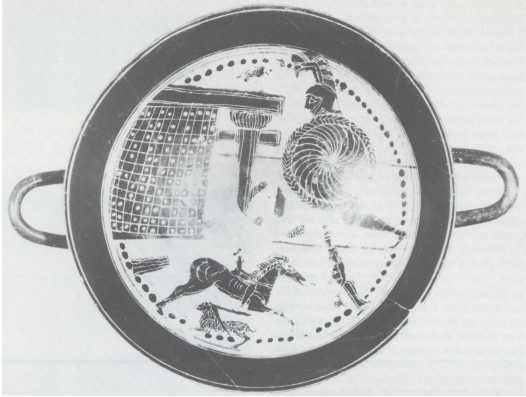

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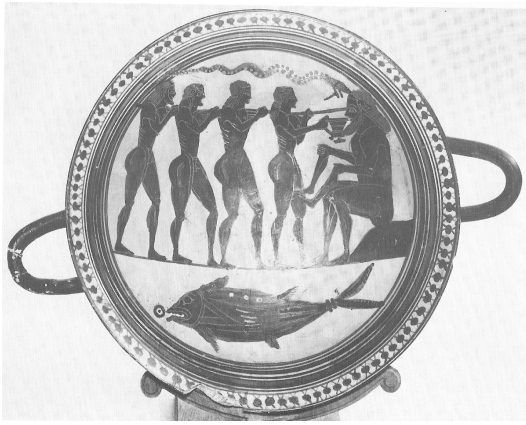

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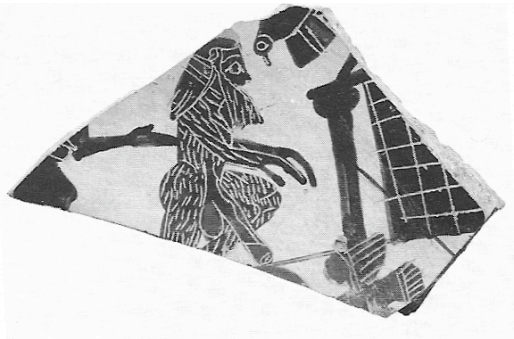

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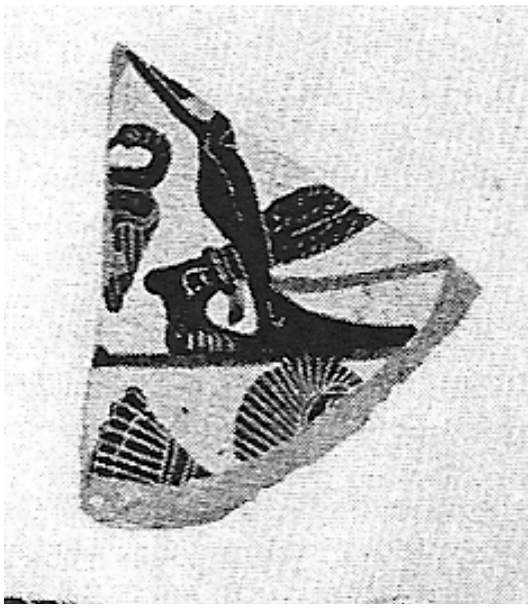

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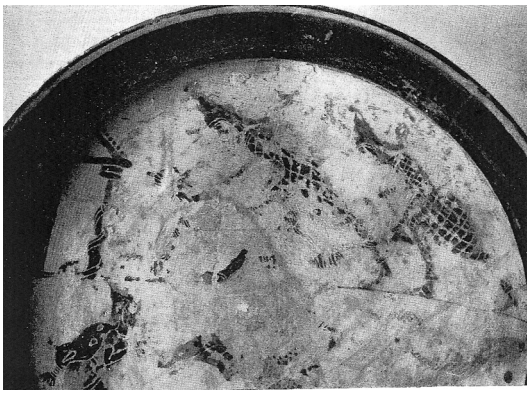

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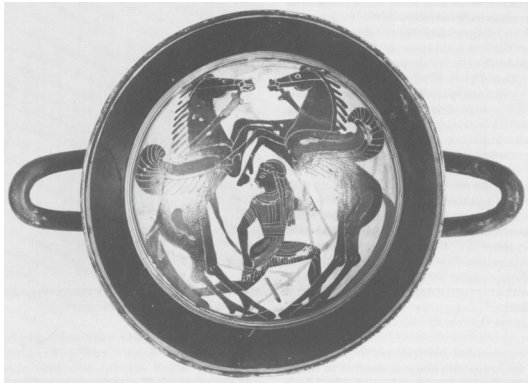

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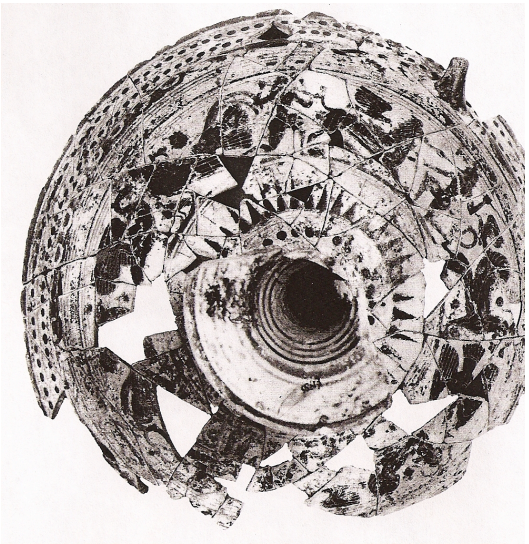

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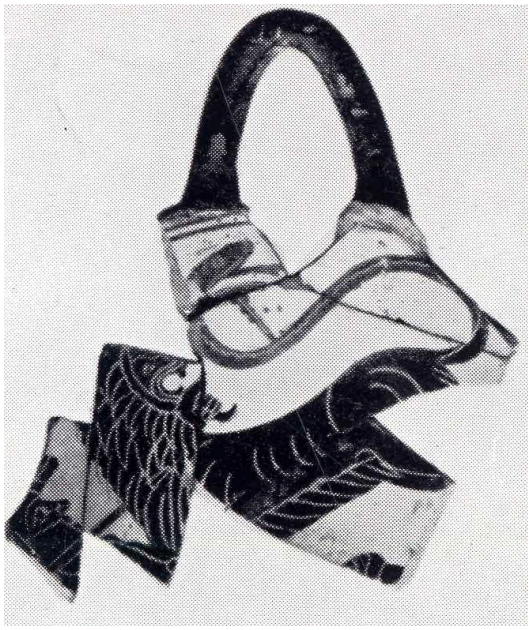

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## Chapter 3

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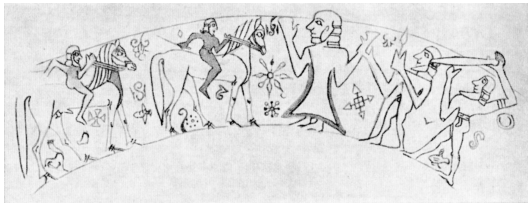

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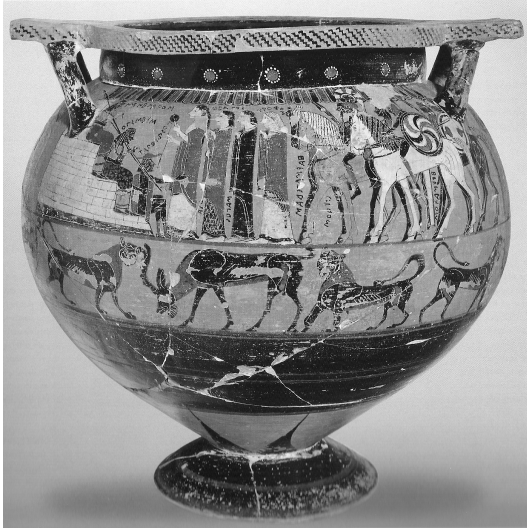

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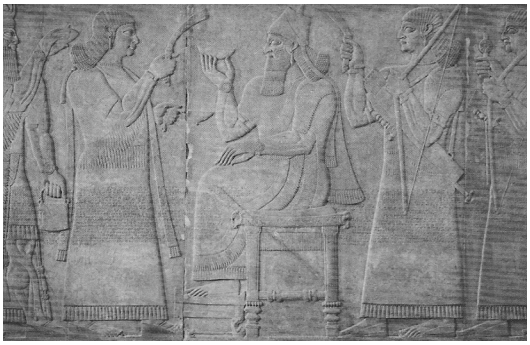

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## Chapter 4

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**Figure 4.6**

## Chapter 5

**Figure 5.1**

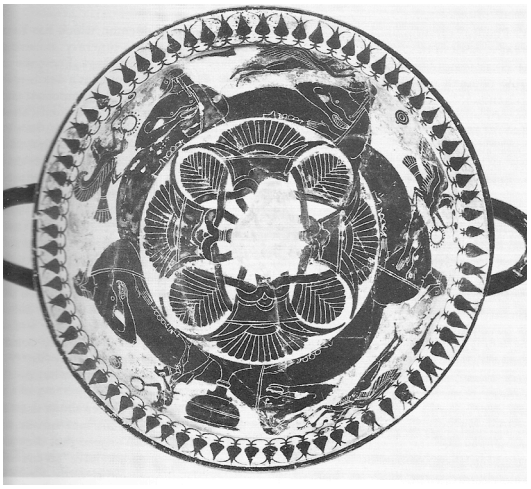


**Figure 5.2**

**Figure 5.3**

**Figure 5.4**

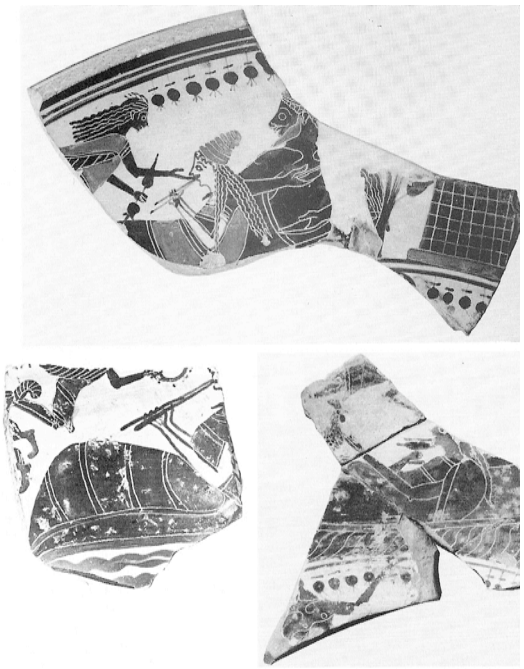
**Figure 5.5**

**Figure 5.6**

**Figure 5.7**

**Figure 5.8**

**Figure 5.9**



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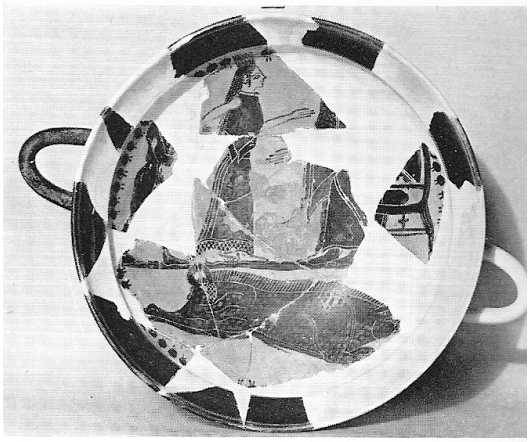


**Figure 5.11**

**Figure 5.12**

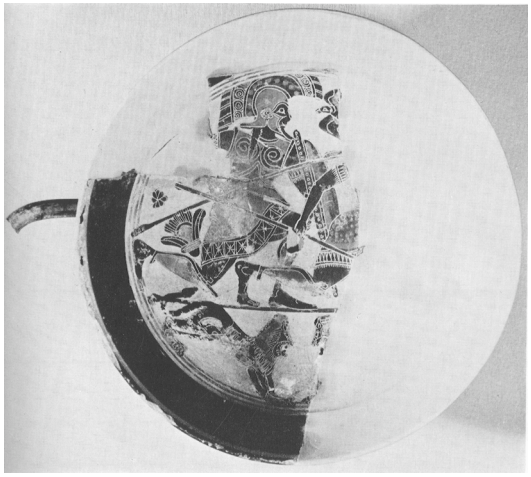


**Figure 5.13**

**Figure 5.14**

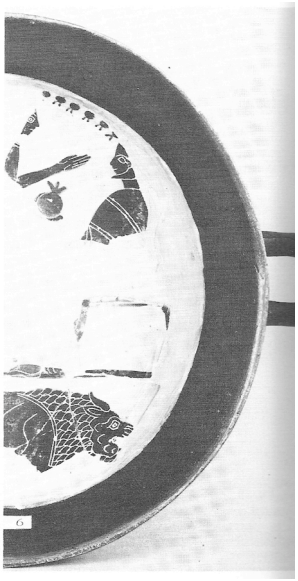


**Figure 5.15**

## Chapter 6

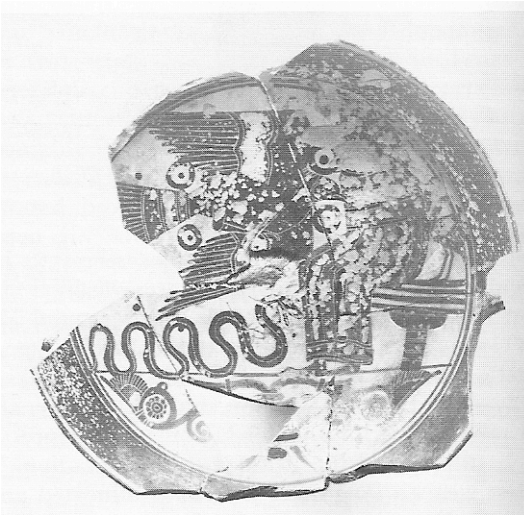


**Figure 6.1**

**Figure 6.2**

**Figure 6.3**

**Figure 6.4**

**Figure 6.5**

**Figure 6.6**

**Figure 6.7**

**Figure 6.8**

**Figure 6.9**

**Figure 6.10**

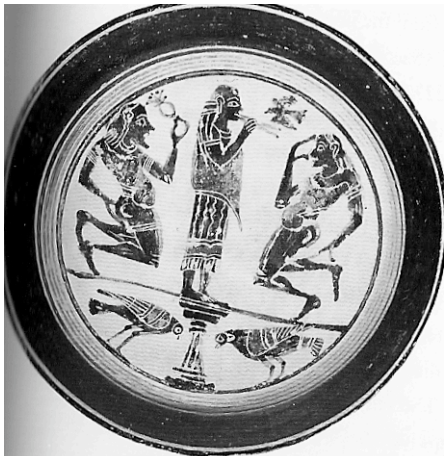


**Figure 6.11**

**Figure 6.12**

**Figure 6.13**

**Figure 6.14**

**Figure 6.15**

**Figure 6.16**

**Figure 6.17**

**Figure 6.18**

**Figure 6.19**

**Figure 6.20**

**Figure 6.21**

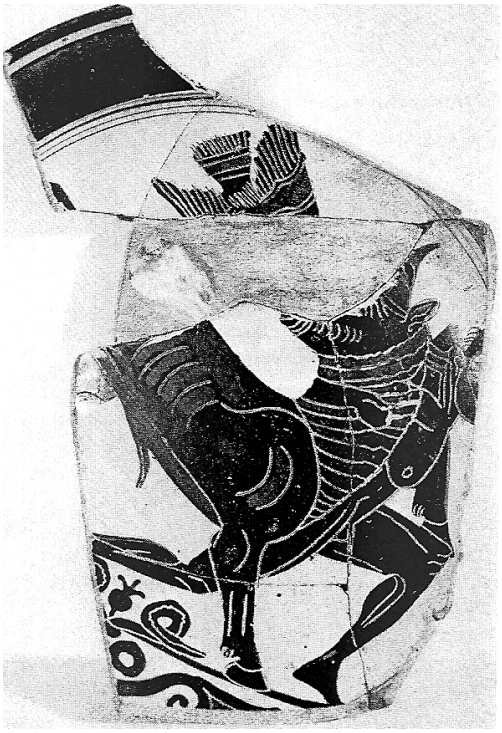


**Figure 6.22**

**Figure 6.23**

**Figure 6.24**

**Figure 6.25**

**Figure 6.26**

**Figure 6.29**

**Figure 6.27**

**Figure 6.28**

Figure 6.30

Figure 6.31

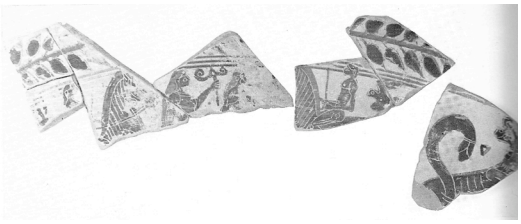
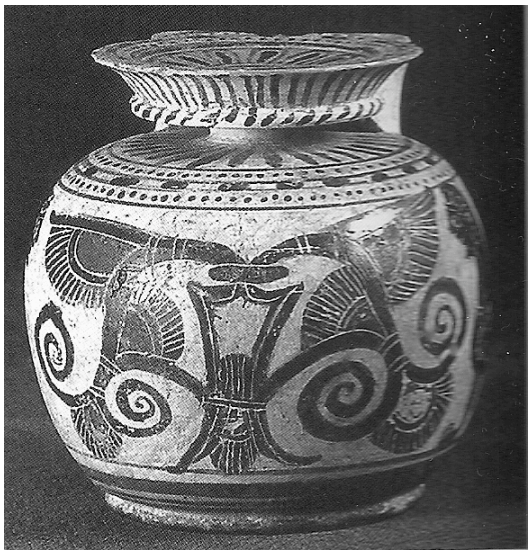


Figure 6.32

**Figure 6.33**

**Figure 6.34**

**Figure 6.35**



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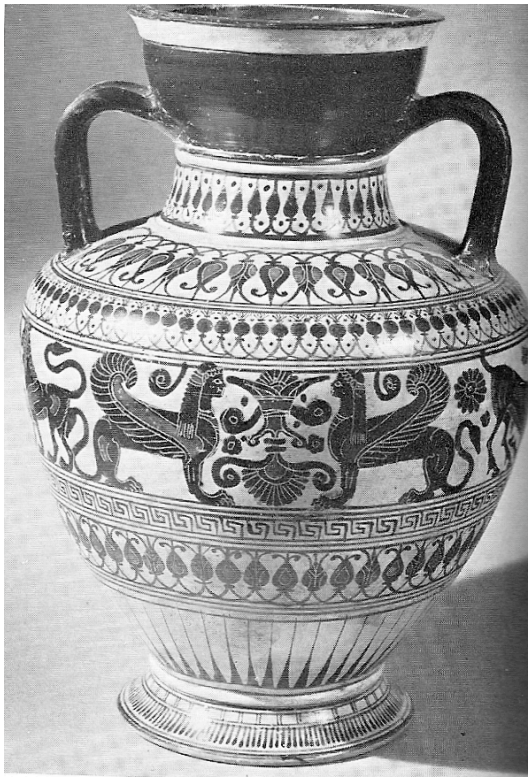

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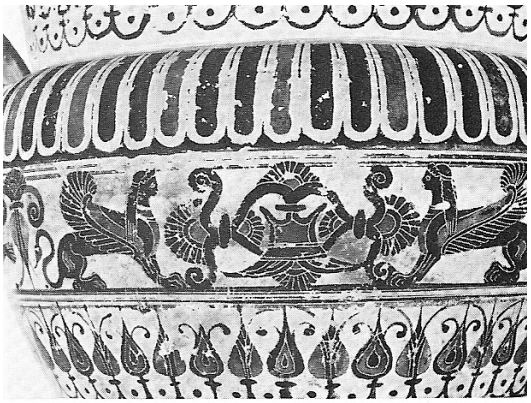

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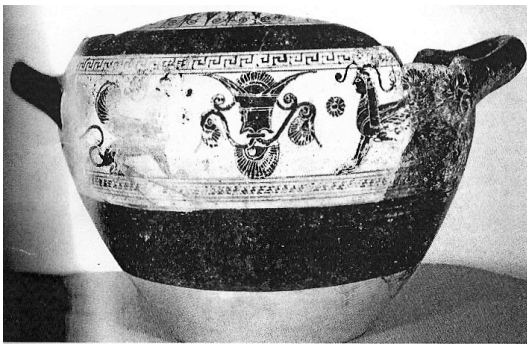


**Figure 6.39**

**Figure 6.40**

**Figure 6.41**

## Chapter 7

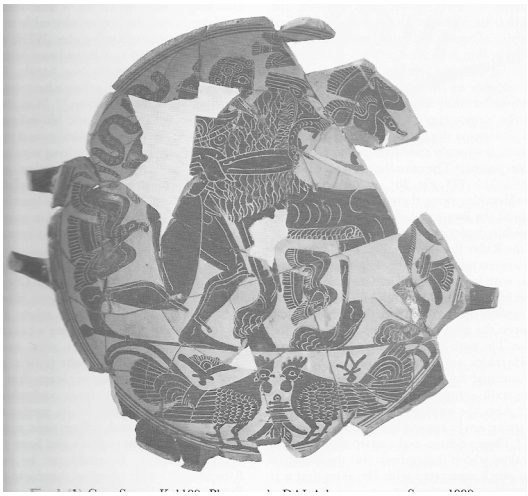
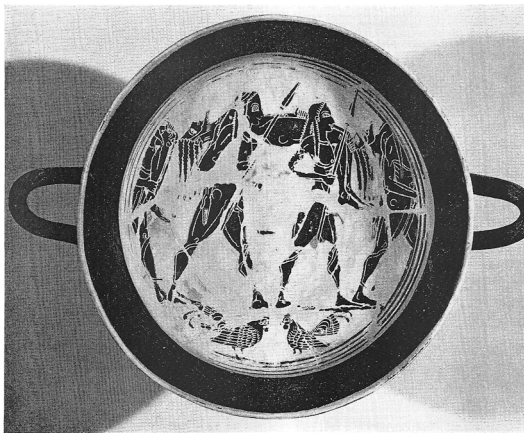


**Figure 7.1**



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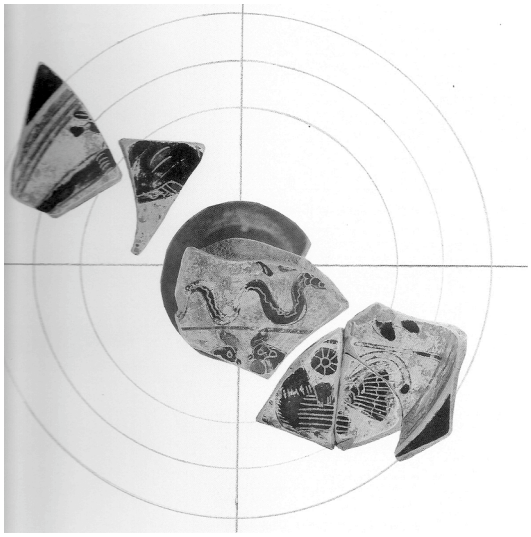

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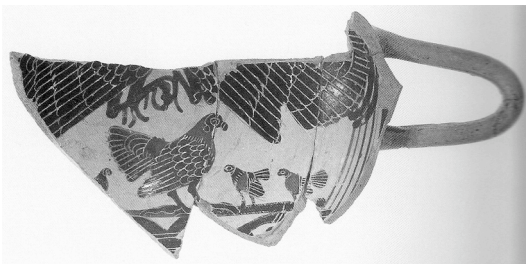

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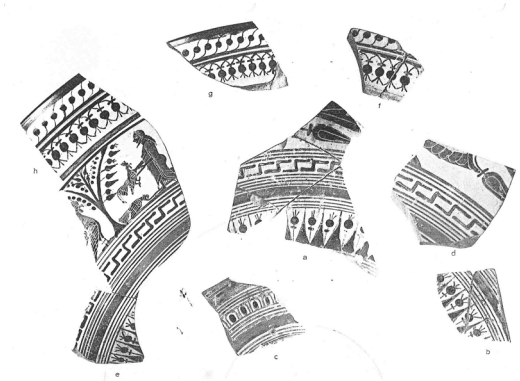


**Figure 7.5**

**Figure 7.6**

**Figure 7.7**

**Figure 7.8**

**Figure 7.9**

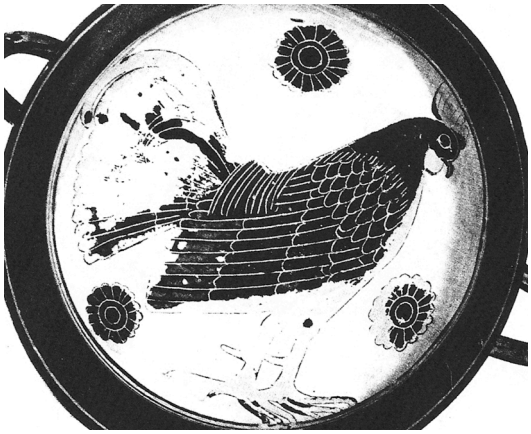


**Figure 7.10**

**Figure 7.11**

**Figure 7.12**

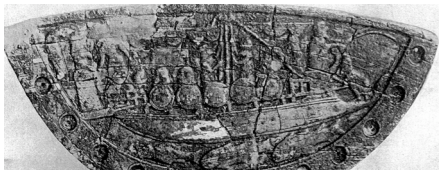
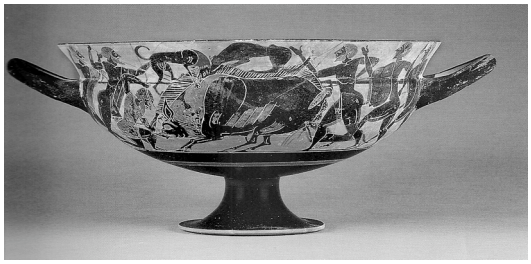


**Figure 7.13**

**Figure 7.14**

**Figure 7.15**



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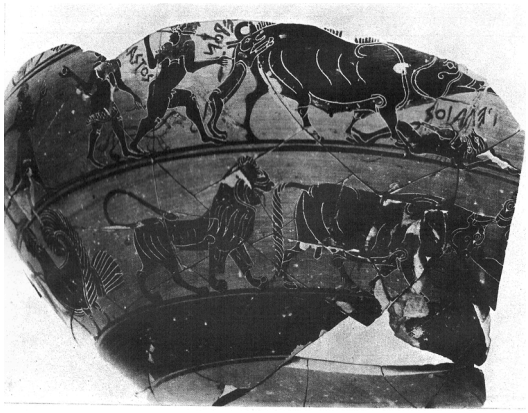

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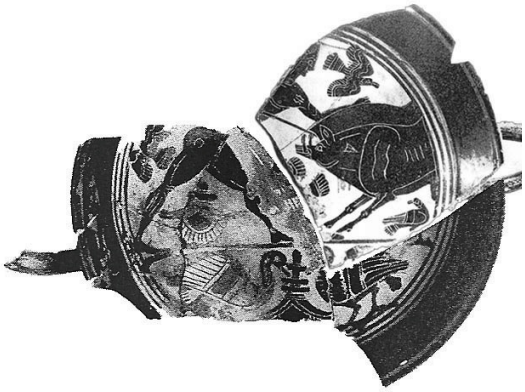

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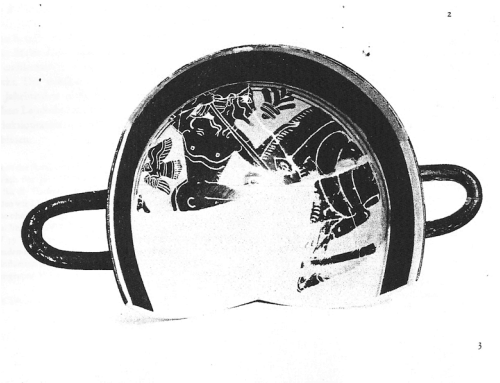
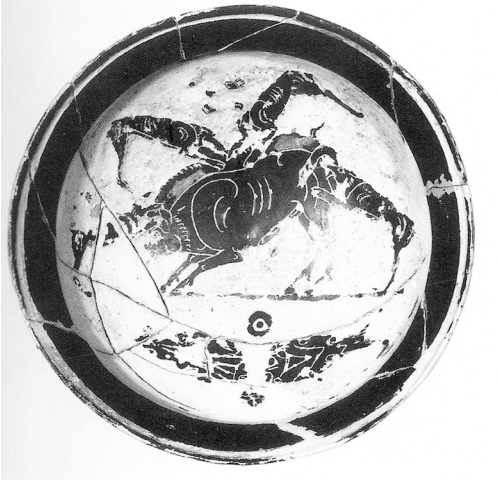


**Figure 7.19**

**Figure 7.20**

**Figure 7.21**



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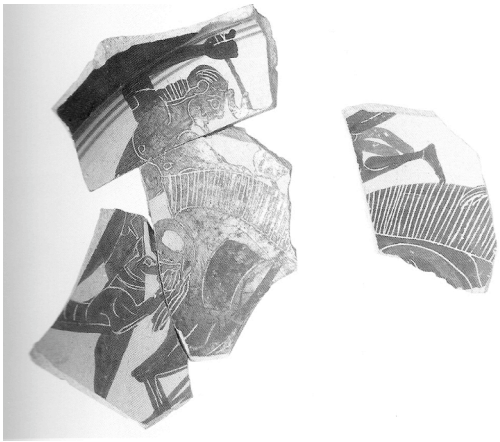
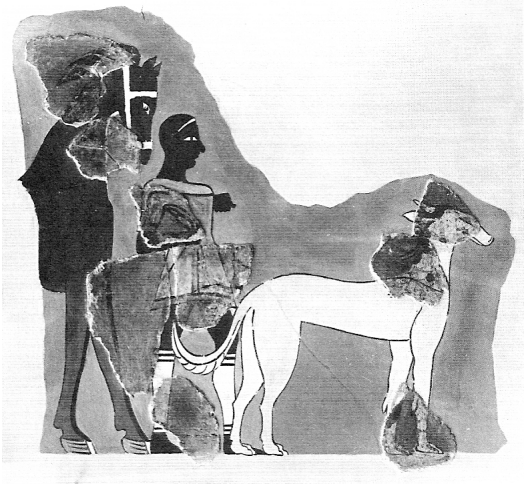


**Figure 7.23**

**Figure 7.24**



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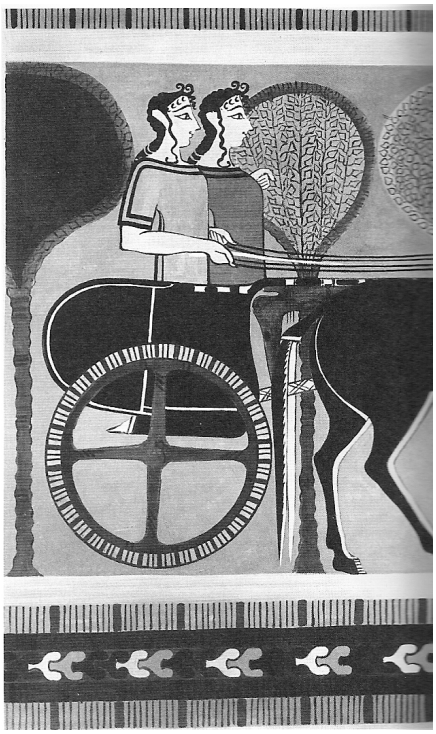

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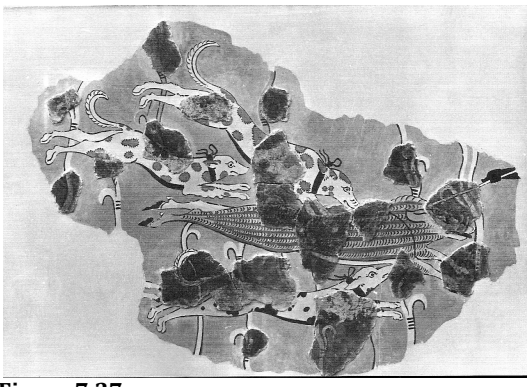

**Figure 7.27**

**Figure 7.28**

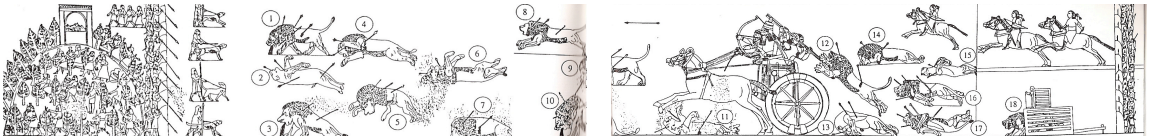

**Figure 7.29**

## Chapter 8

**Figure 8.1**

## Curriculum Vita

### Education

| | |
|---|---|
| 2010 | Ph.D. Art History<br>Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey |
| 2001 | M.A. Art History and Museum Studies<br>Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio |
| 1999 | B.A. Visual Arts<br>Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio |

### Teaching Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| 2008 – 2010 | Instructor, Department of English<br>Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey |
| 2005 – 2007 | Teaching Assistant/Lecturer, Department of Art History<br>Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey |
| 2002 | Adjunct Lecturer, Department of Art History<br>Baldwin Wallace College, Berea, Ohio |
| 2001 – 2002 | Part-Time Instructor, Department of Art<br>Lakeland Community College, Kirtland, Ohio |
| 2000 – 2001 | Teaching Assistant, Department of Art History<br>Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio |

### Publications

| | |
|---|---|
| 2009 | "Columns in Archaic Lakonian Vase Painting." *Athanor* 26:7-13. |

### Related Experience

| | |
|---|---|
| Summer 2005 | Trench Supervisor, Sangro Valley Project (Partial Season)<br>Tornareccio (Chieti), Italy |
| Summer 2002, 2003 | Trench Supervisor, Poggio Civitate (Murlo)<br>Vescovado di Murlo (Siena), Italy |
| 2000 – 2002 | Curatorial Assistant, Department of Cultural Anthropology<br>Cleveland Museum of Natural History, Cleveland, Ohio |