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Composition in Athenian black-figure vase-painting: The 'Chariot in profile' *type scene*

Geralda Jurriaans-Helle

text

Composition in Athenian black-figure vase-painting: The 'Chariot in profile' *type scene*

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor

aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam

op gezag van de Rector Magnificus

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Preface

During my studies in the Department of Classical Languages and Classical Archaeology at the University of Amsterdam in the 1980s, I became fascinated by the question of how much the contemporary people in Syracuse or Agrigento hearing an Ode of Pindar would have understood the coherence and structure of the poem. In the 21st–century we can understand the poems only with difficulty and the help of learned commentaries, and even then only partially, because in many cases it is not obvious why the poet refers to a given myth. At the same time I began to wonder why there are so many Athenian vase-paintings in which we can recognise the depicted figures – and even their actions to a certain point – although we cannot be certain what event or story is depicted. I asked myself whether Athenian vase-painters and their customers perceived more in these images than endlessly repeated, rather meaningless representations of gods and heroes apparently placed together at random. Because Athenian pottery was popular for a long time over a large area and because Pindar was invited to write victory odes over and over again for patrons throughout the Mediterranean world, I became convinced that ancient Greeks did indeed comprehend more in both images and poems and that the fact that we do not is due to a deficiency of knowledge on our part.

This fascination resulted in two master *theseis* in which I tried to reconstruct the knowledge and associations of the contemporary public. For Ancient Greek Literature I wrote a master thesis about the literary court of Hieron of Syracuse, reviewed by Professor Jan-Maarten Bremer, who was open to my 'excursion' outside pure literary texts. I collected historical and archaeological information about the lives and times of Hieron and his family, friends, and enemies. Then I studied the literary texts written for Hieron, looking for references to facts and details that could clarify the meaning of the poems – and found that on certain points it could.

In my thesis for Classical Archaeology, judged by Professor Jaap Hemelrijk, who taught me how to look at vase-paintings, I studied the iconography of black-figure pursuit-scenes, analysing which compositions were used for different stories. After my studies I continued on this path and studied various groups of depictions, developing a method to identify some of the rules of the *pictorial language* of Attic black-figure vase-painting. I concluded that a consistent pictorial language was used and that even on mass-produced vases painters respected its rules, using fixed compositions and combinations of persons and

objects or attributes, comparable with the use of *type scenes*, *formulaic verses*, and *epitheta ornantia* in the Homeric epics. I argued that the resulting images could be recognised and associated with specific mythological episodes or daily life events by contemporary viewers. Variation was possible, but within boundaries: the vase-painters did not randomly replace one person with another, nor insert figures who did not belong to a scene into empty spaces.

A few years ago I realised that the method I was applying in my archaeological research was closely related to literary studies of Homer's oral poetic art and that I had brought my literary experience into my archaeological research, just as I had brought my archaeological experience into my literary research. This shows the interconnectedness of the various branches of *Altertumswissenschaft*.

I am deeply grateful to my *promotor* Professor Irene de Jong because she not only showed me the way and gave my research the methodological and theoretical background it needed but was also willing to guide me on this path, when I took up my research again seriously after 30 years of work as curator at the Allard Pierson Museum. I thank Professor Vladimir Stissi, my *co-promotor*, for his pointed but encouraging comments on the archaeological aspects of this study. Both colleagues gave me complete freedom in how I organised and executed the research.

I want to thank the staff of the Beazley Archive Pottery Database. The availability of so much data and so many images on so many vases is a great help for people interested in the topic. The BAPD made my lists much longer and underpinned my research. During the past 30 years I have visited many museums to study their collections. I want to thank all the colleague-curators who received me hospitably and facilitated my research, who answered my letters and emails, and who were willing to walk to the galleries to check *in persona* a detail on the vase. Especially I want to thank Dr. Sandra E. Knudsen, former curator of the Toledo Museum of Art, who not only improved my English but also saved me from many errors and ameliorated the text as a whole with her learned and kind comments and questions. Remaining errors are entirely my responsibility.

I started this dissertation in 1986 with a scholarship of *The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO,* then *ZWO)*, which I relinquished in 1988 to become curator of the Allard Pierson Museum, the archaeological museum of the University of Amsterdam. Although I did not have the time then to finish the dissertation, I never lost interest in the subject and kept studying it on my own time. In 2011, I decided to return to my research. In 2013–14 I took a sabbatical leave from work at the museum, thanks to having saved holidays for several years for this purpose and to funding by the *Employability Fund* of the University

of Amsterdam, for which I would like to thank the Board of the University. The Allard Pierson Museum is part of the Library of the University of Amsterdam, and I thank Maria Heijne, the Librarian of the University, for giving me permission in 2016 to finish the revision of the text partly in working time.

The love of antiquity was first given to me by my parents, Gerard Helle and Corrie Helle-Filarski, who told me many myths as bedtime stories and later brought me to museums and excavations. That love was further nourished by my teachers in Greek, Latin, and History at the Barlaeus Gymnasium in Amsterdam: Wim van Lakwijk, Arnold van Akkeren, and Gerard Portielje. When I started my studies of Classical Languages at the University I came into contact with many new aspects of antiquity including Archaeology, where my teachers were Professor Herman Brijder, who was later my director at the Allard Pierson Museum for 20 years and from whose specialist knowledge I also benefitted greatly during my research, Professor Joost Crouwel, and Dr. Kees Neeft. Their enthusiastic lectures made it inevitable that I decided to pursue not only a Master's degree in Classical Languages but also a Master's degree in Classical Archaeology, both of which I finished *cum laude*.

From the first day of my study at the University, Clara Klein was my best friend. I want to thank her for so much love and friendship and for the many conversations on all kinds of topics in Greek and Latin of all times.

Finally I want to thank my family, my children Boudewijn, Robrecht, and Machteld, and last but not least my husband Ruud Jurriaans for filling my life with so much more than this research and keeping me outside the ivory tower. The last sentence of this Preface is devoted to my red-figure friends, Lien, Tommie, James, and Sammy, without whom many late nights at the computer would have been much lonelier.

Composition in Athenian black-figure vase-painting: The 'Chariot in profile' *type scene*

Part I: Text

We approached the case, you remember, with an absolutely blank mind, which is always an advantage. We had formed no theories. We were simply there to observe and to draw inferences from our observations.

Sir Athur Conan Doyle, *Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes – The Adventure of the Cardboard Box*

Introduction

Text figure 1
Mycenaean krater with two-horse chariot and horseman.
Cyprus, 1300–1250 BCE.
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 1856

0.1 Subject, method, sources and restrictions

This dissertation examines the imagery of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile with people standing in and next to it' (hereafter: 'Chariot in profile'), a frequently depicted composition in 6th-century-BCE Athenian black-figure vase-painting. A new method of analysis is presented and applied to this imagery.

0.1.1 Pictorial language

Pictorial language is as vivid as the spoken language of a culture and, like speech, changes over the course of time. Visual details can acquire new meanings, and variant compositions can be created.[1] However, it is important to appreciate that changes are not made at random. Even on rather carelessly painted, mass-produced vases, Athenian painters stayed within the conventions of their common pictorial language. This was not because they were not capable of original variations but because their public had to understand the meaning of the images.[2]

Innovative vase-painters sometimes could and did change details or use the *typical composition* of one scene as the basis for creating a new composition, but they stayed close to the conventions[3] and chose as the starting point for a new scene a composition with a related meaning or underlying idea in order to make it instantly recognisable for the public. When a *typical composition* was used to create a scene with a meaning different from the familiar one, the names of figures were sometimes inscribed to make sure the new painting was understood.

The charts and analyses in this book support the facts that contemporary Athenians recognised changes and quickly understood the meaning of a new composition because they were acquainted with the conventions of the city's common pictorial language and therefore associated details or compositions with a specific action or story. This background knowledge also ensured that viewers could mentally fill in what happened both before and after a depicted episode, understanding a picture as part of a narrative.[4] We – at a distance of

[1] Examples are given by Connelly (1993). Recke (2002).

[2] Isler (1973) 38. Boardman (1990b) 21. Lowenstam (1997) 50. Mackay (2010) 5–6.

[3] Mackay (1996) 56: "A special scene has been composed according to a well-worn traditional formulation, using largely traditional figure-patterns. The difference is that the formulations have been reinterpreted."

[4] See section 1.6. De Jong (2014) 4: According to Aristotle, *Poetics* 7, a plot is complete when it has a beginning, middle and end. In my opinion the vase-paintings usually show the middle, but evoke in the mind of the viewer the beginning and end.

more than 2,500 years – lack innate familiarity with Athenian pictorial language and can overcome the deficiency only with much effort.[5]

My method of analysis is to chart the *typical elements* of a *type scene,* its *subtypes* and *variants* in order to ascertain the *typical composition* and the meaning of individual elements and their combinations. Only when we have determined these, taking into account variations and changes over time, is it possible to recognise the deviations and originality of some unique compositions and to interpret their possible new meanings. Having done this for the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', I conclude that Athenian vase-painters could use a compositional arrangement in different contexts, varying the meaning by changing persons, attributes, gestures, and other details.[6]

Visual artists' use of pictorial language resembles the way in which in oral poetry a singer tells the story by using *type scenes, formulaic verses,* and *epitheta ornantia* while adding, omitting, or varying details and names.[7] Noting this resemblance – and also the resemblance to the way in which Homeric scholars have overcome the gap in knowledge by making schemata[8] – I deliberately use terms borrowed from literary studies of Homer's oral poetry like *type scene* (the compositional schema or general arrangement of a depiction), *subtypes*, and *typical elements* (*e.g.*, figure types, attributes, gestures, and other details).

0.1.2 Sources and restrictions

This book is based on my study of the iconography of about 1,275 chariot scenes on Athenian painted vases from the period about 580 to 500 BCE.[9] To compile my list I used the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, the Beazley Archive Pottery Database, monographs, museum catalogues, auction catalogues, and other books and articles. I am fully aware that the list is not complete. Not all publications were available for me to consult, and often vases

[5] Shapiro (1990a) 114: "... we can only come closer to an understanding of their meaning through a careful study of all examples of a given type, of each motif, gesture, and attribute." Ferrari (2002) 5: "As a means of communication, imagery may be thought of as a system analogous to language and, like language, as a social construct that is not readily accessible to outsiders to the social group."

[6] Shapiro (1989a) 56: "the use of the same pictorial schema for several different subjects was not accidental."

[7] For the terminology in Homeric scholarship since the 1930s onwards and literature on that terminology, see the *lemmata* in Finkelberg (2011).

[8] Reece (1993) 1–2; 8–9.

[9] I started my database of representations on Athenian black-figure vase-paintings of scenes that I thought appropriate for this kind of investigation in the 1980s. It now contains descriptions of almost 5,000 vases with depictions of *e.g.*, gods standing together, fighting hoplites, hoplites leaving on foot and all kinds of chariot scenes, including about 1,400 depictions of a chariot in profile, of which I was able to use about 1,275 for this study.

(especially ones of lower quality) are not published at all[10] or only in such a way that I could not incorporate them into my study: important details are not clearly visible in the illustrations nor mentioned (or only inaccurately) in the descriptions.[11] Therefore, I left out vases when photographs were not provided, or were too small to see details, or when descriptions were incomplete or obviously incorrect. Another problem is that some vases were repainted during restoration. When details of the intervention are not mentioned in the description and the restoration is not correct, this may give anomalous information. However, as long it is not clear that a detail is due to modern repainting, I have retained the vase in my lists in order not to adapt the evidence to my hypotheses.

Since the goal of this study is to examine the *structure* of the depictions and not to fully publish every single vase, I concentrate on elements that are distinctive, and I group together figures that differ from each other only in ways that are non-distinctive. Details of the composition that are important for the analysis are listed in Tables, which I have arranged chronologically in periods of about 20 to 30 years, keeping vases by the same painter or shape together as much as possible, so that a general overview of changes over time is visible.

When I started to describe the paintings, I did not know which details would be important for understanding the compositions; therefore I made notes of many details, including shapes, attributions to painters, and images painted on other parts of the vases. I include these data in the Tables and discuss them in short overviews at the end of each section but do not analyse them. About the vase shapes, it may be said that they are in general large. Around half of the vases with a chariot scene are belly-amphorae and hydriai; the hydria shape became more popular in the last quarter of the century, while the belly-amphora seems to have decreased in popularity. Wedding processions were also painted on vases made for wedding rituals, such as a *loutrophoros*, or for a wedding gift, such as a *tripod-exaleiptron*. I also included in the lists depictions of some *variants* found in subsidiary friezes painted on the shoulders of hydriai, the necks of volute-kraters, and the rims of dinoi, where they appear as a *standard-motif* placed next to other motifs such as

[10] Stissi (2009) 23, points out the fact that the lists of Beazley, the Beazley Archive, and the *CVAs* "do not offer a reliable starting point to draw conclusions on, since they are very incomplete and, more importantly, do not offer a representative sample of available … Greek pottery at all." Nevertheless, however incomplete they may be, these sources offer a corpus that is large enough for this kind of study. I started my research before the Internet was available, and I built my database working through the *CVAs* and catalogues. The online presence of the Beazley Archive Pottery Database and the *CVA* is a wonderful thing for researchers on vase-painting. It allowed me to include many more vases in my database and made my research much easier.

[11] Stissi (2009) 23, points at the lack of "systematic descriptions of the images on pots."

hoplites fighting or Heracles and the Nemean Lion. I have generally accepted the dates and painter attributions in the publications; I adjusted dates only when they were obviously wrong or spanned too long a period. Concerning the painter attributions: many are dubious, and there are in general not enough attributed vases to draw conclusions about the personal preferences of painters. However, for this study, the work of individual vase-painters is not very important since they all used the same pictorial language. The images on other parts of these vases are mostly mythological or derived from the world of men, which may indicate that these vases were overwhelmingly made for use by men.

For bibliography I refer as much as possible to the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BA followed by vase number) in order to avoid long publication citations and to give the reader easy access to images. Finally, I closed my lists in summer 2015.[12] Because of these limitations, it must be emphasised that in all cases where I provide statistics on vases or depictions, the restrictions 'to the best of my knowledge' or 'so far as is known to me' should be understood.

This study does *not* discuss different interpretations of various 'Chariot in profile' scenes. Instead it explores the system of pictorial language used by 6th-century Athenian vase-painters, in order to determine how differences in composition and *typical elements* indicate different meanings and how free painters were to make changes. However, in section 6.6 a speculative interpretation will be proposed for some depictions.

I restrict myself to depictions of chariots in profile with people standing in and near them.[13] This composition has a long tradition in Greek vase-painting, which makes it possible to follow it over a long period of time. In Athenian black-figure vase-painting, the first chariot scenes are known from about 580 BCE, so this was selected as the starting point.[14] The closing date of 500 BCE was more arbitrarily chosen and is not firm, since chariot scenes continued to be painted into the 5th century. Around the end of the 6th century, however, the pictorial language of Athenian black-figure began to lose its vividness and power and the iconography its recognisability. By this time the better vase-painting

[12] Vases that came to my knowledge after this date can and should of course be used to check my conclusions.

[13] I have left out other chariot scenes (*e.g.*, harnessing, frontal chariots, chariots wheeling round, chariot races, *apobatēs* races and combats with chariots).

[14] Isler-Kerényi (1997) 526. Mertens (2014) 139–140 mentions the neck-amphora Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 353 (BA 300012) attributed to the Piraeus Painter (ca. 630–600 BCE) as "the earliest chariot procession on a vase that can be considered black-figure not only in execution but also in the alteration of shape, ornament, and subject matter". I left this outside my lists because the composition is different from the chariot scenes under discussion, and the two chariots are *bigae*. In my lists the dinos by the Gorgon Painter (Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 874, BA 300055; *CW* 01) is the earliest representation of chariots in profile.

workshops had all adopted the red-figure technique, although black-figure continued to be used, most often for small shapes like *lekythoi* and *skyphoi*, on which many chariot scenes of modest quality with few or no distinguishing details are found.[15] Some previously standard compositional details were clearly no longer understood and began to be used 'incorrectly' by the painters who continued painting in the black-figure technique.

I record the provenances of the vases, and the results appear in my Tables, but I have left discussion of this part of the research out of my analysis.[16] More than half of the vases with a known provenance were found in Etruria. We do not know how well purchasers in Athens or Etruria – or even some of the makers themselves – understood the meanings of the compositions. In ancient Athens painted vases were "semi-luxury"[17] objects that were useful but at the same time gave the owner an opportunity to distinguish himself. According to Vladimir Stissi, "painted pottery was definitely not the common tableware of the masses" but "[f]or many Athenians of lesser means, painted fine pottery, though affordable, may have been their relatively expensive 'best plate' for display and special occasions."[18] Even people who could not afford decorated pottery would have been familiar with painted vases from the stalls in the market or the houses of friends and patrons.[19] We can assume that most Athenians understood the meaning of the pictures, although better-educated people may have more easily recognised variants and references to obscure stories or contemporary allusions.

In Etruria these imported semi-luxury wares are likely to have been more expensive and therefore not accessible to everyone.[20] Athenian potters working for the Etruscan export market understood the preferences of their customers very well and adopted some Etruscan *shapes*, but the workshops' vase-painters generally painted the same *pictures* on vases made for export as for the market in Athens. I fully agree with Anne Mackay that "there is no real evidence that exported vases in general reflected other than Athenian values."[21] Etruscan customers probably understood the pictures, although they may have connected them with

[15] Van de Put (2011).

[16] The provenance of about 450 vases out of 1,275 vases with chariot scenes is known. See section 1.0.

[17] Stissi (2002) 287, taking over the term from Foxhall (1998) 306–307.

[18] Stissi (2002) 210.

[19] Williams (1995) 157–158.

[20] Stissi (2002) 209, n. 1006.

[21] Mackay (2010) 2. Stissi (1999b) 98: "adaptations to the taste and (potential) demand of non-Athenians are rare". Steiner (2007) 232–236.

their own versions of the stories or, in the case of daily-life scenes, with their own customs.[22] Although in general "[s]ome imagery (…) was specifically aimed at the Etruscan market",[23] in the group of depictions I discuss, I did not find any indication that Athenian vase-painters used another pictorial language on vases made for export than on those made for the market at home. Therefore I have left the 'Etruscan question' outside this book.

0.2 Outline of the book

0.2.1 Mass-produced vases

Since the 19th century many studies on the iconography of ancient Greek vase-painting have been published, some of which I will discuss in Chapter 1. Most of these studies take vases of high quality and bearing unique images as the starting point or centre of investigation. Vases of lesser quality are often not discussed at all. This study takes the opposite approach: I focus on mass-produced Athenian vases. These vases are often neglected in publications because of the supposedly careless or thoughtless work of the painters.[24] In my opinion it is time to reassess these vases, as they reflect the conventions of Athenian pictorial language.

Athenian painted vases were produced in large numbers, so that, even though the common estimate of a survival rate of less than 1% of total production is probably still too high,[25] enough depictions of certain popular scenes survive to draw conclusions.[26] One important fact to keep in mind is that the painted vases we study today are *not* the product of centuries of selection based on quality and copying, as is the case with most ancient literary works that survive, but a relatively random selection of vases that were preserved in the

[22] Rasmussen and Spivey (eds.) (1991) 131–150. Isler-Kerényi (1997) 533. Reusser (2002) 125–126; 188–189. See also De Jong (2014) 5, citing Henry James (*The Art of the Novel* [1934] 1953: 46) on the fact that people "watching the same show" may see totally different things.

[23] Osborne (2001) 278.

[24] Boardman (1991) 99, discussing some late black-figure vases with paintings of a man without any indication of being Heracles fighting a lion: "But we should observe that they are never the subject of major painters, but always, and for a very limited period, of the second- or third-rate, who are given to rather mindless repetition and trivialisation of major themes, an activity common enough in the arts of many places and periods and to which it would be foolish to attach too much importance." *Idem* (1991) 100: "So much in the iconography of vase-painting, and especially of black-figure, is repetitive, that it poses the question of how the formulaic treatment of figures and themes was transmitted. … In Athens the third-rate painters were merely sloppy, not mechanical copyists."

[25] Stissi (1999a) 405. Boardman (2001) 162: "a fraction of one percent is far likelier." Sapirstein (2014) 184: 0.5–1% preservation rate. See also Sapirstein (2013) 508.

[26] Mackay (1996) 57: "In the diachronic study of vase-paintings it is possible to recognise such developments because we have extant evidence from the whole development of the tradition; but the texts of the Homeric epics ... do not offer the same opportunity."

ground under favourable conditions and later both excavated and published.[27] Of course quality *does* play a role: in antiquity, because many of these vases were exported to Etruria and southern Italy, where – considered worthy to be given to the dead – they were preserved in graves; in modern times, because they were deemed worthy to be published.

0.2.2 Validity of this method of research

This study continues and expands the method of researching pictorial language that I have applied several times previously[28] to small groups of vases. I will expatiate on the method in Chapter 2 with a case study of depictions of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated.' I choose to prepare this particular case study, first because it is a rather small iconographic group, which made it easy to examine its development over time. Second, the case study demonstrates that my method delivers valid results even when applied to a small number of vases: in 1987 I first published the analysis of this *type scene* in an article in which conclusions were drawn from only 22 black-figure vases.[29] Now my database of the *type scene* includes 69 vases, which means that the 47 'new' vases can be used to verify the original hypothesis and, in fact, they do: the conclusions remain unchanged.[30] The case study thus proves both that depictions of this *type scene* show consistency in their pictorial language and also that the method of research is valid.

Of course there are always exceptions due to the originality or sloppiness of a painter, or because a vase was commissioned for a special occasion of which we have no knowledge. Sometimes, however, I was able to remove a deviant vase from the list, *e.g.*, the depiction of a wedding procession on a hydria in Boston, which was remarkable in several details.[31] At first I took it for the product of an original painter who used *typical elements* from various *subtypes* in his composition, until I was told by colleagues in Boston that the vase has been unmasked as a 19th-century forgery! This was gratifying to learn, because this also supports – *e negativo* – the conclusions that Athenian vase-painters were consistent in their use of *typical compositions* and that this method of analysing depictions can uncover forgeries.

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[27] Isler (1973) 37. Mackay (1993) 110; *idem* (1996) 57.

[28] Jurriaans-Helle (1986b); *idem* (1987); *idem* (1999); *idem* (2003); *idem* (2006); *idem* (2009).

[29] Jurriaans-Helle (1987).

[30] Of course there is always the possibility that a new find will turn everything upside down.

[31] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 89.562, 530–525 BCE (BA 71). See section 4.3.1.

0.2.3 *Type scenes, subtypes* and *variants*

The core of this book is a discussion of representations of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' on 6th-century-BCE Athenian black-figure vases. For this *type scene* the painters used as *typical composition* a chariot with four horses and one or more persons standing in or near the chariot. By varying the arrangement of elements or persons they could change the meaning. Given that the chariot with its passenger(s) is the focal point of all the compositions, I use that as the core for classification. I distinguish three major *subtypes*, which are discussed in Chapters 3 through 5:

– *Subtype* 'Hoplite and other men leaving' (hoplite and charioteer in or near the chariot), to which I added representations with an unarmed man instead of the hoplite in or near the chariot.

– *Subtype* 'Wedding procession' (woman passenger in the chariot, man holding the reins).

– *Subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles and divine departures' (Heracles[32] and Athena in or near the chariot), to which I added some *variants* with anonymous people or gods or goddesses in the chariot.

For each *subtype* the *typical composition* and its *typical elements* are described and compared: the persons, their attitudes and gestures, attributes, and clothing. As I stated above, although I collected many data, I concentrate in the text on details that are distinctive. Based on the differences in these details, I describe the development of each *subtype* and distinguish *variants*. In this way I try to understand the frame of reference of a contemporary viewer and to recognise *variants* and their meanings.

In Chapter 6 the changes over time in the *subtypes* of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' are compared with each other and also with those in the *type scene* 'Fighting man separated'. After concluding remarks on the pictorial language of Athenian black-figure vase-painting, I attempt to connect the changes over time in Athenian black-figure vase-painting with historical events. Finally, based on observations of the *typical compositions* of the *subtypes* and their *variants*, I propose a speculative interpretation[33] of some of the representations, connecting them with the Apaturia, the festival of the Athenian *phratriai.*

[32] I followed the Oxford Classical Dictionary for the spelling of Greek and Roman names.

[33] De Jong (2014) v (Preface) speaks of "the interpretative benefits to be reaped from putting on a pair of narratological glasses".

0.3 Historical context of the vases

0.3.1 Horses and chariots

Although this study is first and foremost interested in the *typical compositions* of the vase-paintings, the facts that all of the vases under discussion were made in Athens in the 6th century BCE and that horses and chariots are an important part of the representations, make it appropriate to say a few prefatory words about Athens in the 6th century BCE and the presence and use of horses and chariots in the city.

Greece with its rocky soil and its lack of grassland and plains is not a suitable land for horses; asses and mules were far more practical in antiquity.[34] Keeping horses was very expensive, and only wealthy people could afford them. Horses and chariots were status symbols in Greece, and representations of them gave objects distinction. Depicting chariots on vases had a long history in Greece, from the military parades on Mycenaean pottery (*text figure 1*) to the processions of chariots on Geometric vases, recalling the description by Homer of Greek warriors driving their chariots around the grave of Patroclus.[35] The compositions with chariots and horses on Athenian black-figure pottery that are the main subject of this study stand in this iconographical tradition.[36]

The earliest representations of horses in Minoan and Mycenaean Greek art date to the 17th and 16th centuries BCE.[37] These paintings on vases show two-wheeled and two-horse chariots. In the 8th century BCE the Greeks started to use four-horse chariots.[38] In 680 BCE the *quadriga* chariot-race was introduced at the Olympic Games.

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[34] Crouwel (1981) 45–51. Hyland (2003) 127. Crouwel in Jurriaans-Helle (2012a) 14.

[35] Homer, *Iliad* 23, 6–14.

[36] Since the vase-paintings do not represent the special characteristics of different horse breeds, this subject is beyond the scope of this book. For a discussion about different breeds of horses in Greece see: Markham (1943) 3–11. Anderson (1961) 15–39. Crouwel (1981) 32–37. Vogt (1991) 9–17. According to Markman (1943) 18: "The Greek artist was not consciously concerned with depicting the particular breed of the horse which happened to be his subject." Moore (1971) 2: "The ancient literary references to breeds are too incomplete to be linked with artistic evidence".

[37] Crouwel (1981) 35–38. Crouwel in Jurriaans-Helle (2012a) 11. Around 30,000 BCE horses lived in Europe where they were hunted and eaten. By the end of the last glacial age, horses had become extinct in this part of the world. The horse appears to have been reintroduced to Greece during the second millennium BCE.

[38] According to Herodotus, *Hist*. 4, 189, the Greeks adopted the four-horse chariot from the Libyans, but this is improbable.

0.3.2 Athens in the 6th century BCE

The 6th century was for Athens an important and exciting period during which the basis was laid for the city that in the 5th century BCE would become the greatest power in the Mediterranean. The history is framed by the reforms of Solon at the beginning of the century and the democratic reforms by Cleisthenes at its end. Although we know approximately what happened, the *exact* facts and dates are often not known due to a lack of contemporary written sources.[39]

At the beginning of the 6th century Athens was suffering great economic and social problems. Around 594 BCE Solon was appointed for one year as a lawgiver with absolute power to reform the city and solve the problems.[40] He encouraged fathers to teach their sons a trade, so that families could earn a living in ways other than farming. Solon also permitted citizenship to be granted to people who moved from other cities to Athens with their entire families to ply a trade, among whom were probably many artisans.[41] These measures boosted the economy and the arts and – as we stay within the theme of this book – probably also the development of Athenian black-figure pottery.

Around 560 BCE Pisistratus, a member of one of the leading aristocratic families, seized power in Athens. After some years he was expelled, but several attempts to return[42] followed until about 547 BCE he successfully made himself tyrant and stayed in power until he died about 528 BCE. Pisistratus' reign is remembered by ancient writers as a Golden Age.[43] After the death of Pisistratus his two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, shared power until in 514 BCE Hipparchus was murdered and Hippias was deposed in 511 BCE, followed by the democratic reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 BCE.

In Athens the reign of Pisistratus and his sons was a period of peace, material prosperity[44] and new *élan* in many aspects.[45] Old cults were expanded and some new cults that were previously closely linked to local sanctuaries, were brought into the city.[46] Anacreon of Teos, Simonides of Ceos, and several other poets were invited to the tyrant's

[39] Shapiro (1989a) 1.

[40] Parker (2009) 24–28.

[41] Plutarch, *Solon* 22.1; 24.2.

[42] In section 5.0 I will discuss the Phye episode.

[43] The history of Pisistratus is described in Herodotus, *Hist*. 1, 59–63 and in Ps. Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 13–14.

[44] Boersma (1970). Kolb (1977). Shapiro (1989a) 5–8. Boersma (2000). Van der Vin (2000) 147–153.

[45] Queyrel (2003) 41–69. Steiner (2004) 457–459.

[46] Shapiro (1989a) 12–13. Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 93.

court,[47] and the first dramatic performance was held in Athens around 535 BCE. Hipparchus is said to have instituted the formal recitation of Homeric poetry[48] during the Panathenaic Games, which had been reorganised by Pisistratus in 566 BCE. Most of the surviving statues of *korai* and *kouroi* on the Acropolis were dedicated in the last decades of the century.

The production of painted pottery, which had begun in the first half of the 6th century, increased rapidly, and the finest black-figure vases were made between 560 and 520 BCE. New shapes were invented, and new subjects were chosen for decoration. It was in this period that the pictorial language under discussion in this book developed. Scenes from daily life mainly represent the pastimes of the upper classes: the symposium, sports, hunting, and horses. When in 594 BCE Solon reformed Athens politically, he installed a *timocracy*, which made wealth rather than birth the basis for holding political office. Solon named the second of the four classes of citizens the *Hippeis (*knights), men who could afford to equip a horse as well as themselves for war.[49] Horses were particularly associated with the *Hippeis* and with the even richer class of the *Pentacosiomedimnoi.* The chariot paintings on Athenian pottery represent the world of these élites and the idealised heroic world on which they modelled themselves. However, the vases were also bought and used by people of the lower classes who admired and wanted to imitate the classes above them and surrounded themselves with depictions of élite pursuits and events.

0.3.3 Representations of chariots on Athenian black-figure vases

The three *subtypes* studied in this thesis are *not* realistic depictions of daily life in Athens of the 6th century BCE. This is obvious for depictions in which gods or heroes play a role, such as the Apotheosis of Heracles; a god or goddess driving the chariot; or wedding processions with gods or goddesses accompanying the chariot. There are, however, many depictions of the *subtypes* 'Hoplite leaving' and 'Wedding procession' in which no gods or heroes can be recognised and which therefore appear to our eyes to represent daily-life occasions. However, in 6th-century Athens there is no evidence that chariots were ever used for military transport or for wedding processions; they were used primarily for races.[50]

[47] Slings (2000) 60–66.

[48] Slings (2000) 67–70.

[49] Anderson (1961) 128. Jurriaans-Helle (2012b)

[50] Crouwel (2009) 151.

Although horses and chariots are mentioned in epic poetry and depicted in military contexts in Mycenaean art and on Linear B tablets,[51] the wall paintings and vase-paintings from the Bronze Age show that chariots did not play an active role in battle.[52] Joost Crouwel believes that "these chariots, so vulnerable to enemy missiles, served simply as transport for the conveyance of warriors who would dismount to fight."[53] In the same way, in Homer's *Iliad* the heroes do not fight from the chariots but use them to travel to the battlefield and back. On Geometric vase-paintings chariots are also associated with warriors, but "[t]here is no convincing evidence that the chariots of either Bronze or Iron Age Greece ever played an active role in battle".[54] After the hoplite phalanx was introduced in the late 8th or 7th century BCE, the military role of the chariot seems to have come to an end, and, although it is possible that some hoplites rode to the battlefield on horseback,[55] an Athenian hoplite of the 6th century BCE did not depart for war by riding in a chariot. Therefore, the many representations of chariots in military settings on Athenian black-figure pottery "must then refer to a phenomenon of the past which had assumed a heroic character."[56]

The use of a chariot in wedding processions is also not a realistic detail of Athenian daily life. Normally, a bride was transferred to her new house seated in a mule-drawn cart,[57] as is shown on a lekythos by the Amasis Painter (*text figure 5*).[58]

Even though chariot-scenes are not realistic representations of Athenian wedding processions or the departure of hoplites, it does not mean that the vehicles and the horses themselves are not accurately depicted. Although stud-farms were in the countryside, vase-painters could see horses everyday as people rode through the city.[59] Nor did chariots completely disappear. They were still used for racing, and the *apobatēs* race especially "must ultimately derive from the military use of chariots that was typical of Greece, i.e. as conveyances for warriors who fought dismounted."[60]

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[51] Anderson (1961) 3. Crouwel (1981) 124–129. Hyland (2003) 127.

[52] Crouwel (1981) 119, 121, 129–141.

[53] Crouwel (1981) 140.

[54] Crouwel (1992) 54.

[55] Crouwel (1992) 58–59.

[56] Crouwel (1992) 59.

[57] Crouwel (1992) 60.

[58] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.11.1 (BA 350478). Oakley and Sinos (1993) 29–30.

[59] Anderson (1961) 110.

[60] Crouwel (1992) 56.

Finally, even when vase-paintings do not represent daily life and practice in 6th-century Athens, they reflect the values deemed important in society. The exceptional number of Athenian black-figure vases and the fact that not only high-quality examples survive make it possible to glimpse the attitudes of the people who made and used them.[61] The importance of studying the images, however, goes beyond painted pottery: it can be presumed that the same pictorial language was used in sculpture and wall-painting.[62] Only a tiny number of examples of these survive, so it is scarcely possible to distil the common pictorial language and hence to recognise the originality of some works of art. It is my hope that investigating the pictorial language of the humbler but numerous preserved vases may benefit this wider field of study.[63]

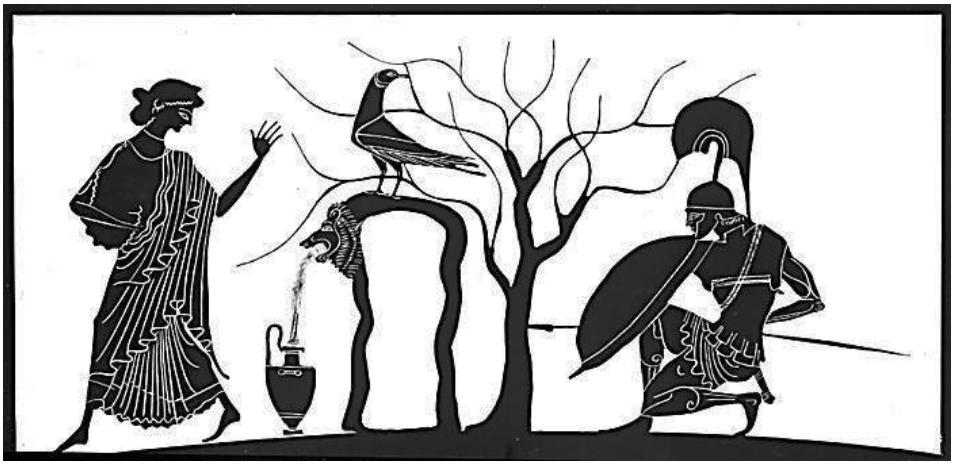
[61] Scheffer (2001b) 128.

[62] Boardman (2001) 174.

[63] As to the chariot scenes that are subject of this dissertation, outside vase-painting there are very few known in other works of art of the 6th century BCE. There are some representations of chariots on reliefs, but most are shown in other scenes, such as the chariots on the Treasury of the Siphnians (525 BCE) which are part of a fight, and the frontal chariots on the metopes of Temple C in Selinus (550-540 BCE) in the Museo Archeologico Regionale in Palermo. A parallel for *variant CW* is the charioteer waiting in the chariot and looking back towards for Heracles fighting the Hydra on the poros pediment of the Acropolis, dating to ca. 570 BCE (Acr. 1).

Chapter 1

A brief survey of methodologies for the interpretation of paintings on Athenian vases



Text figure 2
Achilles ambushing Polyxena at the fountain in the sanctuary of Apollo, indicated by the raven. Troilus is not depicted at all, but his presence is implied.
Painting on black-figure lekythos, Athena Painter, ca. 490 BCE.
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3737 (BA 351609).
Drawing: George Strietman

1.0 Introduction

Painted Athenian pottery can be studied for many reasons,[1] and iconography – the identification and interpretation of the painted decoration – is one of the most important. Over the course of more than a century of iconographical research, attention has focused on images that appear to represent myths and on various attempts to identify the scenes. In some cases this is easy, because the figures are recognisable by their attributes or name-inscriptions and the story is known from literature. In other cases, scholars have concluded that the painter depicted a version of a myth not known from other sources or have made ingenious proposals to connect a picture to a story all the same. In many pictures it is possible to understand what the figures are doing but not who they are, why they are depicted the way they are, or whether we are looking at scenes from myth or daily life.[2]

We can assume that contemporary Athenians – as much as they wished to do so – had few problems understanding vase-paintings and that they usually recognised the meaning of a scene even when not all of the possible or standard attributes or figures were included. They knew the conventions of their city's pictorial language, and a few elements or a specific combination of elements were enough to identify the whole picture.

Many of the customers for these painted vases were, however, not Athenians, nor even Greeks. About 450 of the 1,275 vases discussed in this study have a known find spot. About 70 are from Greece, more than half of these from Athens, Attica, Boeotia, Aegina and Eretria. At least 285 were found in Etruria, 162 of them in Vulci. About 90 are from South Italy and Sicily. Less than 10 come from such remote Greek colonies as Cyrene in North Africa and the Crimean Peninsula. It is difficult to establish whether all Etruscans and inhabitants of Greek colonies completely understood the vase-paintings[3] or even whether the meaning of the pictures was important for them:[4] maybe the vases were simply bought

[1] Brijder (2003) 13–21 gives an overview.

[2] Brijder and Jurriaans-Helle (2007) 17. Jurriaans-Helle (1996) 25-27; *idem* (1997) 207-208.

[3] Spivey (1991) 133-134.

[4] The many standard images like Heracles and the Lion and other heroic combats may have served simply to indicate the provenance, as on Delft-blue pottery the farmers with wooden shoes, windmills, and tulips, whereas the Greek inscriptions may be compared with the English words so popular on clothes. An interesting parallel of this phenomenon is described in an article in the Dutch newspaper *Het Parool* (Omidi (2016) 9): speaking about the fashion trend in modern Iran to wear clothing with – often wrongly spelled – English texts, Mr. Ali Heydari, who is a seller of these clothes, says: "Clothes with English texts are a trend. Often the slogans make no sense. But for the customer it does not matter what is printed on their jacket or blouse, as long it is in English."

because they were prestigious Athenian ware. However, we may assume that in the 6th century BCE a well-educated Etruscan purchaser understood the mythological scenes.[5]

Today people around the world can look at Athenian vase-paintings in museums, books, and the internet but find it difficult or impossible to understand them, since we were not brought up "speaking" that particular pictorial language. Instead we are familiar with other pictorial languages that not only differ from that of ancient Athens but also from each other, depending on where and when someone was born. Furthermore, the invention of photography has deeply influenced and changed the way we look at pictures. However, this study explains how, by closely examining and charting the conventions and rules used by Athenian vase-painters, it is possible to decipher the pictorial language and to reconstruct – at least partially – the knowledge and understanding of the contemporary observer.[6]

To work out the meanings of Athenian vase-paintings, it was long considered logical to start from representations that have a clear and indisputable meaning and to work from them toward the more obscure pictures. Since the 19th century, this often meant starting from beautifully painted vases by the best painters and only then looking at the mass-produced vases of modest and less inventive painters. In this chapter I will briefly, and more or less chronologically, survey some of these traditional methodologies of interpreting the pictures on Athenian vases.[7]

The method of research embraced in this study will take the opposite approach: I focus on the pictorial language of a specific culture and period – Athens during the 6th century BCE – and argue that it is the mass-produced vases that are indispensable for understanding meaning. Since there are so many surviving vases, it is possible to determine the meaning of gestures, attributes, and other details and from these to deduce the rules of Athenian pictorial language and to recognise what is usual and normal, or unusual and exceptional.

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[5] See Introduction, sections 0.1.2 and 0.2.1. Isler-Kerényi (1997) 533.

[6] Boardman (2001) 199: " the conventions for identity and action … make the study of iconography not a subject for the faint-hearted or those unwilling to look around long and hard."

[7] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2011) 72-103 gives an overview of different approaches to exploring the meaning of images.

1.1 Art and literature

Study of the meaning of Athenian 6th-century vase-paintings starts with the observations that some stories represented on the vases are not known in literature and others even contradict a literary version known to us. This is to be expected, because only a small fraction of all images and texts survives and because often the literary version of a myth that survives is not from the same date and place as a visual representation.[8] We identify most mythological images on the basis of inscriptions, figures, attributes, and actions, and our knowledge of Greek myths may sometimes be totally different from that of a 6th-century Athenian. In antiquity, artists were free to create their own interpretation of a myth, since there was no one standard version and – assuming that the painters did not have books at their disposal[9] and probably knew the stories from childhood – it is unlikely that they would happen to depict the precise literary version we know. Jaap Hemelrijk suspects that a painter "rather drew what his granny told him as a boy, than what he may have known of our Iliad.", while John Boardman speaks of gaining knowledge of the stories "at mother's knee and from raconteurs or improvisers at street corners".[10]

In addition to this problem of how the stories were transmitted, there is the fact that there are often large differences between even more-or-less contemporary visual and textual versions of a story.[11] In texts, the episodes of a story are told in an order chosen by the author, who can recount the thoughts and emotions of the protagonists as well as what is happening at the same time in different places; he can influence the reception of a text by choosing who is the narrator and how much and how coloured the information is that is given to the reader.[12] The reader or listener hears the episodes of a story linearly and achieves an understanding of the whole only at the end.[13] In visual art – here defined in the wide sense of representations in general, whether the products of artists or of artisans – one usually sees a single picture from which the whole story must be clear, which requires different solutions. The viewer first sees the whole and is then free to choose in what order he looks at the parts of the composition, although the painter or sculptor can guide his/her

[8] Isler (1973) 36-37. Hedreen (2001) 3-4.

[9] Hedreen (2001) 7-8.

[10] Hemelrijk (1970) 169. Boardman (2001) 170. See also Boardman (1991) 82.

[11] Shapiro (1994) 4-7. Giuliani (2003) 21-37.

[12] De Jong (2014) discusses various concepts for the narratological analysis of literary texts and also gives many examples from both ancient and modern texts.

[13] Penny Small (1999) 563.

gaze.[14] Each element in a picture may have more and different meanings, but a viewer familiar with the local pictorial language will immediately choose the meaning that makes sense of the specific combination.[15] In this process, elements outside of the picture, like the shape or function of a vase or the picture on its other side, may also play a role.

1.2 Text and illustration

In 1881 Carl Robert published *Bild und Lied*, in which he questions the – until then undisputed – mutual dependence of Greek art and literature from the Archaic into the Hellenistic period.[16] He states that a systematic interpretation of works of visual art is possible when the limits of the influence of poetry on the visual arts can be determined. Only then can we know to what extent the images on monuments can be used to reconstruct lost literary works. Robert argues that in most cases artists were not influenced by poetic versions of a myth but rather by earlier made pictures of it. Only the first artist who adapted a story – heard or read by him – to visual art could create with an open mind. His representation started an iconographic tradition that influenced all later artists. The iconographic scheme lived on and was continuously perfected and changed according to the tastes of the public and the painters. In addition, Robert points out that Greek myth was not fixed and unchangeable. As stories were told from generation to generation, many versions developed in different times and places. Authors picked a version and adapted it to their purpose, and sometimes an adaptation completely replaced the original myth.[17] At the same time, the iconographic tradition followed its own course. The result is that an image could differ widely from a contemporary literary version of a story.

Robert contends that, although vase-paintings were not illustrations in the modern sense of the word, the way of depicting images was influenced by contemporary poetry.[18]

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[14] Giuliani (2003) 25-29; 186-230.

[15] See section 1.4.This is comparable with *homonym* words: a native speaker chooses the correct meaning of a word that has multiple meanings on the basis of the context or combination with other words, probably without even realising that the word could also have another meaning. An example is the title of Part 2 of this study: Plates and Tables. I wonder how many readers may have realised that these words may have a complete other meaning in a different context. *e.g.*, the description of a Christmas dinner. However, someone who does not know a language (or a context) well, must compare various meanings before deciding what is the correct one in that sentence. Many jokes – puns – are based on the fact that in a sentence the word does not have the expected meaning but another, unexpected one. The same comic effect can be achieved by adding to a well-known picture a text that gives a different meaning to a facial expression or gesture in that picture.

[16] Robert (1881) 10-11.

[17] Robert (1881) 5-10.

[18] Robert (1881) 11-31. See also Schefold (1985).

His 19th-century approach interprets Archaic visual art as verbose like epic and showing the same joy in telling as much as possible. The facts that there is no unity of action and that the moment is undefined, so that many elements of a myth happening at different times and places are depicted next to each other, make a picture sometimes illogical or even comic to our eyes – but it also provides the opportunity to take in the whole story at once. One of the examples discussed by Robert is the Corinthian Amphiaraus krater (*text figure 4*).[19] At first glance, the departure of Amphiaraus to the Theban war seems to be depicted, but some details refer to other episodes of the family tragedy: Eriphyle holds the necklace in her hand, which was given to her earlier by Polynices as a bribe and which later will be the cause of the death of Amphiaraus. The hero is stepping into his chariot as if he is about to leave, but he is looking back towards his wife with a drawn sword in his hand as if he is going to attack her. Among the children stands Alcmaeon, who later will kill his mother to avenge his father. A man sits grieving on the ground, as if he knows the king will die.

Another example described by Robert is the representation of Odysseus and Polyphemus in the large tondo on the inside of a Laconian cup: the Cyclops is seated, holding in each hand a leg of one of the companions of Odysseus.[20] Odysseus stands before Polyphemus, offering him a one-handled drinking-vessel filled with wine. At the same time, the hero, together with three companions, is holding a long pole, ready to drive it into the eye of Polyphemus. The image depicts more than a single moment, because the Cyclops is still eating and is not yet drunk and asleep so that Odysseus can blind him.

For 5th-century art Robert points to parallels with some of the more individual lyric poets, especially Stesichorus, and with drama, where a mythological story is divided into scenes.[21] He remarks that although the old images remained popular and it took years before new versions were widely accepted, the character of painted pictures changed during the 5th century BCE. Instead of the comprehensive pictures of the Archaic period, where the whole story of a myth is represented, the artists began to paint images of single episodes, restricted

[19] Amphiaraus krater, once Berlin, St. Museen Antikensammlung, F 1655 (BA 9019292). Robert (1881) 14-24.See also: Snodgrass (1982) 11. Penny Small (1999) 562. See Chapter 3, section 3.1.3. Robert also discusses the Troilus scene on the François Vase, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 4209 (BA 300000) (*WG* 05).

[20] Paris, Bibliothèque National, 190 (BA 800046). Robert (1881) 19-20. See also: Meyboom (1978) 60. Snodgrass (1982) 10-11; *idem* (1987a) 140-142; *idem* (1987b) 12. Raeck (1984) 19-20. Penny Small (1999) 566-567. Giuliani (2003) 159-160.

[21] Robert (1881) 24-30. For possible influence of Stesichorus on early Athenian vase-painting, see Chapter 2, note 67; Chapter 4, notes 23 and 27; Chapter 5, note 8.

to one place and one moment.[22] To tell the whole story, these later painters divided it into scenes and depicted these on the different panels of a vase, as on the famous red-figure cup in Vienna by Douris[23] with on one side Aias and Odysseus quarrelling about the arms of Achilles, on the other side the Greeks voting about it, and on the interior tondo Odysseus handing over the arms to Neoptolemus. This trend led eventually at the end of the 4th century BCE to cyclic compositions (*Bildercyklen*) that show the whole story in a series of scenes.[24]

1.3 Different ways to depict a narrative

In his *Archaeologische Hermeneutik,*[25] Carl Robert again examined the Archaic way of depicting different episodes of a myth in a single picture. Here he used the term *Kompletives Prinzip* or *Kompletives Verfahren.* This term – taken from Franz Wickhoff[26] – implies that the scene has a central episode to which other actions are added. For Robert the term means that the kernel of the picture tells which myth is depicted and that the bystanders (*Nebenfiguren*) are not chosen at random but to complete the presentation of the story, as persons concerned with or interested in what is happening. This is slightly different from his approach in *Bild und Lied,* where he does not point so clearly at the variations in importance between the parts of the picture.

After Robert, several scholars continued to develop his ideas, and over the years new terms were introduced. In his book on the development of text illustrations, Kurt Weitzmann[27] describes three methods of rendering literary content: the *Simultaneous Method* (for *Kompletives Verfahren*), the *Monoscenic Method* (for the *Situationsbilder*), and the *Cyclic Method* (for the *Bildercyklen*). This terminology was adopted and extended by many scholars. A short but clear overview of the research is provided by Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell.[28] According to him, there are three ways to tell a story in a single image, as is

[22] Robert (1881) 30-45. Although he does not use the exact term in his text, in his index (p. 258) he calls this type of pictures *Situationsbilder*.

[23] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3695 (BA 205070). Robert (1881) 29-30. See section 1.4, note 45.

[24] Robert (1881) 46. He emphasises the difference between these cyclic pictures, where an artist takes the story as the starting point, and the cases where the artist connects different sections on a vase or a row of metopes by choosing scenes from one myth or from the deeds of Theseus or Heracles.

[25] Robert (1919) 139-149, 180-185.

[26] Wickhoff (1912) 14-17. In his comment on the illustrations in the 4th-century-C.E. manuscript of Genesis in Vienna, Wickhoff gives an overview of the possibilities of art to depict a narrative: *kontinuierend*, *distinguierend*, and *komplettierend*.

[27] Weitzmann (1947) 12-33. He gives his reasons for opposing Wickhoff's terminology on p. 33-36.

[28] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 1-8, Table 1-1 on p. 7. He gives an enumeration of terms used in literature for the types of pictures. See also: Meyboom (1978) 55-57. Shapiro (1994) 7-9.

usual in black-figure Athenian vase-painting: *synoptic* or *simultaneous* (multiple moments, one space and no repetition of characters), *monoscenic* (one moment, one space and no repetition of characters), and *progressive* (multiple moments, multiple spaces and no repetition of characters). For a story told in more than one picture, there are additional possibilities.[29]

1.4 The *synoptic* method

An important response to Carl Robert came from Nikolaus Himmelmann-Wildschütz. While Robert was concerned with the method of depicting the whole image, Himmelmann-Wildschütz focused on details. The first example he discusses at length is the Merrythought cup by the Painter of the Boston Polyphemus,[30] on which Circe is depicted stirring a potion in a cup amid Odysseus' companions who have been partly changed into animals. At the right a man, Eurylochus, is fleeing to the ships to warn Odysseus, while at the left Odysseus is already arriving with drawn sword. Logically, these events do not all happen at the same moment, and it is clear that different episodes have been combined. Himmelmann-Wildschütz points out that here a closely knit composition is depicted in which persons are acting who have a 'hieroglyphic' value: they have a narrative value (*Erzählwert*) of their own,[31] not connected to the scene in which they are depicted but referring to their character or to another episode in the story in which they have a role: the sorceress is stirring her potion, the companions are already bewitched, and Odysseus will put an end to the spell. Another example discussed by Himmelmann-Wildschütz is that sometimes protagonists are not clothed for the event but as the person they *are* in fact: *e.g.,* in scenes of the Judgment of Paris, Paris is frequently clad not as a herdsman but as a prince. Sometimes attributes or

[29] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 6-7, Table 1-1 on p. 7. When the story is told in more pictures, several terms were proposed by scholars for different possibilities: *unified* (one moment, multiple spaces, and no repetition of characters), *cyclical* (multiple moments, multiple separated spaces, and repetition of characters), *continuous* (multiple moments, one space or a landscape without separation between the scenes, and repetition of characters), *episodic* (multiple moments, multiple spaces, and no repetition of characters), *serial* (multiple moments, multiple spaces, and no repetition of characters). As there is no clear development in time and the differences are sometimes small, Stansbury-O'Donnell concludes that the nature of pictorial narrative is more complicated than the tripartite models of Weitzmann and Wickhoff.

[30] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.518 (BA 302569). Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967) 74-76. See also: Snodgrass (1982) 5-9; *idem* (1987a) 136-137; *idem* (1987b) 12. Raeck (1984) 4-5; 16-19. Penny Small (1999) 564-565. Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 89-91. Giuliani (2003) 186-190 (in which he also discusses Siana cup Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.519 (BA 300620) by the Boston C.A. Painter with Circe and Odysseus on which Eurylochus not is depicted); *idem* (2004) 87-88. Giuliani contends that the men are depicted half human, half animal to show the transformation and that they are not just animals, but changed humans. Snodgrass (1982) 7 says that the artist "wished to express the passage of time by indicating a half-way stage in the transformation."

[31] Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967) 79-81; *idem* in: Childs (ed.) (1998) 74.

gestures are depicted that do not belong in the scene but are to be explained from the narrative value of the figure. Wulf Raeck contends that in early vase-paintings the identity of Paris is given by the *Bildkontext* and that the beard and clothes characterise Paris as belonging to a certain class and not as a specific person: "Damit trägt er allerdings nicht seine eigene Erzählung am Leibe."[32] Himmelmann-Wildschütz objects to Robert's term complementary (*kompletiv)*. He doubts that one can speak of a central episode with complementary episodes and contends instead that there are both pictures in which the persons embody various actions of equal importance and also pictures in which the persons and attributes are incorporated because their narrative value refers to episodes other than the one depicted.[33] In this he adheres more closely to what Robert states in *Bild und Lied* than in his later *Archaeologische Hermeneutik*.

Jaap Hemelrijk agrees with Himmelmann-Wildschütz and objects to the term and underlying idea of *kompletiv.* He introduces the above-mentioned term *synoptic* for scenes in which only a few figures – not necessarily belonging to the same moment and place – are depicted. They "should be looked upon as 'synoptic', 'block-like' evocations of the whole myth" in which different parts of a story are brought "together in one picture in a concentrated form."[34] Hemelrijk treats the *synoptic* way of depicting a narrative again in 1979, when he discusses a lekythos attributed to the Athena Painter in the Allard Pierson Museum with a representation of Achilles and Polyxena (*text figure 2*).[35] According to Hemelrijk, Polyxena is depicted fleeing, while Achilles is still hidden; Troilus is not depicted at all, but his presence is implied, and in fact a trilogy of events is depicted. The first event is the death of Troilus. By committing murder in a sanctuary of Apollo (indicated by the raven) Achilles angers the god, thus causing his own death, which is the second event. As Troilus' death was one of the conditions for the fall of Troy, Troy will be destroyed, and Polyxena, who is here depicted escaping, will be sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles. Her death is the third event of the trilogy. The whole story is concentrated in one *synoptic* picture. I fully

[32] Raeck (1984) 8.

[33] Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967) 78-79; *idem* in: Childs (1998) 74.

[34] Hemelrijk (1970) 170 and 169; *idem* (1979) 75.

[35] Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 3737 (BA 351609). Hemelrijk (1979) 75; 80-83. Meyer (2012) 44-45: Polyxena turns with wide steps off of the fountain: "Damit verweist sie einerseits auf die folgende Situation (ihre Flucht vor Achill), aber auch auf ihren in diesen Bildern nicht dargestellten Bruder, das Ziel von Achills Verfolgung." See also Raeck (1984) 2-3; 8-9; 20-22: the different elements of the image are characterised by context, even when they have no specific attributes, and also excerpts and contaminations are unmistakably defined. On different versions of the myth in literature and art, see: Robertson (1990). Bérard (1983b) 25-26 proposes another interpretation 'Tydeus and Ismene' for the images without the figure of Troilus, but he leaves the presence of the raven out of his description and discussion.

agree with this interpretation, but I want to note that one can only understand the picture in this way if one knows what the gestures and postures of the figures mean in the pictorial language of Athenian black-figure vase-painting. The meaning can be discovered by comparing many depictions and reaching the conclusion that when a woman is depicted running while looking back and lifting her arm she may be *either* fleeing[36] *or* dancing. Similarly, it is clear that an armed man is usually not shown kneeling unless he is collapsing and dying, *or* sitting in ambush. By selecting from these possible meanings the combination that makes sense (a man in ambush and a fleeing girl), the viewer understands which myth is depicted, even when one of the protagonists, Troilus, is not shown. In addition, the expressive gesture of the woman's hand with spread fingers suggests that she is frightened, while the fact that the raven is connected with Apollo is helping the viewer understand. Someone intimately familiar with the pictorial language will immediately pick the meaning that makes sense.[37]

Anthony Snodgrass, who adopts the term *synoptic* from Hemelrijk but narrows it to depictions in which more episodes are included,[38] argues that this method is not as special as it seems but was frequently used in the Archaic period.[39] Vase-painters chose to compose a *monoscenic* picture when there was only one episode of a myth worth showing. However, Snodgrass points out that even in the standard, seemingly *monoscenic*, depictions of Heracles killing the Nemean Lion there may be a 'synoptic mentality', in that the hero's weapons lie useless on the ground or hang in a tree,[40] which points to the earlier stage of the fight when Heracles tried in vain to kill the monster with his weapons. Likewise, the nudity of Circe on the cup mentioned above[41] is a reference to the next episode of the story, the erotic relationship of Circe and Odysseus.

Himmelmann-Wildschütz and Snodgrass consider the *synoptic* method an Archaic Greek invention that had its precursor in Geometric Greek vase-painting.[42] There, it was used for war scenes, where different events of a battle were depicted side by side, and for

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[36] Jurriaans-Helle (1986a) 24.

[37] See note 15.

[38] Snodgrass (1982) 5; *idem* (1987a) 136; *idem* (1987b) 18, n.1.

[39] Snodgrass (1982) 8; *idem* (1987a) 136-147; *idem* (1987b) 11.

[40] Snodgrass (1982) 9; *idem* (1987b) 13.

[41] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 99.518, see note 30.

[42] Himmelmann-Wildschütz (1967) 82-87. Snodgrass (1982) 15-21; *idem* (1987a) 147-156; *idem* (1987b) 14-18.

prothesis scenes, where the deceased and mourners inside the house were depicted next to the chariot procession that was held at a later time and outside the house. They state that the *synoptic* method was not used in Near Eastern art, where different episodes of a story were depicted next to each other with a repetition of the characters, nor in Aegean Bronze Age art, where a more continuous method was used in which successive phases of a story were shown.

John Boardman[43] disagrees with both Himmelmann-Wildschütz and Snodgrass and states that the *synoptic* method was used by ancient Assyrians and Egyptians and in fact by artists through the ages until the middle of the 19th century, when the invention of photography, the importance of which Snodgrass already noted,[44] put an end to it. I agree that the invention of photography certainly made people more conscious of the different ways in which it is possible to represent a narrative. However, I wonder whether all these different methods to tell a story in pictures can be identified in ancient Greek vase-painting or whether they say more about *our* way of looking at pictures and story-telling in pictures, influenced by both photography and cinema. What matters in Greek vase-painting is the choice to tell a story in a *single* picture.[45] According to Boardman,[46] "True 'narrative' – a detailed account of an episodic story rather than a single event – is possible in art only with a succession of images, many of them probably depicting the same individuals or objects at different stages in the tale."; although the Greeks often had the option to use multiple images, as on the metopes of temples, they *preferred* to use a single image, but that image was not like "one shot from a film of the whole action".[47] Instead, Greek artists put the information they believed necessary into each composition. I agree with Boardman and believe that they chose the elements – or a specific combination of elements – that were sufficient to make the concept understandable. Sometimes the elements of a composition belonged to one place and time and sometimes to different places and episodes. For us –

[43] Boardman (1990) 59.

[44] Snodgrass (1982) 12.

[45] See section 1.2. In Athenian red-figure vase-painting painters sometimes divided the different episodes of one myth over multiple panels on a vase, like the story of the quarrel between Aias and Odysseus about the arms of Achilles on the cup by Douris in Vienna (BA 205070, see note 23). One wonders whether the important thing here is that two consecutive episodes are represented, or the comparison between two ways to end a conflict: by a fight or by voting and giving the arms to the legitimate heir.

[46] Boardman (1990) 57.

[47] Boardman (1991) 82.

accustomed to the sharp accuracy of snapshots[48] – *monoscenic* images seem normal, while *synoptic* images – where elements of different episodes are combined – seem remarkable and attract the most attention.

1.5 The notion of time

An important question is whether Athenian vase-painters realised that they were depicting one or more moments of time in a single picture. Discussing the *synoptic* method, Snodgrass[49] raises the question of whether the painter was defying time, or simply disregarding it. Snodgrass favours the first as most probable, because in his choice of attributes the artist refers not only to the essential characteristics of a person but also to elements that play a role in a single episode of the myth. For example, since Polyphemus did not know about wine before the arrival of Odysseus, the wine cup in his hand is not characterising him as a drunkard but refers to the encounter with Odysseus. Boardman, discussing whether the *synoptic* method was a deliberate narrative device, favours the explanation that the Greek vase-painter was "unconscious of defying time"[50] but made the tale as explicit as possible both by adding figures and attributes and by presenting the protagonists in a characteristic action. This opinion is shared by Alan Shapiro, who states that an Early Archaic vase-painter was unaware of or did not care about the violation of time and place, as his "first priority was often to cram as much of a story as he could into the confines of his picture".[51] As stated in the previous section, in my opinion the painters chose to include the elements they thought necessary to make the story recognisable; that was more important than the fact that some elements belonged to different episodes.

Luca Giuliani also discusses the Archaic system of depicting different episodes of one story in a single picture.[52] In his view, what mattered for the vase-painters was not the depiction of a specific moment but the depiction of *interaction*. Interaction is decisive for identifying both time and place because it implies that the depicted persons are at the same place at the same time. In the depiction of a story there are always interacting protagonists,

[48] Even in simple snapshots taken without artistic intentions there are often clues what happened or will happen before or after the recorded moment.

[49] Snodgrass (1987a) 136-146, treating the view – disregarding time – of the Structuralists and the Paris School.

[50] Boardman (1990) 58.

[51] Shapiro (1994) 9. Shapiro, saying that no artist consciously chose the *monoscenic* method, suggests that the choice for the *synoptic* method was conscious, but agrees with Snodgrass that it was not really an intellectual decision.

[52] Giuliani (2003) 159-164; *idem* (2004) 87-90.

and the painter had two possibilities: he could show different episodes (with the corresponding figures) and no interaction, or he could choose one dramatic moment with its figures interacting and ignore related episodes or figures. As examples, Giuliani discusses some representations of the myth of Circe and Odysseus. On two cups in Boston, the Merrythought cup mentioned above and a Siana cup, both dated about 550–540 BCE,[53] the qualities of the main characters are emphasised by the painters: the supernatural powers and erotic appeal of Circe and the bravery of Odysseus. Therefore, Circe is depicted naked as well as mixing the magical potion and surrounded by the partly transformed companions. The boldness of Odysseus on the Merrythought cup is stressed by the contrast of his stalwart figure with the fleeing Eurylochus. After making these choices, the cup painters could not represent the interaction between Circe and Odysseus. Half a century later, the Athena Painter[54] made a different choice. On his lekythos the protagonists interact, but they have lost their personal characteristics: Circe is depicted as a woman dressed in a *chiton* offering a man a drink; only the wand in her hand and a boar-man behind her refer to the story and her powers. Odysseus is seated, showing no heroic behaviour.

Giuliani uses the terms *polychrone Bilder* and *monochrone Bilder*.[55] He demonstrates that during the course of the 6th century BCE the latter replaced the former as a consequence of the decision to focus on drama. Dramatic interaction between figures became possible when details not in accord with the principal action were eliminated. I want to add that it was possible for the Athena Painter to leave out some figures and concentrate on the interaction between Odysseus and Circe only because the older compositions were well known. However, the painter took care to retain enough unmistakable details like the wand and the boar-man to make the scene clearly recognisable.

1.6 When is a scene narrative?

The definition of narrative representation is connected with the topic of time discussed above. Can we speak of a narrative scene only when there is a reference to a specific story or person? When a scholar – such as Klaus Fittschen[56]– emphasises the difference between mythological paintings and pictures of daily life (*Sagenbild* and *Lebensbild*), it is because

[53] See notes 30 and 41. Boston 99.518 (BA 302569) by the Painter of the Boston Polyphemos, and Boston 99.519 (BA 300620) by the Boston C.A. Painter. Giuliani (2003) 186-190; *idem* (2004) 87-88.

[54] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1133 (BA 351593). Giuliani (2003) 190-194; *idem* (2004) 89-90.

[55] Giuliani (2003) 162-164; 202.

[56] Fittschen (1969) 9-14. Isler (1973) 34-35.

the latter are not considered narrative, as they do rarely represent a unique and identifiable event. However, in Athenian vase-painting it is often difficult to distinguish myth from daily life because the vase-painters used the same *typical compositions* for both daily-life and mythological pictures.[57] In this book I will discuss many depictions of departures of hoplites, wedding processions, and other chariot scenes where all references to mythological context (like name-inscriptions and attributes) are left out, but where the composition and the presence of a chariot evoke a mythological context in the mind of the viewer. What does this mean for the storytelling qualities of a picture? Hans Peter Isler[58] questions this: is a representation of a heroic duel *with* name-inscriptions mythological and one *without* names not? Or is myth a *Modellvorstellung* for daily life, so that it is not necessary to name the warriors?

Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell raises the possibility that neither specificity nor discreteness is a decisive criterion for narrative.[59] He compares the name-inscriptions in the Centauromachy on the François Vase with the names of many combatants in the *Iliad* who are otherwise unknown and where the names serve solely to distinguish one victim from the next. Stansbury-O'Donnell concludes – correctly in my opinion – that name-inscriptions and their presumed mythological context are not enough to make a representation a narrative, because in that case a historical portrait should also be considered narrative. He strains the fact that it is important to examine the structure of the composition: does it convey a sequence of actions? According to him, a pictorial narrative ought to incorporate at least two incidents, although they do not have to be actually shown so long as there is a clear implication that they exist. Only rarely in Athenian black-figure vase-painting are two episodes of a single myth painted on a vase, but many representations contain references to earlier or later events and thereby fit this requirement of a narrative.

Anthony Snodgrass[60] uses the term 'narrative' in a very wide sense for every scene that shows a distinctive act drawn from mythology or daily life. Paul Meyboom[61] uses a narrower definition. According to him, a composition is narrative only when a viewer who

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[57] Boardman (2001) 179. Jurriaans-Helle (1996); *idem* (1997). Brijder and Jurriaans-Helle (2007).

[58] Isler (1973) 39-40.

[59] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 31-35, discussing the definitions of G. Prince (1982). *Narratology. The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Berlin) and of R. Barthes (1982). "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives." *A Barthes Reader* (New York) 251-295.

[60] Snodgrass (1982) 15.

[61] Meyboom (1978) 57. On p. 60 of this paper he proposes the term *Complementary Method*, as in his opinion objects and figures are added to a central scene.

does *not* know the whole story can understand at least part of it; so it must comprise more episodes or clearly refer to them. A representation that consists of a single scene is, according to Meyboom, not really narrative in and of itself. It only *becomes* narrative for a viewer who recognises the scene and is able to associate it with earlier and later episodes of the story.[62] I think that this is exactly how Athenian vase-painters worked. They painted for a knowledgeable public, for whom a single scene was enough to form a mental association with other events and hence to shape the one scene into a narrative.[63]

The background knowledge of the Athenian observer also played an important role in the difference between mythological and daily life paintings. Giuliani states that every scene with narrative content includes descriptive elements that extend beyond the mythological episode and that this is a quality of myth in general. He gives as an example the murder of king Priam. We see an old man killed on an altar. This could be a general event that *theoretically* can be repeated, but the Athenian viewer, for whom the vase-painting was intended, knew the mythological story and had no reason to misunderstand the image.[64]

Marion Meyer stresses the difference between depictions that *tell* a – possibly new – story and depictions that merely *evoke* stories known from other sources.[65] There are non-narrative depictions with mythological figures that have a narrative *potential*. When, according to myth, the depicted figures are found together in a single situation, as for example Achilles and Penthesilea, the probability that an observer recognises the story is high. Other non-narrative depictions can be transformed into mythological pictures by adding name-inscriptions.

I believe that in Athenian vase-painting a picture is narrative when it evokes the series of events that comprise a story. This is explicitly the case for *synoptic* pictures with elements taken from different episodes of a story, but these are rare and the examples identified by Robert and Himmelmann-Wildschütz are discussed in the literature over and

[62] Of course arousing this type of associations and understanding these hints is limited by time and culture: Even a combination of some details taken out a scene can evoke an entire story. For English and American people, wrapping paper with a picture of a stocking or a striped candy cane is enough to bring Christmas to mind, while for Dutch people red wrapping paper with a big 5 printed on it or the depiction of a carrot combined with a nicely wrapped present is enough to evoke the feast of St. Nicholas (Sinterklaas on the 5th of December). However, not every carrot refers to Sinterklaas: a depiction of carrots combined with onions evokes totally different associations in Dutch minds: 'hutspot,' Dutch national food, or in Leiden the traditional memorial day of the end of the siege by the Spanish (3 October 1574).

[63] As I said in sections 0.1.2 and 1.0, it is difficult to establish whether Etruscans or the inhabitants of Greek colonies could have completely understood Athenian vase-paintings, but I assume (following Isler-Kerényi (1997) 533) that well-educated Etruscans knew the Greek myths.

[64] Giuliani (2003) 228-229. Meyer (2012) 37.

[65] Meyer (2012) 37.

over again. For us, *synoptic* pictures are remarkable because the lack of unity in time is more explicit than in other vase-paintings. However, as mentioned above (sections 1.4 and 1.5), the vase-painters included what was necessary for the comprehension of the viewer – usually one or two clues; the fact that they were illustrating elements from different episodes of the story in these pictures was not important.

Furthermore, in many Archaic paintings that at first glance seem to depict a single episode, the composition is so standardised that a viewer who has knowledge of the myth and the iconographic tradition does not need additional pictures to fill in details of the rest of the story. Therefore, for contemporary Athenian viewers who knew the pictorial language, a combination of some *typical elements* or even the *composition* of the image could be enough to identify the story and evoke the narrative by association, even when a single action is depicted, as in the case of the lekythos with Circe and Odysseus by the Athena Painter.[66] The narrative – mostly mythological – was already in the mind of the beholder. It is up to us modern observers to recognise the *typical elements* and *compositions* so that we too can complete the story in our minds.

1.7 Making a story recognisable

The fact that narrative in Athenian vase-painting often depends on the recognition and knowledge of the viewer raises another topic in iconographic studies: how did Greek painters develop the technique of making stories immediately recognisable? Alan Shapiro[67] suggests that the first step was the deliberate preference for stories that could be recognised from a few narrative or iconographical elements. Anne Mackay suggests that the need to represent recognisable narrative situations accounts for the many depictions of fights with mythological hybrid creatures on the earliest vases. She argues that at first there were many variations and differences in the pictures but that by the end of the 7th century BCE there was a "traditional repertoire by which actions could be represented".[68] However, painters still faced the problem of how to identify the protagonists. Name-inscriptions were one solution, but in the 6th century BCE mythological figures came to be associated with specific attributes or poses.

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[66] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1133 (BA 351593). See section 1.5, note 54.

[67] Shapiro (1994) 5-6.

[68] Mackay (1995) 284.

Mackay sees similarities between the narrative techniques used in oral poetry and in vase-painting.[69] Just as oral poetry used a traditional *formula system* to identify protagonists and a number of fixed themes that might be considered as *narrative formulas*, vase-painters used *formulaic attributes* "which serve to identify a given figure irrespective of the context", and *formulaic compositions* "in which … the format of the scene, gradually become standardised and so signify a particular mythological context."[70] She mentions the fact that these attributes were often used even when they were not needed for identification because there were already enough other characteristic elements in the picture. In other cases a figure was depicted with an attribute that was not relevant, such as Heracles wearing his lion skin while playing the kithara.[71] She explains that the skin is not there just for identification but because it evokes the concept of the heroic Heracles. I would like to add that the lion skin also emphasises the contrast of Heracles' heroic deeds with his peaceful pastime in the scene, similar to the use of the *epitheton* 'swift footed' for Achilles even when he is sulking in his tent (*Iliad* 9, 196).

Mackay points out that *visual formulas* frequently contain "a fossilised element that illogically preserves an older custom, apparently outmoded by the sixth century"[72], comparable with *Homeric formulas* preserving ancient word-forms. As an example she discusses the woman who unveils herself in certain contexts that involve seductiveness, while in other contexts women are generally depicted bareheaded.[73] I agree with her that there are fossilised elements in *visual formulas* and think that the use of the Boeotian shield in depictions of hoplite fights and the use of the chariot in depictions of wedding scenes – instead of the wagon that was used in daily life – are examples.

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[69] Mackay (1993) 98-103; *idem* (1995) 284-294.

[70] Mackay (1993) 103.

[71] Mackay (1993) 107; *idem* (1995) 294.

[72] Mackay (1993) 106.

[73] I wonder whether the woman who unveils herself really is strong evidence. Even if women are usually shown bareheaded in vase-paintings, it does not necessarily mean that they were not veiled in daily life, and especially in the context of a wedding, where clothing and accessories are often traditional and old-fashioned, and the moment the bride unveils herself to her husband is important. Furthermore, in the wedding processions on the François Vase and the Sophilos dinoi the married goddesses are veiled, while the unmarried ones are bareheaded. In my opinion the veil is rather a reflection of daily life practice that in vase-painting is associated with marriage and married women. When Helen unveils herself to the angry Menelaus, she is not only showing him her beauty in order to seduce him but also reminding him that she is his wife. For the use of the veil, see sections 4.1.1, 4.2.3, 4.6. On the veiling and unveiling of the bride during the wedding ceremonies, see Llewellyn-Jones, (2003) 230–238. Ferrari (1990) discusses the meaning of the mantle and connects it with *aidos*. See also Ferrari (2002) 189-190.

According to Mackay,[74] the visual and oral traditions were parallel and worked consistently in the same way, although they must have undergone separate development because they flourished in different centuries: "In both media, the tradition controls the *form* by which meaning is expressed, and also the *meaning* that is associated with the forms".[75] I fully agree with her statement that the modern reader or viewer has access to the forms but can only understand the meanings with considerable effort, because we do not participate directly in the cultural tradition.

The distinctions between the forms and their meanings,[76] which are much more difficult to understand, are emphasised by other scholars. Boardman is certainly correct when he underlines the importance of formulaic groups and figures to identify scenes and speaks of "different levels"[77] of reading a painting. He explains that although persons can be identified by their clothing or attributes, gestures and poses are more difficult to interpret, because their meanings can differ widely from the meanings we usually give to them today. It is necessary to study the pictures to discover the meaning of the gestures and attitudes and to deduce the language, vocabulary, and syntax of narrative art. The vase-paintings are what we share with the ancient viewer, even if we do not share the same understanding of the images.[78]

Since we may presume that an Athenian painter believed that his contemporaries understood his images, we have to conduct considerable research[79] to interpret the images the way they did. I hope that this study, in which I look at the images with "a pair of narratological glasses",[80] contributes to the understanding of how certain elements in a depiction can evoke both associations and narratives.

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[74] Mackay (1996) 45- 46. In Mackay (1995) 283-284 Mackay states that the texts were written down more or less about the time narrative pictorial art started and that probably the narrative techniques in vase-painting evolved from the techniques of oral poetry.

[75] Mackay (1996) 46.

[76] Panofsky (1955) 28-31 distinguished three strata of iconography: *Primary or natural subject matter,* which is elementary, where forms and changes or movements are identified; *Secondary conventional subject matter,* which is conventional, where meaning of gestures are identified which depend on culture; and *Intrinsic meaning or content*, where underlying principles of a nation or a period, condensed into a work of art, are identified. This last is the object of *iconology.*

[77] Boardman (1991) 81.

[78] Boardman (2001) 173; 190. On different meanings of gestures, see Boardman (2001) 177-178: Even in our time a gesture may have in one place or culture a meaning that differs from that given to it elsewhere.

[79] Bérard and Durand (1984) 19: Bérard speaks of "une gymnastique intellectuelle qui n'est pas compliquée, mais nécessite un entraînement progressif".

[80] De Jong (2014) v (Preface).

1.8 Same vases, different eyes

Even when we look at exactly the same vases as people in antiquity did and recognise the same narrative or iconographical elements, we need to ask whether we understand them in the same way.[81] Hans-Peter Isler contends that for us texts are often easier to understand, because an image must be transformed by the viewer into thoughts and words[82] and that is more difficult for us than for contemporary Athenians. They understood an image because they could rely on their collective knowledge of mythological subjects and the pictorial language of their city and generation. The vase-painter could choose a story and vary the depiction as long as he took care – with the help of "ikonographischen Schemata" – that it remained understandable.[83] In my opinion, a Greek text is not *per se* easier to understand than a picture, but people have studied texts and made lexicons and dictionaries since antiquity, while the study of pictorial language is relatively new (and it was certainly so in 1973 when Isler published). By closely studying the *typical compositions* and the *elements* of images, we may discover both what connotations were evoked by them and also how vase-painters could use the schemes in variant depictions.

Isler goes on to state that although vase-paintings are often difficult for us to understand, study of them is important because an image shows exactly what was thought at the time, while most texts have survived as a result of a long history of copying and editing.[84] I agree but would like to add that it is even more important that what survives of vase-painting imagery is more varied than what survives of texts because the images were saved largely by chance and not by selection for quality and content.[85] Other scholars also recognise the difficulty and importance of studying Greek vase-painting. Peter J. Holliday states that "scholars must face the further challenge of overcoming the physical and temporal distance separating the contemporary viewer from the 'real' image" and must reinvent the experience of it.[86] However, Holliday also believes the modern viewer has to do more than simply decode the messages. He has to produce meaning from the information presented by

[81] The same may be said of the Etruscans and other buyers of Athenian pottery in antiquity and even of Athenians of different social classes. See sections 0.1.2, note 22, and 1.0.

[82] Isler (1973) 36.

[83] Isler (1973) 38. See also Lowenstam (1997) 50.

[84] Isler (1973) 37. Mackay (1993) 110; *idem* (1996) 57.

[85] There has of course been some human interference in the case of vases. In antiquity some vases were chosen to serve as grave gifts – where they had a better chance to survive in rather good condition. In modern times selection has been affected by which sites have been excavated and published (or not), while vases of high quality and good condition are often better published than those of lower quality.

[86] Holliday (1993b) 3.

the vase-painter and "become the true narrator, connecting the discrete images that have been brought into association with one another through artistic convention."[87] Iconographic interpretation is necessary to read visual narratives, but it is only "a descriptive process of identification, whereas narrative is a process of organizational analysis, indicating 'how' as opposed to 'what'".[88] To understand the full experience, the intended audience needs to be reconstructed and both social class and educational background must be taken into account.[89] Alan Shapiro emphasises that we see the same vases that the Greeks saw but "with very different eyes and different cultural, esthetic, and perceptual assumptions."[90] So we have to think ourselves into their world and try to see the myths as they saw them.

John Boardman contends that, since the society of 6th-century-BCE Athens was highly conscious of the world of images, the vase-paintings can provide "a good cross-section of what was judged relevant and significant."[91] In fact, thanks to the numerous surviving vases, we know far more of the contemporary popular visual experience of narrative art than we do of literary expression, at least for the period from about the mid-6th to the mid-4th centuries BCE in Athens. Research on vases enlarges our knowledge of Athenian society. Learning the pictorial and narrative languages used in vase-painting and presuming that they were also used in other arts will teach us "to some degree to share the visual experience and expectations of the classical Athenian."[92] In addition to this, I believe that applying semiotic methods developed for the study of literary texts is of great help in understanding the deeper meaning of the paintings and helps us to look at them with eyes more like those of 6th-century Athenians.

1.9 Analysing pictures

It is clear that before we can get to the connotation and the message of a picture we have to study the different elements in order to deduce the language. We can assume that the same semiotic system was used in all Athenian vase-paintings, *synoptic* or *monoscenic*, on mass-produced vases and unique ones, and even on major works of art.

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[87] Holliday (1993b) 6.

[88] Holliday (1993b) 8, following Winter (1985) 27-28. Giuliani points also at the descriptive element in visual narrative; see above note 64 for his example of the death of king Priam.

[89] Holliday (1993b) 10.

[90] Shapiro (1994) 10.

[91] Boardman (1991) 81. See also Boardman (2001) 173-174.

[92] Boardman (2001) 174.

Much work in this field has been done by French scholars, especially Claude Bérard.[93] He argues that Greek vase-painters were not creative artists, but artisans, *imagiers*, working within a tradition and using a repertory of signs that had fixed meanings. This makes it possible to apply semiotics to the corpus of Greek vase-painting. The thesaurus of Athenian *imagerie* is defined by Bérard[94] as the whole of all pictures on Athenian vases of the 6th to 4th centuries BCE, which can be divided into smaller corpora. This *imagerie* is narrative in that it treats stories and adventures of gods, heroes, and men. Bérard calls it *anonyme* and *collective,* because we know the actual names of only a few painters – and scholars have assigned names to painters and workshops[95] that have been classified by unique characteristics – and because all painters used the same *imagerie*. Further, he calls the *imagerie populaire* and *froide,* because it was mass-produced for daily use and was present everywhere in Athens and because it developed slowly.

According to Bérard, vase-painting images were constructed from a repertory of stock elements, *unités formelles minimales* (minimal formal units), small details that cannot be dissected further without losing their meaning.[96] A combination of several *unités* forms a *syntagme* (phrase)*,* which can become a *signe* (symbol) for something*.* Combination with other *unités* or *syntagmes* can form a narrative image. Changes in meaning are the result of new combinations. Thus the *syntagme* formed by the combination of the three *unités* 'man–lion skin–club' becomes the *signe* Heracles. It is always the combination that is important: the vase-painter cannot omit or change one of the *unités* without changing the meaning of the *signe*: a man with a club but without a lion skin is not necessarily Heracles but could be any hunter. Combinations of elements must comply with logical requirements in the organisation of the image and in the relationship of the image to the whole Athenian narrative *imagerie*.[97] Every image evokes memories of other images, and together they form a mental picture of the whole story. There was no iconographic handbook in which this system was written down. The repertory existed only in the collective cultural unconscious, where it was maintained by the constant contemplation of the *imagerie* in circulation.[98]

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[93] Bérard (1983a); *idem* (1983b) 5-12; 33-34; *idem* (1983c) 113-117; *idem* (1987) 179-181. Bérard and Durand (1984) 21-33.

[94] Bérard (1983b) 5-6.

[95] Even these attributed vases are only a minority of all vases that are preserved. Most are indeed anonymous, the mass-produced merchandise of the workshops of the potters quarter.

[96] Bérard (1983b) 7.

[97] Bérard (1983b) 10-11.

[98] Bérard (1983b) 9.

Bérard correctly observes that the combination of elements is important for the meaning of a depiction and that changing a detail alters the meaning of a *signe* or even of a whole picture. However, I believe that in 'new' depictions with changed details the original meaning of a composition played a role.[99] Variations had to be recognisable. Therefore, talented painters could create a new and different painting by varying elements of an existing composition, but when they did so they chose to start from a composition with a meaning that was related to the new one. Then Athenian viewers, aware of the 'normal' composition and its meaning, could recognise the variations and understand the shift of meaning. Since we lack the innate knowledge of the pictorial language, or *imagerie,* of contemporary Athenians, we often miss the point of what is unique or different. Therefore, we have to try to acquire this knowledge by making lists and studying as many vase-paintings as possible.

Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood[100] describes her methodology for reading ancient images and texts in ways that are as close as possible to the ways they were read by their ancient contemporaries, taking care to prevent modern assumptions from intruding. She emphasises that "the evidence should be studied in the most exhaustive detail possible, without preconceived notions of what is 'important' or 'representative'".[101] Small divergences can sometimes signal two different signifying elements. It is not possible to make a selection of evidence to be studied before a modern scholar starts research: that choice will depend on culturally determined, as well as subjective, judgments. Investigation should therefore be structured as a series of separate and independent analyses. This will prevent unconscious adjustments of parts of the evidence to make them support a hypothesis. According to Sourvinou-Inwood, while studying an iconographic theme, we need to compare representations of the theme within the oeuvre of several individual artists and also to compare representations of a related theme by the same artists. Then we should compare the results: how the different artists treat the first theme, how they treat the related theme, and finally compare the results of the two investigations.

1.10 The image in its context

As described in this overview, until recently most of the attention of scholars has focused on the image, its composition, and how to understand it. However, a few scholars have begun to

[99] See for examples Chapter 2, section 2.4.3. See also section 6.3

[100] Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 3-23.

[101] Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 6.

examine the larger context and to involve the vase itself – or a group of similar representations – in the discussion.

Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell[102] gives an extensive treatment of pictorial narrative. He makes a division between *micro-structure* (what is the narrative function of the pictorial elements) and *macro-structure* (what story does the viewer see in the picture, a process that changes with viewer and culture). Here not only the physical nature of the picture (form and size, type of object) plays a role, but also the composition (the way the picture is seen, and the visual language that must be shared by the maker and the viewer).[103] Only a few Athenian vase-painters were innovators and created new images, but even they were not totally free from all constraints: the scene had to remain recognisable for the public.[104] Stansbury-O'Donnell develops highly interesting approaches that fall for the greater part outside the scope of this study, but one of the relevant questions he raises is: "what is the viewer to take away from the [narrative] experience?"[105] This varies, of course, because it depends on the cultural environment and because the meaning of a picture can change from period to period due to historical circumstances and changes in the values of the culture.

Joan Connelly[106] develops a good example of this kind of research in her examination of representations of Aias and Cassandra. She investigates the scene in both Athenian black-figure and red-figure vase-painting and the factors that influenced the process of image creation, such as changing narrative methods, the language of code and gesture, historical events of the 6th century BCE, religious and social influences, and new literature and drama. One of her conclusions is that during the 5th century there was a shift of focus from Athena to Cassandra, which may point toward a shift of interest from the divine to the human, from the generic to the individual, from epic to tragedy.[107]

In his chapter on 'Narrative extension', Stansbury-O'Donnell treats the relationship between scenes depicted on the same vase. Sometimes there is a *syntagmatic* relationship (successive scenes from the same story); sometimes the relationship is *paradigmatic* (based

[102] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999).

[103] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 92; 99.

[104] Lowenstam (1997) 50. Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 101-102.

[105] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 158.

[106] Connelly (1993).

[107] Connelly (1993) 123. In sections 6.1.5 and 6.2 I argue that after 530 BCE gods became more important again in black-figure vase-painting. Clearly, in the 5th century BCE the attention shifted again to the humans.

on similarity in composition or theme between the scenes).[108] Related to this topic is Ann Steiner's focus on the phenomenon of repetition in Athenian vase-painting.[109] She argues that there are different types of repetition.[110] Steiner's first type of repetition – "Repetition of shapes together with repetition of schemes of decoration ... called here 'Types' of pottery." – is found on vases like Horse Head amphorae, Komast cups, and Glaux skyphoi.[111] Steiner concludes that repetition of the same representation on both sides of a vase serves to identify the vase as member of the Type and therefore the attention belongs to the group of vases, not to the small differences in the pictures. Scheibler, who earlier studied Horse Head amphorae, infers that they were related to the cult of Dionysus and possibly used as prizes in festivals where *ephebes* played an important role.[112]

Steiner's third type of repetition, which is the focus of her study, is: "Repetitions in imagery on a single visual 'text,' a single vessel, either within a single field or in more than one field on a single vase."[113] She contends that just as repetition plays a role in storytelling, vase-painters used it in their strategies for visual narration.[114] Sometimes a figure ('lexical item') is repeated, sometimes the composition ('syntax').[115] This redundancy makes the message more intelligible to the viewer. Repetition within a picture draws attention to the particular detail. When a detail is repeated on both sides of a vase, it brings the other picture into the mind of the viewer, who will perceive the connection between both pictures.[116] To the examples given by Steiner,[117] I would like to add the belly-amphora by the Rycroft Painter in Toledo.[118] At first sight the old man standing near a chariot on one side is not

[108] Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 124-136.

[109] Steiner (1993); *idem* (1997); *idem* (2007).

[110] Steiner (2007) 5.

[111] Steiner (2007) 5; 42-51.

[112] Scheibler (1987) 99-118. See section 3.8.2. On the earlier vases there are horse heads, on later vases there are horsemen and other representations with an equestrian theme (78-82). The vases were made for the class of the Hippeis (82), and the representations have an educational-ideological tenor. They show general virtues and military training, and there is an under-representation of images of symposia, hunting, and sport (90) and only a restricted number of mythological scenes (91). Therefore – and because some of the amphorae have representations of Dionysus on the other side – she concludes that they were used in festivals like the Apaturia or the Oschophoria (99-108; 118). See section 6.6.

[113] Steiner (2007) 5.

[114] Steiner (2007) 94-97.

[115] Steiner (2007) 13-14.

[116] Steiner (2007) 97.

[117] Steiner (2007) 109-114.

[118] Toledo, Museum of Art, 1972.54 (BA 7276). Pl. 6, *HL IV* 51. See sections 3.4.1 and 6.1.5.

recognisable. However, on the other side of the vase king Priam begging Achilles for the body of Hector is depicted in the same position and with the same face. By repeating this figure, the painter is guiding the thoughts of the viewer, and it is attractive to recognise in the old man in the departure scene Priam leaving Troy to go to the Greek camp.[119] However, in my opinion, repetition is not always intentional, because there are, for example, only a restricted number of ways to depict a departure or a combat, so the images resemble each other although the painter may vary meaningful details such as hoplites kneeling or falling down.

The subject of the present book coincides with Steiner's second type of repetition: "Repetition in the imagery used to depict particular subjects ... . Such repeated imagery ... is commonly regarded as a visual 'formula'."[120] It is what Mackay – comparing them with the *formula system* and *narrative formulas* of oral literature – called *formulaic attributes* and *formulaic composition,* and of which, according to her, "Athenian black-figure vase-painting offers the best material for comparative analysis".[121] A good example of such analysis is given by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood,[122] who systematically investigates erotic pursuits and their relationship to scenes that show Theseus with a drawn sword pursuing a woman. At first sight there are many similarities between the two compositions, but after a careful analysis of details like the weapons depicted and how they are held and the variations that occur, she concludes that a drawn sword is unmistakably a sign of menace and that the image of 'Theseus with a sword' does not represent an erotic pursuit but shows Theseus actually attacking the woman. I agree and think that this shows that it is the *combination of elements* – in this case the pursuit and the sword – that determines meaning.[123] I have no doubt that an ancient Athenian would have immediately understood the differences in meaning of the pictures analysed by Sourvinou-Inwood. However, for us it is not immediately clear and we have benefitted from Sourvinou-Inwood's reconstruction and understanding.

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[119] Actually, the text in the showcase in the museum in Toledo describes the scene as a departure in the presence of Priam. See Chapter 3, note 88.

[120] Steiner (2007) 5.

[121] See section 1.7. Mackay (1993) 102.

[122] Sourvinou-Inwood, (1979); *idem* (1991) 29-57. Earlier published in: Bérard, Bron and Pomari (eds.) (1987) 41-48.

[123] See Shapiro (1982) 292; Von den Hoff (2014) 74. See also note 62.

1.11 Approach to pictorial language of this study

The theories and methods described in this overview help to provide a better understanding of Athenian vase-paintings, but they cannot be applied to all vases. Most studies of narrative imagery in Athenian vase-painting focus on vases with exceptional pictures and often of high quality. However, few vase-paintings were composed in order to tell a complete story. Vases with truly *synoptic* depictions – apart from the question of whether they were made consciously – are rare, and the same examples are therefore discussed over and over by scholars. Repetition is a device that may be used, but it is not present on all vases. A study of a series of paintings of one episode is very informative, but it is rarely possible to connect changes and historical context, as Connelly does with the sequence of depictions of Cassandra and Aias.

I believe that the one thing shared by all Athenian vase-painters – whether they painted unique vases of top quality or mass production, *synoptic* or *monoscenic* depictions, and complicated or simple scenes – was their use of pictorial language consisting of *typical elements* that may be called *unités formelles minimales, signes, formulaic attributes,* or *visual formulas*. Viewers – at least in contemporary Athens – shared a pictorial language, independent of the social classes to which they belonged.[124] While, according to Mary Moore,[125] an important characteristic of Exekias' approach to narrative is that "he reduces the scene to its essentials by eliminating extra figures, preferring to concentrate on just those absolutely necessary for his story.", it should also be recognised that the reason Exekias *could* reduce a scene and play with its meaning by making variations and innovations was because he used the pictorial language of Athenian black-figure and his public knew the idiom. Exekias and other inventive painters were the *pictores docti,* and the public was the *lector doctus* who – knowing what was 'normal' – could quickly recognise a variation and discern the change of meaning. A hint was enough to grasp the meaning of a new picture.

Because pictorial language is the common factor in all of the black-figure vase-paintings of 6th-century-BCE Athens, it is important to study it. Applying semiotic methods helps the modern viewer approach the intuitive knowledge of the ancient viewer. I have developed my method of research since the 1980s, partly independent from but also using

[124] As I said before (section 1.0), the question of how much was understood by the Etruscans and other buyers abroad is not part of my research.

[125] Moore (1987) 158.

and combining concepts from several of the above-mentioned scholars, especially Sourvinou-Inwood, Mackay, Bérard, and Steiner.[126]

In short the methodology that I apply to the vases examined in this book includes these steps:

– selecting a *type scene*, the representation of an event or episode that can be recognised by its *typical composition* (a fixed general arrangement), and making a list of as many representations as I could find. I describe the painting systematically and completely, not determining or choosing beforehand which details may be important.

– distinguishing *subtypes* – and within them *variants* – by charting *typical elements* and their regular combinations that together refer to a specific figure or event. It should be noticed that an event may be identified not only by the presence of *typical elements* such as gods or persons recognised by posture, attributes, gestures, and other details, but also – even when the figures are not recognisable by name inscription or attributes – by the *typical composition*.

– determining which of the *typical elements* define the meaning of the image and cannot be altered or left out without a change or loss of meaning.

– charting changes that occur over time and taking into account as far as possible differences between painters (or workshops), the shapes and functions of the vases, the forms of the painted panels, and representations on other sections of the same vase.

– comparing the results.[127]

By focusing on the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', this study covers only a fraction of the black-figure vase production of Athens. However, the methodology can be applied to any series of vase-paintings as long as the group is large enough to distinguish both *typical elements* and *variants*.[128] The vases mass-produced by painters who did not feel the need to be innovative, but copied popular images more or less competently, are very well suited for this kind of research because of their number and their lack of originality. When this methodology is applied in future to other *type scenes* or groups of vase-paintings, the results

[126] Jurriaans-Helle (1986a); *idem* (1986b); *idem* (1987); *idem* (1996); *idem* (1997); *idem* (1999); *idem* (2003); *idem* (2006); *idem* (2009). Brijder and Jurriaans-Helle (2007).

[127] One problem that I encountered is that there are many differences in small details. Since it was difficult to determine in advance which differences would be revealed to be important for the meaning, I made notes of all kind of differences. Mentioning them all made the text rather illegible. Therefore, I arranged the details that appeared in my analysis to be important in the Tables.

[128] Boardman (2001) 294 contends that in studying the preferences of individual painters for certain subjects a number of 50 vases might be safe, and I think that this also applies to this kind of research. See the case study of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated', Chapter 2 and section 6.2.

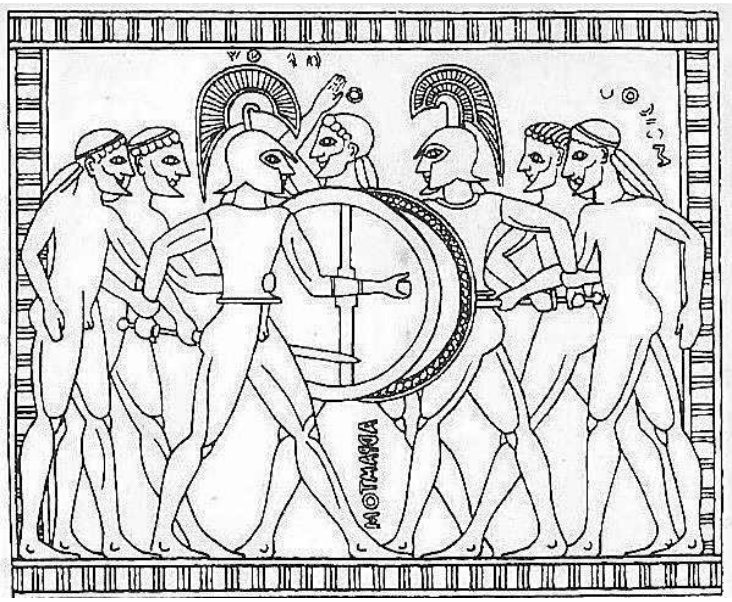
of every study should be compared with each other in order to assemble a more complete presentation of the pictorial language of Athenian vase-painting.[129] There will be always images we cannot understand. However, determining the meaning of a *typical composition* or a *typical element* can help us even in those cases. When we understand the basic rules, we will also discover more fully how the most inventive and gifted vase-painters played with the system to make the extraordinary and unique vase-paintings that usually attract the most attention.

Finally – believing that these 6th-century Athenian vase-paintings reflect the universal ideas of their time and place and that the same pictorial language was also used in sculpture and mural painting – we will be able to use this knowledge to look at these works with eyes that are a little bit more 'Athenian'.

[129] See section 6.2.

Chapter 2

A case study: the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'



Text figure 3

Amphiaraus and Lycurgus separated by Adrastus.

Reconstruction of a buckle plate relief, based on the combination of two incomplete relief panels of a bronze shield strap, ca. 570–560 BCE.

Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 1654

Drawing: Hans Schleif (Kunze (1950) Beilage 13)

2.0 Introduction

From the moment Greek painted vases came to the attention of Renaissance humanists, people have tried to connect the depicted scenes with mythological stories known from ancient literature. Vase-paintings have been interpreted as representations of myth even when there are no explicit references in the images to a myth. In some cases the identification was made because on a similar vase-painting of later date names were inscribed. In other cases a scene was identified because a story that resembled the situation in the picture was known from the literature, preferably Homer. In the 1880s Carl Robert (see Chapter 1.2) started to loosen the connection between literature and art by arguing that in most cases the artists were not influenced by the literary versions of a myth but by previous images of it. However, interpretations continued to be ascribed to scenes based on the *wish* to recognise a myth rather than on hard evidence. Even today, many interpretations are still firmly accepted which are based on these early writings, and pictures that look superficially alike but differ in details are considered as the same subject.

In this study I argue that re-examining vase-paintings while paying close attention to details and applying semiotic methods developed for the study of literary texts will lead to new insights. To demonstrate my methodology, this chapter presents a case study of representations of two men fighting each other while another person intervenes. This case study expands an article I published in 1987. For that article I used only the black-figure vases listed in Brommer.[1] For the present study I expand the group using my own database, based on the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum (CVA)*, catalogues, monographs, the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC)*, and the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BA). Although the list of examples of this *type scene* has more than doubled since 1987, it will turn out that the results and conclusions remain unchanged.

This *type scene* is generally called 'Quarrelling warriors parted',[2] but I call it 'Fighting men separated' because not all of the men are represented as warriors or heroes and because they are not always quarrelling. I argue that, depending on which *typical elements* are depicted, two *subtypes* can be distinguished: an organised fight of two warriors armed with spears (*subtype FM I*) and a quarrel of two men fighting with swords (*subtype FM II*).

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[1] Jurriaans-Helle (1987). Brommer (1973), 418–423.

[2] Some other labels are '*Man (or Athena) between quarreling heroes', 'Man intervening between warriors', 'Warriors parted',* or just *'Man between warriors'.*

There are also scenes of Zeus or Athena separating Heracles and Cycnus (*subtype HC II*). This subject is a *subtype* of the *type scene* 'Heracles and Cycnus', but the iconography resembles that of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'. However, the *type scene* 'Heracles and Cycnus' (and therefore also its *subtype HC II*) is identified not only by the presence of Heracles but also by the fact that in most cases Cycnus – unlike the fighters in *subtypes FM I* and *FM II* – is represented as collapsing. The three *subtypes* will be described, and information about the vases[3] and details important for understanding the *subtypes* will be presented in Tables 01–03. In the text I refer to the subtypes painted on the vases as *FM I, FM II,* and *HC II*, followed by the number in the Tables**.**

2.1 *Type scene* 'Fighting men separated'

My database includes 69 records of Athenian black-figure vases with a depiction of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'. The *typical elements* that are always present – and thus define the two *subtypes* of the *type scene* – are two men fighting with each other and a third person separating them by spreading his or her arms, but actually not touching them.[4] The fighters face each other. They are both either in full armour, or both nude, or both partly dressed, and they hold the same weapons, which can be spears or swords. The person who is intervening is most often a man but in some cases the goddess Athena or an anonymous woman. Athena wears a helmet and sometimes holds a spear; the man or woman is unarmed. An optional *typical element* are men or women standing to either side. They either look on without interfering or they grab the fighters by their arms or waists to restrain them.

2.1.1 Earlier interpretations

Carl Robert suggested in 1881 that the scene depicts Aias and Odysseus quarrelling over the arms of Achilles and being separated by Agamemnon.[5] This influential interpretation was

[3] Information on the whereabouts of the vases, inventory number, shape, painter, date, provenance, references to the record number in the Internet Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BA followed by the number) and finally a short characterisation of the depiction(s) on other sections of the vase. For vases in the Beazley Archive literature is not cited because that can be found there. For vases not in the Beazley Archive a reference to the publication is given.

[4] On *FM I* 13 the man in the middle is grabbing the right wrists of the opponents in a rather illogical and anatomically impossible way. Maybe the painter, noticing that the hands and wrists cross, saw the possibility for this extra detail, in the same way Iolaus sometimes seems to grab the tail of the Nemean Lion, *e.g*., on the shoulder of hydria Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 15765 (on loan from a private collection; *WP III* 46, Pl. 14 and cover).

[5] Robert (1881) Excurs II, ΟΠΛΩΝ ΚΡΙΣΙΣ, 213–221; esp. 217. According to Robert's n. 1 he follows Brunn and Klein (1874) in this interpretation.

based on the representation on *one* late black-figure vase,[6] the lekythos Berlin F2000 (Pl. 3, *FM II* 15) attributed to the Athena Painter, where arms are shown lying on the ground, and on a number of later red-figure vases.[7] Robert supposed that Aias and Odysseus are also depicted in earlier vase-paintings with a comparable composition but without Achilles' weapons, and for more than a century this interpretation was broadly accepted.

However, not everyone was convinced. In 1950 John Beazley discussed a fragment of a Laconian cup from Cyrene dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE and raised the question whether some of the scenes with quarrelling heroes on Athenian vases could represent events from the Theban Cycle.[8] On the cup fragment a man with the name-inscription 53, is shown grabbing the arm of another man who has drawn his sword. As Parthenopaeus is one of the 'Seven against Thebes', Beazley lists the fights or quarrels between the allies. The story of Tydeus and Polynices fighting with each other and separated by Adrastus before the walls of Argos is well known.[9] A second possibility is mentioned by Pausanias in his description of the late-6th-century Throne of Apollo at Amyclae near Sparta, where a fight between Amphiaraus and Lycurgus is stopped by Adrastus and Tydeus.[10] Finally, in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* there are two references to Tydeus quarrelling with Amphiaraus.[11]

In the same year as Beazley's article, Emil Kunze published the Argive bronze shield straps from Olympia dated to the 6th century BCE. On a panel found on two shield straps a man is depicted drawing his sword half out of the scabbard.[12] A man opposite him tries to stop him, while a third man, standing behind him, grabs his arm. There is no indication of their identities. Kunze suggested that the representation is not complete and that one has to imagine a similar, but mirror-reversed, group on the next panel, so that together a fight of two warriors with people intervening is formed. Since there is no next panel, as the straps

[6] *FM II* 16 is a second lekythos by the Athena Painter with armour lying between the warriors, but this vase was unknown to Robert.

[7] Kunze, Chr. (2005) discusses the red-figure vase-paintings of this scene in relation with the variant of the Greeks voting to award the arms to a new owner, interpreting the paintings as a mythological exemplum for the newly installed democratic way of deciding.

[8] In the Cyrene Museum, attributed to the Hunt Painter. Beazley (1950) 312–313, Fig. 2. Schefold (1992) 201–202, fig. 244. Beazley doubts whether someone is intervening: he supposes that seven heroes were depicted and that opposite the four men standing to left three figures were standing to right.

[9] Apollodorus 3,6,1.

[10] Pausanias 3,18,12.

[11] Aeschylus, *Septem* 377–383; 570–575; Apollodorus 3,6,8.

[12] Olympia**,** Archaeological Museum, B 968 and B 1896, 525–500 BCE. Kunze, E. (1950) 171–172; Form XVIIe, Schildband 29 and 30; Taf. 45.

consist of a single vertical row of representations, I would like to propose – staying within the tradition of Homeric interpretation – that it is not half of a fight that is represented, but rather a painting that in itself is enough to call to mind the famous episode from *Iliad* 1, 190–195: Achilles drawing his sword against Agamemnon and being restrained by Athena – especially because on the other panels of the shield straps additional scenes from the Trojan War are depicted.

A second representation of fighting men separated on an Argive bronze shield strap from Olympia has a clear reference to the Theban War. On the buckle plate the two panels on either side of the *porpax* (arm band) have the same picture: two warriors attack each other with swords.[13] Two unarmed men standing behind each of the warriors try to hold them back, while between them a man with the name-inscription Adrastus intervenes (*text figure 3*). Some letters of the names of the warriors survive: behind the right warrior are the letters ...ΡΓΟΣ, and above the head of his opponent the letters …ΜΦ.ΑΡ.Ο. These may be completed to read the names Lycurgus and Amphiaraus, the same heroes depicted on the Throne of Amyclae. Kunze draws attention to the fact that the warriors on the buckle plate are fully armed, while on the panel of the shield strap mentioned above and on most representations on vases they wield only a sword or spear. He concludes that the scenes with full armour are representations of a duel (*Zweikampf*), while the other representations represent a quarrel that has broken out unexpectedly in a peaceful setting.[14] Although I agree with him that full armour usually indicates a duel, I want to add that there is also a connection between the weapons used – spears or swords – and the meaning of the picture

[13] Olympia, Archaeological Museum, B 1654, ca. 575–550 BCE. Kunze (1950) 172; 174–176; Form IV, Schildband 8; inscription: 215, nr. 5; Taf. 12, 17–19; Beil. 13 (reconstruction of the complete picture based on what is visible on both damaged panels). Schefold (1966) 81–82, fig. 31 (570–560 BC). According to Schefold the seven men in the picture are the Seven against Thebes. Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 132–134, figs. 55–56. This is the only certain depiction of an episode of the Theban Saga on the shield straps of Olympia. The fact that there are name-inscriptions fits into the tradition on the Peloponnesus of adding inscriptions to mythological scenes (see sections 6.1.1 and 6.1.2. on difference between Corinth and Athene). Examples of this are: Protocorinthian olpe (Chigi olpe), Museo Nazionale Etrusco Villa Giulia, 22679, 640 BCE (BA 9004217); Judgment of Paris with Alexandros and other names. Basel, Private Collection, Protocorinthian aryballos, 630 BCE, Schefold (1966) pl. 29c; the name Patroclus inscribed near a hoplite standing with his charioteer in a chariot. Late Corinthian pottery: Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 638, column-krater, Payne (1931) no. 1474; p.136, 330; pl. 36,4; 40,3; fig. 37; name-inscriptions: p. 168, nr. 65: Hector saying farewell, standing before the horses. Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 642, hydria, Payne (1931) no. 1447; p. 328; pl. 39,2; 43,1; fig. 19B; name-inscriptions: p. 166, nr. 48: names: Damon, Dion (and not Hector) and other names; mounting warrior is not looking back. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 6568, column-krater, Payne (1931) no. 1472; p. 329–330; pl. 42,1; p. 167, no. 62: name-inscriptions of horse and charioteer Laidas; warrior standing in chariot and not looking back; procession of chariots. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 480, aryballos, 600-590 BCE , see note 21: names: Hector and Aias.

[14] Kunze, E. (1950) 172.

and that in the case of Lycurgus and Amphiaraus a quarrel rather than a fight is depicted because the bystanders are intervening.

Frank Brommer lists under the title *'Streit der Männer'* the different interpretations of the scene mentioned so far (Aias and Odysseus, Amphiaraus and Lycurgus, Tydeus and Polynices), adding also Odysseus and Diomedes (see below) without deciding on any one possibility.[15] He contends that, since there are different types of fight, different myths are depicted. Under the heading *'Odysseus und Aias im Streit um die Waffen Achills'* Brommer lists only two black-figure vases: Berlin F2000 by the Athena Painter (Pl. 3, *FM II* 15),[16] where the arms are lying on the ground, and a pelike in Naples attributed to the Rycroft Painter with a totally different composition:[17] Odysseus stands on a platform making a speech while Aias listens leaning on his spear. Both heroes are identified by name-inscriptions, and in the middle of the scene the arms of Achilles lie in a tall heap on the ground.

As mentioned above, Brommer adds Odysseus and Diomedes as possible opponents. There are indeed indications in the *Little Iliad* and in Sophocles' *Lakainai* that these heroes, normally good friends, quarrelled during their expedition to steal the Palladium.[18] Recently an amphora painted in the Manner of the Lysippides Painter (*FM I* 28, unknown to Brommer) was published on which these heroes, identified by name-inscriptions, are shown separated by Athena,[19] who is an obvious person to intervene as both heroes were among her favourites. As mentioned in section 2.1, there are also some depictions with Athena separating unnamed warriors.

There are a few other images of fights where the combatants are separated that are distinguished from the above-mentioned ones by special details and therefore not connected with the standard representations of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'. On a belly-amphora in Munich two men are pushing back the warriors.[20] Perhaps the most famous

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[15] Brommer (1973) 418–419.

[16] See section 2.2.2.1. See note 6 for a second lekythos by the same painter with arms lying between the fighting men (*FM II* 16).

[17] Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, H 3358 (81083) (BA 301859).

[18] Allen (1969–1974) Tomus V, 131 *Ilias Parva,* frg. IX; Hesychius *Diomedeios anangkè.* Pearson (1917) Vol. II, p. 35–38, fragments 367 and 368 of *Lakainai*; Vol. III, p. 38–39, fragment 799 and comment. Radt (1977) 328–330, fragments 367 and 368 of *Lakainai*; 542, fragment 799 and comment.

[19] Brommer (1973) 425 mentions no black-figure representation of Odysseus and Diomedes stealing the Palladium. See section 2.2.1.2.

[20] Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 1411 (BA 301594). The depiction is usually identified as the fight of Hector and Aias. See section 2.2.2.4, note 59.

scene of warriors separated known from ancient literature is Homer, *Iliad* 7, 206–282, where Aias and Hector are fighting a duel to resolve the Trojan War and are separated while the fight remains inconclusive and night is falling.[21] Because Homer explicitly says that Aias and Hector were separated by *two* heralds, the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' – where only one person is standing in the middle – is usually not identified with this story.[22]

The scenes of Heracles and Cycnus separated by Zeus or Athena, which I will discuss in section 2.3.3, are identified by the attributes of Heracles. The same holds true for another of Heracles' fights that was popular in Athenian black-figure vase-painting: the struggle with Apollo over the tripod of Delphi.[23] Since Zeus or Hermes is shown separating them in only a few examples,[24] I presume that the intervening person does not originally belong to this composition and was added under the influence of the paintings of Heracles' fight with Cycnus.

2.2 *Subtypes* of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'

To determine the *subtypes* of *type scene* 'Fighting men separated', I started by looking at the fighters, because they are the defining *typical element*, and I used their weapons – spears or swords – as the first criterion to distinguish *subtypes*.[25]

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[21] On a Corinthian aryballos dating to the beginning of the 6th century BCE (Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 480) the fight is depicted with both names inscribed, but they are not separated. Snodgrass (1998) 112–113, fig. 44.

[22] According to BA 351603, *FM I* 48 is described as Hector and Aias in the Catalogue of Cahn and Para 261.

[23] Shapiro (1984b) 272–273. The general composition resembles the Cycnus scenes, but with changed positions: often Heracles takes the position of Cycnus: walking to right with the tripod, looking back at Apollo. The god has the position of Heracles in the Cycnus scenes: at the left, walking to right, following Heracles and trying to get the tripod back. On the sides Athena and Artemis encourage Heracles and Apollo, just as Ares and Athena do in the Cycnus scenes. Athena changes place according to the position of Heracles.

[24] Von Bothmer (1977). Shapiro (1989a) 61–64. *LIMC* s.v. Apollo and s.v. Heracles, and the Beazley Archive. Heracles and Apollo separated by Zeus: London, British Museum, B 316, hydria, Antimenes Painter (BA 320034 = *HL IV* 14)); Cleveland, Museum of Art, 15.533, neck-amphora frg., Manner of Antimenes Painter (BA 306991). Separated by Hermes: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8027, neck-amphora, Amasis Painter (BA 310454) (names inscribed); Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1207, hydria (BA 29208). A famous representation of the myth, with Zeus intervening, is the sculpture on the pediment of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (ca. 525 BCE).

[25] Tables 01 and 02. Four vases were left out of my lists because I have not been able to determine what weapons are depicted: Fragment of column-krater: Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung, F 3987, column-krater, Komast group, KX Painter (BA 300294). Zardini (2009) 346–347, nr. 26, following Vian (1945), identifies the scene as Heracles and Cycnus, separated by Zeus. However, both warriors are not visible on this fragment, and the intervening man has no visible attributes; in the *CVA* this man is described as a running Paris and the supposed shield at the right side as the breast of a Siren. Not visible on the photo nor mentioned in the description: New York Market, Sotheby's, lekythos, Athena Painter (BA 351612) (comparable with *FM I* 48, BA 351603); Vienna Market, lekythos, Beldam Painter (BA 390564); Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 491 (CC869), lekythos, Beldam Painter (BA 46888); Athena intervening, warrior to right nude with helmet, weapon not clearly visible; warrior to the left not visible).

2.2.1 *Subtype FM I* 'Men fighting with spears separated' 560-500 BCE (Table 01, Plates 1–2)

2.2.1.1 Description

On 53 vases the men fight with spears (*subtype FM I,* 'Men fighting with spears separated'). On four vases[26] this *subtype* is depicted on both sides of the vase, so there are 57 pictures. The warriors face each other and they are fully armed: they wear their helmets over their faces and carry shields. On a single vase attributed to the Manner of the Lysippides Painter (*FM I* 28), the opponents are identified by name-inscriptions as Odysseus and Diomedes, separated by Athena. Eleven times both shields are of the Boeotian type (Pl. 1, *FM I* 04). Twenty-nine times both warriors carry round shields (Pl. 1, *FM I* 02, *FM I* 17, *FM I* 32).[27] Eleven times one shield is Boeotian and the other is round (Pl. 1, *FM I* 06, *FM I* 36; Pl. 2, *FM I* 39).[28] Six times one or both shields are not visible.[29] In most cases the men wear cuirasses and greaves, but they are not always visible.[30]

In 43 of the 57 representations the intervening person is a bearded man, and only once he is depicted beardless (*FM I* 30).[31] In 28 cases he wears a long garment, a *chiton* with a mantle (Pl. 1, *FM I* 02, *FM I* 36), or a long mantle that reaches below the knee (Pl. 1, *FM I* 04). Twelve times he wears a short mantle over his nude body (Pl. 1, *FM I* 06) and twice over a short chiton.[32] In almost all representations (at least where it is visible) he is shown moving to the right while turning his head to the left.[33] In 32 cases he stretches his empty hands to both sides or raises them above his head. Only on *FM I* 13 does he grab the wrists of the opponents. Six times he holds one of his hands in front of his body as if he is carrying

[26] On *FM I* 02, *FM I* 08, *FM I* 09, and *FM I* 15 the same picture is depicted on both sides of the vase.

[27] See Table 01 for details.

[28] Usually the Boeotian shield is carried by the left warrior. Only on *FM I* 21 it is in the hand of the right warrior.

[29] On *FM I* 44 the shield of the right warrior is not visible on the photo or described. I presume a round shield has been depicted since all other lekythoi have two round shields and since a Boeotian shield at the right (when the left one is round) is unusual (see note 28). For the same reason I presume that on *FM I* 10, on which the left shield is not clearly visible and the right shield is Boeotian, the left one was probably also Boeotian.

[30] On fragment *FM I* 11 only the feet of the warriors with their greaves are visible. The man in the middle is wearing a long garment. Since in *subtype FM II* the intervening person never wears a long garment and the fighters are almost never properly armed (see section 2.2.2.1), I placed this fragment in *subtype FM I.*

[31] On *FM I* 34 he seems also beardless, but it is difficult to see because the vase is damaged and the photo not very clear.

[32] On *FM I* 33 and *FM I* 37 the garment is not visible.

[33] Although the description of *FM I* 07 says that the man is separating the warriors, he is in fact quietly standing to left. I wonder whether a separated fight has been depicted or instead a frieze with standing (and fighting) persons, especially because the bystanders – men and women standing in pairs opposite each other – are also atypical.

a staff or spear (Pl. 1, *FM I* 36), but only on *FM I* 44 is he actually carrying a spear. In all of the other pictures he is unarmed, which emphasises that he is not participating in the fight and apparently separating the fighters without danger to himself. In five cases his hands are not visible.

Five times the goddess Athena, always identified by a helmet and in two cases by an *aegis,* separates the opponents (Pl. 1, *FM I* 32; Pl. 2, *FM I* 39), and eight times an anonymous woman (Pl. 1, *FM I* 17). Both women always wear a long dress. In eleven cases they are depicted walking to the right but looking back at the warrior on the left. Once the woman stands turned to the left, perhaps holding her veil in her right hand.[34] Athena is never depicted stretching out both arms but always in the pose in which she is frequently shown on Athenian vases, with one arm stretched out and the other bent in front of her body holding her spear.[35] Since the spear is an important attribute of Athena,[36] its presence clearly takes priority over the standard pose of the unarmed intervening person with both arms outstretched. Moreover, because – being Athena – she is certainly *not* pursued by the left warrior, there is no reason to emphasise the fact that she is neither participating in the fight nor threatened. Twice the anonymous woman holds one hand in front of her body like Athena, but she never carries a spear. Once she spreads out her arms, and in three cases her arms and hands are hidden by the shields of the fighters (Pl. 2, *FM I* 17).

In 30 pictures people are shown standing nearby, looking at the fight but not intervening; in 23 cases there are no bystanders (Pl. 1, *FM I* 04, *FM I* 06, *FM I* 32; Pl. 2, *FM I* 39), and in four cases it is not clear to me whether there are any bystanders. In 15 cases the bystanders are men, mostly unarmed (Pl. 1, *FM I* 02, *FM I* 17).[37] Once the men are accompanied by an armed hoplite, and once the only (preserved) bystander is an archer.[38] In ten cases the bystanders are all women (Pl. 1, *FM I* 36). Men and women spectators are combined four times, always in friezes where the figures may have been painted just to fill the spaces at both sides of the fight. Only on *FM I* 07 is the composition unusual, because

[34] *FM I* 15 Side B. The posture of the woman on *FM I* 08b is not known to me.

[35] On *FM I* 14 the spear is not visible.

[36] Also in depictions in which Athena is mounting a chariot, she is often shown in this pose, holding the reins in one hand and her spear in the other (See section 5.13.1).

[37] Brijder (1991) 337 interprets these onlookers as representing upper-class Athenians who "seem to be present at the central event, even though it is often mythological." Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 7, following Brijder, sees "the potential for seeing spectators as models for the contemporary viewers of the vase". It may be noteworthy that in all representations of the *subtype FM I* with Athena intervening there are no onlookers.

[38] Hoplite: *FM I* 01. Archer: *FM I* 10. The archer is holding one arm forward and seems to grab the right warrior at the arm, which would be unusual. However, because of the fragmentary state it is not clearly visible.

the men and women stand facing each other in pairs. The spectators do not make gestures or show emotion. Once two women are shown running away, looking back at the fighters (Pl. 1, *FM I* 36),[39] and on *FM I* 29, where a dead warrior lies between the fighting men, the gesture of the women lifting their hands to their heads may be a sign of mourning. This detail may have been influenced by compositions where two heroes (*e.g.*, Achilles and Memnon) fight under the eyes of their divine mothers.[40] A comparable composition with a collapsing warrior between two hoplites but without bystanders is found on *FM I* 32 (Pl. 1). These depictions resemble the representations of warriors fighting over a dead body, and also of Heracles and Ares fighting after the defeat of Cycnus (see section 2.3.3.1).

2.2.1.2 Analysis

Subtype FM I gives the impression of an organised fight, where the intervening person has the role of a referee – for sport[41] or training or to settle a conflict in a fair manner.[42] The painters depict the warriors fully armed, making it clear that they have had time to prepare themselves for the fight. By painting the intervening man unarmed but richly clothed or occasionally nude, they stress the fact that he is neither participating in the fight nor in danger, but acting as a referee. His gesture with both arms outstretched suggests that he is trying to stop the fight.[43] In *FM I* 07 and *FM I* 15b, where the person in the middle stands facing to the left, it may be doubted whether the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' has been depicted.

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[39] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 226–227 discusses the shift in popularity from depicting inert to active women. On p. 204–206 he discusses the women on *FM I* 36; *idem* 210: "women spectators are shown as behaving in a less controlled and contemplative manner than men and youths."

[40] *E.g.*, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 1720, hydria, Rycroft Painter (BA 301848). On *HC II* 27 (Pl. 3) there are two women standing at both sides of the fight between Heracles and Ares over a collapsing Cycnus.

[41] On *FM I* 02, the amphora by the Affecter, a tripod – a normal price in athletic contests – is standing at the side under the handle of the vase. Tripods are also found as shield device of the right warrior: *FM I* 15, *FM I* 16, *FM I* 17, *FM I* 31, *FM I* 46. The Beazley Archive mentions tripods as shield device on both shields on *FM I* 47. Tripod as shield device of hoplite bystander: *FM I* 01.The tripod may refer to the agonistic character of the duel, but there may be another reason for the tripod as shield device: see section 2.3.3.1 and note 81 on Heracles and Cycnus. See Dahmen (1996) 239.

[42] In two cases (*FM I* 28 and *FM I* 35) the fight may be not a organised duel, but a mythological fight, where the full armor of the men may be explained by the circumstances (see section 2.1.1 and section 2.2.1.3, and notes 18, 19, 45, 50, and 62).

[43] A person fleeing from an enemy usually is shown with one arm up, the other down. Jurriaans-Helle (1983b) 11 (no page nr.); *idem* (1986a) 24. Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 65: "iconographical schema which may be called 'fleeing woman': a young woman running away, head turned back towards the pursuer, making gestures of supplication and/or alarm." Although Sourvinou-Inwood is more interested in the gestures of the pursuer, the fleeing girl in her examples is generally depicted with one arm up and the other down.

In the paintings that show a man intervening one may wonder whether a mythological scene or a real-life fight is depicted, but when the intervening person is a woman the scene is definitely mythological. As these scenes begin to appear later than those with a male referee, we can infer that they were derived from the composition with the man. Athena is a logical choice for the intervening figure. In depictions with unnamed warriors, the presence of Athena may indicate that she is considered an arbitrator in all fights. In the fight of Odysseus and Diomedes (*FM I* 28), she intervenes instead to *prevent* a fight.[44] In this scene the use of spears seems odd because it was a quarrel rather than a duel and, in fact, in the literary version of the myth they threaten each other with their swords.[45] A reason for the presence of spears may be that the *typical composition* was so strong that if swords had been depicted the restraining bystanders – who are usually present when the men are fighting with swords (*subtype FM II*) – would have been expected, in spite of the fact that they would be out of place in this particular story. The spears may also be explained by the fact that the heroes are on a dangerous mission and fully armed. This vase also shows that by adding name-inscriptions the painter could change the usual meaning of a *type scene* or *subtype* (see section 2.2.2.3).

In all cases, the bystanders watch the fight without interfering and in most cases without showing any emotion, although female onlookers sometimes react or run away (*FM I* 29; *FM I* 30; Pl. 1, *FM I* 36). Whether bystanders are included watching a duel or not seems to have been more a matter of available space than of importance for the meaning of the scene, as they are found mostly in wide friezes.

2.2.1.3 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

About half of the 53 vases of *subtype FM I* are large shapes: mostly neck-amphorae, but also belly-amphorae and a column-krater. Five times the scene is depicted on the shoulder of a hydria. Of the smaller shapes, most are lekythoi, but there are also cups, oenochoai, and olpai.

Representations of *subtype FM I* start before the middle of the 6th century BCE, but most can be dated to the last third of the century. The earliest vases of this group – all with a man intervening – are the cup by Lydos and the neck-amphorae attributed to the Affecter and to a Painter of Group E. The Antimenes Painter and painters related to him are

[44] Another mythological fight Athena tries to prevent is the fight between Heracles and Ares after Cycnus has been slain (See section 2.3).

[45] See notes 18 and 19.

represented by six vases. Most depictions of *subtype FM I* with a man intervening are found on neck-amphorae and on the shoulder panels of hydriai.

All 13 vases with a woman or Athena separating the fighting men date to the last third of the 6th century. There is hardly any overlap with painters of the vases with a man intervening. There are three belly-amphorae with Athena in this group, two of them attributed to the Lysippides Painter or painted in his manner. The anonymous woman is found intervening on smaller vases like small neck-amphorae, two oenochoai painted by the same hand,[46] and an olpe by the Leagros Group. Around and after 500 BCE *subtype FM I* is found in Athenian black-figure[47] vase-painting on 12 lekythoi (six of which were painted by the Athena Painter and two by the Diosphos Painter) and one late cup by the Caylus Painter. On all of these small vases a man is shown intervening.

Although there is seldom a direct relationship between the decorated sections of a vase, there may be some association between them. To discover whether some combinations were popular while others do not occur, I listed the paintings on other sections of the vases. On 35 vases there is a scene painted on another section.[48] Four of the vases have the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' depicted on both sides.[49] On *FM I* 41 the combat between Heracles and Cycnus (*HC II* 45) is shown, with Zeus intervening and Athena and Ares backing up their protégés, as a paradigm for the non-mythological image on the other side.

There are eleven vases with a chariot scene painted on another panel. Three times a wedding procession with gods attending is depicted. On the column-krater *FM I* 35 (= *WP III* 40) lions and boars are painted on the top of the lip of the vase. Although these animals are common in decorative friezes, their appearance on the same vase with representations of fighting warriors separated and a wedding procession makes it tempting to think of the fight between Polynices and Tydeus before the walls of Argos, separated by Adrastus when he recognises his future sons-in-law by their shield devices of a boar and a lion. In the story this episode is followed by the wedding of the heroes with the king's daughters, one of whom may be the woman shown standing to the side. Although this fight was not an organised

[46] Oenochoai: *FM I* 16 and *FM I* 17. Neck-amphora *FM I* 15 is probably also by the same hand.

[47] On Athenian red-figure pottery the *type scene* occurs from the last decades of the 6th century. This is outside the focus of this book.

[48] See Table 01. On the oenochoai, olpai, and lekythoi there are no other decorated sections. *FM I* 11 is a fragment of only one side of an amphora.

[49] *FM I* 02, *FM I* 08, *FM I* 09, *FM I* 15. About this type of repetition of the same picture: see Steiner (2007) 5; 42–51. See Chapter 1, section 1.10. The woman on side B of *FM I* 15 is standing to left; therefore it is doubtful whether the *type scene* has been depicted.

duel, the full armour of the men can be explained by the mythological circumstances.[50] In the wedding-procession on *FM I* 24 (=*WP IV* 08) the names of Hebe and Heracles are inscribed for the bride and groom. On four other vases Athena and Heracles stand in or near the chariot;[51] once Athena (without Heracles) is shown mounting the chariot (*FM I* 06 = *ATH* 18). There are four more representations of Heracles fighting or standing amid the gods. Altogether, Heracles is depicted on one third of the vases. Other mythological subjects include an Amazonomachy, a Gigantomachy, the Return of Hephaestus with satyrs, and four other Dionysiac scenes on amphorae, the presence of which may be explained by the function of the vases.

There are a few daily-life scenes: hoplites and women, a hoplite leaving home, a horseman leaving home, and a fountain house – a common image on a hydria. On the early lekythos by the Taleides Painter, running athletes are painted on the shoulder.

To summarise, when there is another painted image on vases with *subtype FM I,* in most cases a mythological or heroic scene was depicted and both Heracles and chariots are often found.

2.2.2 *Subtype FM II* 'Men fighting with swords separated' 540-490 BCE (Table 02, Plates 2–3)

2.2.2.1 Description

On 16 vases two men or young men[52] fight with swords (*subtype FM II,* 'Men fighting with swords separated'). On only one of these, a belly-amphora by the Swing Painter (Pl. 2, *FM II* 01), are they fully armed with helmets covering their faces, cuirasses, and Boeotian shields. On a lekythos attributed to the Leagros Group (Pl. 2, *FM II* 08), they are also fully armed and carrying round shields, but they wear their helmets pushed back on the crowns of their heads. On a belly-amphora attributed to the same Group (Pl. 2, *FM II* 06), the fighters are nude except for greaves, carry round shields, and wear their helmets pushed back. On *FM II* 10 the only visible fighter wears a short chiton. In all other cases the opponents are nude.

[50] See note 42. Other wedding processions: *FM I* 24, *FM I* 29. On *FM I* 34 a chariot scene is depicted; according to the description a couple is standing in the chariot, but it is not clear whether a man and woman or two men are depicted. A man with a lyre is standing near the horses.

[51] *FM I* 01 = *AP I* 04; *FM I* 31 = *AP V* 14. *FM I* 14: Heracles and Athena in chariot wheeling round. *FM I* 20: Heracles and Athena in frontal chariot. .

[52] On some vases the opponents, or one of them, are beardless. However, it is not always clearly visible on the photos or mentioned in the descriptions.

Once, the fighters wear wreaths in their hair (Pl. 2, *FM II* 02). In the cases where they are nude and lack a baldric, they carry the scabbards of their swords in their left hands.

In all cases the person intervening is a man. He is usually bearded, but on three vases he is beardless (Pl. 2, *FM II* 01).[53] He may be nude (Pl. 2, *FM II* 01), wear a loin cloth (Pl. 2, *FM II* 02), a short mantle (Pl. 2, *FM II* 06, *FM II* 08; Pl. 3, *FM II* 15), or a short chiton with a short mantle (Pl. 2, *FM II* 13); but he never wears a long garment. Nine times he stretches out both arms (Pl. 2, *FM II* 01, *FM II* 02, *FM II* 06) and twice he holds one hand up and the other down (*FM II* 05; Pl. 2, *FM II* 08). Twice he seems to carry a spear in his right hand (Pl. 2, *FM II* 13; Pl. 3, *FM II* 15) and once a staff in his left hand (*FM II* 12). On *FM I* 10 it is not possible to see whether he is carrying something because of the fragmentary condition of the vase.

All of the other people depicted are male and in most cases a few are young boys and some are nude. In 13 cases the bystanders are not just standing and looking at the fight but actually grabbing the opponents by their hands or waists to restrain them. Six times they stand behind the opponents, pulling them apart, but in the other cases there are additional men between the fighters, trying to push them apart. Once the bystanders do not interfere but show emotion, making a gesture of dismay or mourning by bringing a hand to the forehead (Pl. 2, *FM II* 06); these are the only persons who wear a long mantle in this group. Twice (Pl. 3, *FM II* 15; *FM II* 16) there are no bystanders at all.

On *FM II* 15 (Pl. 3) a helmet, shield, spears, and a cloak on a stool are depicted in the middle between the fighters. In the photograph of *FM II* 16 only the helmet, spear, and a cloak on a chair are visible.

2.2.2.2 Analysis

Subtype FM II gives the impression of a quarrel that has suddenly broken out. Only on one vase (Pl. 2, *FM II* 01) are the opponents depicted fully armed and carrying Boeotian shields. On two vases they have round shields and are partly armed, but they wear their helmets pushed back on the crowns of their heads. The opponents, the intervening person, and the onlookers usually wear short chitons or are partly nude. They may be men or young men, but no women are present. This, and the fact that on *FM II* 02 (Pl. 2) the opponents are wearing

[53] *FM II* 01, *FM II* 04, *FM II* 05. Beard not visible: *FM II* 09, *FM II* 10.

wreaths, indicate that the setting is a banquet[54] or another festive occasion when it was normal to set aside one's weapons.[55] The opponents have not had time to arm themselves fully but hastily put a helmet loosely on the head and grabbed a sword still in its scabbard and pulled it out while holding the sheath. Only the fighters who are wearing (some) armour and a shield carry their scabbards on their baldrics.[56]

The intervening man most often stretches out both arms to separate the fighters. However, the pose with one arm up and one down, which usually indicates someone is running or flying, is also found a few times, giving some excitement to the picture. The fact that three times the intervening person is holding a staff or spear gives the impression that he has grabbed a weapon because – as this is not an organised duel and the hotheads are fighting without rules – there is also danger for the arbiter.

The bystanders are actively interfering. This is a sign that the fight is not a duel where they are supposed to stand aside but a quarrel in which anyone may intervene.

2.2.2.3 Changing the composition

There are two exceptions to the composition in this list: on *FM II* 15 (Pl. 3) and *FM II* 16, both attributed to the Athena Painter, no intervening bystanders are depicted and armour is lying on the ground between the fighters. The first is the vase identified by Robert as Aias and Odysseus fighting over the arms of Achilles, from which the whole group of representations of 'Quarrelling heroes parted' came to be identified as Aias and Odysseus. However, in my opinion it is the Athena Painter who gave the already existing *subtype FM II* this new mythological meaning. As mentioned above, the Athena Painter also painted six lekythoi with *subtype FM I*, but for these two vases, on which he wanted to paint the

[54] On *FM II* 12 the fighting man on the left seems to wear a *phorbeia*, the leather strap around the mouth and cheeks used by auloi-players. For the origin of the representation in an argument during a banquet, see the early hydria in Basel, Antikenmuseum, BS 408, Circle of Lydos (BA 6916): two nude men are depicted carrying short mantles over their arms. The man at the left is drawing his sword out of the sheath. An amusing detail is that the man at the right is not holding a sword but a big carving knife for cutting meat. This places the scene at a dinner party. There is no intervening person and the onlookers are not grabbing the opponents, but they are gesticulating and clearly reacting. On the shoulder of the vase the combat of Heracles against the centaurs is depicted. The two pictures may be paradigmatically related as examples of what might happen after excessive drinking.

[55] Homer, *Odyssey* 19, 10–13: Odysseus orders Telemachus to remove the weapons from the hall and tells him what to say if the suitors ask him why: "since the very presence of a weapon provokes a man to use it you might start quarrelling in your cups and wound each other, thus spoiling your festivities". (Translation: E.V. Rieu). I owe this reference to Prof. dr. Irene de Jong.

[56] Scabbards on belts: *FM II* 01, *FM II* 06, *FM II* 08, *FM II* 10. On *FM II* 06 the warriors are nude. Although they are not wearing baldrics, the scabbards are depicted hanging at their sides, because they need their left hands to carry their shields.

mythological argument between Aias and Odysseus, he deliberately chose *subtype FM II* as the basis of the new composition. It is the insertion of a meaningful new detail – the disputed arms – while staying within the original meaning of the *typical composition* – a quarrel – that made that the viewer understand which mythical event was depicted.

The Athena Painter also used the *typical composition* of *subtype FM II* for another, completely different scene preserved on a fragment of an oenochoe in Oxford;[57] because in this picture the new meaning has nothing to do with the original meaning 'quarrel', he added name-inscriptions. A man standing between two men armed with swords seems to separate them, but the name Dolon inscribed next to him makes it clear that he is not intervening but is himself threatened from both sides by Odysseus, whose name has also been inscribed, and by Diomedes. The same heroes appear on a vase in the Manner of the Lysippides Painter with a depiction of *subtype FM I*, where they are separated by Athena (*FM I* 28). These vases prove that a painter could always change the meaning of a *typical composition* by adding names, attributes, or details like the armour of Achilles that refer to other stories.

2.2.2.4 Comparable representations

There are a few vases that at first sight seem to belong to the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' but on closer examination have a different composition.

On a neck-amphora in the Louvre[58] two fully armed warriors fight with spears while six men are grabbing them and trying to restrain them. This is the only example of warriors fighting with spears with bystanders intervening. It seems to be a contamination of *subtypes FM I* and *FM II,* but there are more bystanders than usual and there is no central intervening person depicted. The man in the middle, although largely covered by the shield of the man at the right, is walking to the left, trying to restrain the man at the left. So here the painter – undoubtedly inspired by the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' – created his own composition, omitting one of the obligatory elements (the intervening person) and mixing elements of two different subtypes (the weapons of *subtype FM I* and the intervening bystanders of *subtype FM II*).

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[57] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 226, oenochoe (BA 330814). How similar both compositions are, appears from the description of *FM I* 52 in the catalogue of Bonhams (24-4-2012, nr. 2), where the depiction is described as: "a combat scene with two warriors ... both thrusting their spear into a bearded warrior in the centre". However, the man in the centre is not a warrior but wearing a long garment, and he is intervening between the fighters who are not thrusting their spear into him but to each other.

[58] Paris, Louvre F57, neck-amphora, Class of Cambridge 49, 520–500 BCE (BA 301644).

Two old men intervening in a fight with swords are depicted on a famous belly-amphora in Munich.[59] This image is usually identified as the duel of Hector and Aias with the two heralds intervening (Homer, *Iliad* 7, 206–282).[60] Although in the *Iliad* the fight was stopped the moment the heroes drew their swords, I do not think that event is depicted here because there is no intervening person. The old men are in fact not intervening with dignity like the heralds in the *Iliad* nor like the intervening man of *subtype FM I*, spreading their arms or using a staff. Instead, they grab the warriors by the shoulders and push them apart, while other nude men wearing wreaths grab the warriors by their arms. As the warriors are wearing their helmets (also with wreaths) pushed back on the crowns of their heads, a characteristic feature of *subtype FM II*, the impression is more of an argument that suddenly has broken out than of an arranged duel. This is corroborated by the fact that the fighters are using swords and not the spears that are characteristic of *subtype FM I*. In my opinion the painter is showing various *typical elements* of a quarrel, not of a duel; therefore, it was not his intention to depict Aias and Hector.

2.2.2.5 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Only four representations of *subtype FM II* are found on large vases; there are nine representations on late lekythoi, two on oenochoai, and one on a skyphos. Images of *subtype FM II* begin about 540–530 BCE, but most depictions are dated to the last two decades of the 6th century BCE and the beginning of the 5th century. The earliest vases in the list are those by the Swing Painter and by the Taleides Painter. There are four vases by the Leagros Group and the related Acheloos Painter.[61] There are four lekythoi by the Edinburgh Painter and two by the Athena Painter.

On five vases there is a painting in another panel. Twice Dionysus is shown surrounded by satyrs and maenads (*FM II* 06 and *FM II* 07). On *FM II* 01 a *kitharode* and dancing men are depicted. The other two vases have hoplite scenes: on *FM II* 03 a hoplite leaving home and on *FM II* 05 hoplites fighting over the body of a fallen warrior. This last

[59] Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 1411, Painter of Munich 1410, 520 BCE (BA 301594).

[60] Latacz, Greub, Blome, and Wieczorak (2008) 366–367, No. 101.

[61] *FM II* 08 (Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 3521), which I formerly attributed to an artist near the Edinburgh Painter (Jurriaans-Helle (1987) 16), is now attributed by Van de Put (*CVA* Amsterdam 3, 13–15, pl. 150.2, 152, 153.1, following Jubier) to the Leagros Group and specifically compared to an artist near the Acheloos Painter. Van de Put states that the men are not Aias and Odysseus because they are beardless and young. Kreuzer (2009) in her review of the *CVA* discusses the depiction and contends that before the interpretation as Aias and Odysseus is rejected, first should be examined whether there are more depictions of beardless heroes of the Trojan War.

picture has seven persons in a composition that resembles the scene on the other side where quarrelling *ephebes* are separated. This compositional repetition may point towards a comparison between a quarrel between boys and a real fight where a man has been killed.

The images on the other sections of these vases are all connected with the world of men. Although it is difficult to draw conclusions when there are only five vases, it is remarkable that neither Heracles nor another mythological episode is painted on the other panels except for the Dionysiac scenes, which are connected more with symposia than with mythology.

2.2.3 Comparison of *subtypes FM I* and *FM II*

In both *subtypes* the presence of two fighting men and an intervening person is obligatory. Typical of *subtype FM I* is the fact that the fighting men are fully armed and that the onlookers, when present, do *not* intervene. There are in most cases no clues to the identity of the fighters nor why they are fighting. It could be for sport, training, or to decide a military conflict as in *Iliad,* Book 7. The exceptions are *FM I* 28 and *FM I* 35, where Odysseus and Diomedes, and possibly Polynices and Tydeus, are represented. In these cases it is not an organised duel that is depicted, but rather a quarrel that has suddenly broken out. The fact that the heroes are fully armed and holding spears is explained by the mythological context and by the fact that when they were wielding swords, there should be also restraining bystanders, who would be out of place in these particular scenes.[62]

Variations in armour, especially shields, seem to be determined by the available space and by the preferences of the painters, although the use of Boeotian shields may give the scene a mythological colouring. The identity of the intervening person (a man, a woman, or Athena) does not affect the fact that an arranged duel is shown, for which the opponents have fully armed themselves. Although the intervening man is most often dressed in a long garment, variations in his clothing are not relevant for the meaning of the picture, but the fact that he is almost always unarmed certainly is. As the referee in a duel, he is not a threatened person who needs to defend himself. The presence of onlookers – who may be men, women, or a hoplite – seems to be determined by the available space. However, when Athena intervenes, there are no bystanders.

Typical for *subtype FM II* are the facts that the fighting men are *not* fully armed and that the onlookers – all men – are restraining the fighters. That the man intervening between

[62] See notes 18, 19, 42, 45, and 50, and sections 2.1.1, 2.2.1.2, and 2.2.1.3.

the fighters is never dressed in a long garment; that all persons – fighters, arbiter, and onlookers – are nude or barely dressed; and that the fighters are not fully armed characterise the scene as a quarrel during a symposium and not a duel.

Subtype FM I is found more frequently on large shapes (18 of which are neck-amphorae), while *subtype FM II* is depicted mostly on small shapes. This may have to do with the fact that *subtype FM II* developed later in Athenian black-figure: it is noteworthy that the later vases of *subtype FM I* are also all small shapes. However, when the meaning of both *subtypes* is compared, *subtype FM II*, a quarrel during a symposium, seems more appropriate on small vases for personal use, while *subtype FM I*, a duel of hoplites, has more heroic appeal and seems more apt for large, costly vases.

The difference in shapes is related to which painters depicted the *subtypes*. Painters of large vases, like the Antimenes Painter and the Lysippides Painter and their Circles, depicted *subtype FM I* but did not paint *subtype FM II*. Of the painters whose vases are found in both groups – the Taleides Painter, someone near Painter N, the Leagros Group, and the Edinburgh Painter – the last one painted *subtype FM II* on lekythoi and *subtype FM I* on a belly-amphora. However, the opposite also occurs: an olpe with *subtype FM I* is attributed to the Leagros Group, but so are a belly amphora, a hydria, and a lekythos with *subtype FM II*. On five lekythoi by the Athena Painter *subtype FM I* is represented. He painted *subtype FM II* only twice, and then he gave a mythological meaning to the scene by adding the armour lying on the ground.

When there is another depiction on a vase with *subtype FM I*, it is almost always a mythological subject and often a scene with Heracles, while for *subtype FM II* there is no mythological scene except for two vases with Dionysiac scenes.

2.2.4 Change over time of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'

The earliest representations of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' – the fragment of a Laconian cup in the Cyrene Museum and the bronze shield buckle plate in Olympia – are from the Peloponnese and date to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE.[63] Both resemble *subtype FM II*, because the surrounding men are grabbing the arms of the opponents who are holding swords. On the buckle plate (*text figure 3*) a man is intervening between the fighters, but the opponents wear full armour and helmets. On the cup fragment, Parthenopaeus grabs the arm of a man holding a sword. Both objects have a connection with the myth of the

[63] Section 2.1.1. See notes 8 and 13.

'Seven against Thebes', as is also the case with the fight described by Pausanias on the supposedly slightly later Throne of Amyclae, where Adrastus and Tydeus were shown restraining the fighters Amphiaraus and Lycurgus.

Subtype FM I with a man intervening and with non-intervening onlookers appears in Athenian vase-painting around 550 BCE. There are few clues about who is fighting or whether a mythological episode is depicted, but the fact that in many scenes at least one of the warriors carries a Boeotian shield gives the *subtype* a heroic aura. The *variant* with Athena or a woman as the intervening person first occurs around 530 BCE, perhaps under the influence of mythological scenes such as the fight between Heracles and Cycnus (see section 2.3.3).

Subtype FM II is also found in Athenian black-figure vase-painting from about 530 BCE. In the earliest known representation (Pl. 2, *FM II* 01) the opponents are fully armed, just as in *subtype FM I*. However, the Swing Painter, perhaps influenced by the older Peloponnesian tradition mentioned at the beginning of this section, gave a new twist to the image: instead of non-intervening bystanders – whose presence is not obligatory – he made them physically interfere in the fight. Soon, however, the setting was transformed to a more daily-life image by changing the clothing of the persons, creating the picture of a quarrel during a daily-life banquet.

At the end of the century the Athena Painter, by adding a pile of weapons, changed the image of the symposium quarrel back to a mythological subject, the famous quarrel between Aias and Odysseus.[64] This is not necessarily the same meaning the original picture had. There is no indication that the earliest representation of *subtype FM II* showed Aias and Odysseus, nor that *subtype FM I* depicted them. However, after Aias was made the eponymous hero of one of the ten Tribes by Cleisthenes in his reforms of 508 BCE, Aias' popularity grew and there would likely have been demand for images of him.[65] Therefore, to represent his quarrel with Odysseus, the painters adapted an existing *typical composition* that was related in meaning, the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated', and used *subtype FM II* as suitable to depict a sudden quarrel.

[64] Also in the chariot-scenes discussed in this study (see Chapters 3–5), after 550 BCE there is a clear tendency to add daily-life details to mythological scenes, followed by a secondary tendency to give scenes a (new) mythological meaning again by adding names or attributes in the last decades of the century. (See sections 6.1 and 6.2).

[65] Herodotus, *Hist*. 5, 66,2; Williams (1980) 143. See section 6.5.

2.3 *Type scene* 'Heracles and Cycnus'

As mentioned above (section 2.0), Athenian black-figure vase-painting iconography includes another standard composition of two fighting men separated: Heracles and a hoplite, most often identified as Cycnus, separated by Zeus or Athena.[66] The mythological scene is usually identified by Heracles' *typical attributes,* the lion skin and club, or by name-inscriptions. This group of images is examined here to establish whether the pictures with anonymous heroes are related to, or possibly derived from, the Heracles scene.

The representations of the *type scene* 'Heracles and Cycnus' have been collected by Francesca Zardini, whose interest is more in the possible influence of the literary tradition of the myth than in the iconographical compositions.[67] I took Zardini's list of representations of Heracles and Cycnus – with some alterations – as the basis for my corpus. Her list comprises not only paintings of the two heroes separated (my *subtype HC II*) but also the more frequently found depictions of the fight without someone intervening (my *subtype HC I*). I will discuss this last group only briefly and concentrate on the vases on which Heracles and Cycnus are separated by Zeus or Athena.

2.3.1 The myth of Cycnus

The story of Cycnus is best known to us from the *Aspis* by Pseudo Hesiod, but several versions are known. Cycnus, a son of Ares, was a brigand who made his living as a robber by stealing the cattle being driven to the sanctuary of Apollo to be sacrificed. He beheaded his victims in order to use their skulls to build a sanctuary for his father Ares (or for Apollo). When Heracles fights Cycnus, Ares comes to defend his son; and after Cycnus has been killed, Ares attacks Heracles, who manages to wound the god. Athena (or in another version of the story, the thunderbolt of Zeus) intervenes to save Heracles. The popularity of the representation of Heracles fighting with Cycnus, showing the hero as protector of the

[66] Vian (1945). Shapiro (1984a). Shapiro (1984b). Shapiro (1989b) 20–24. Shapiro (1990b) 124–125. Shapiro (1993) 208–215. Zardini (2009). In a few representations of Heracles and Apollo fighting over the Delphic tripod, Zeus or Hermes intervenes. See section 2.1.1, notes 23 and 24. According to Shapiro (1984b) 273, both episodes may be seen as "reflections of Athenian relations with Delphi during the Peisistratid tyranny".

[67] Zardini (2009) gives a list and description of 166 representations in Greek vase-painting of the myth of Heracles and Cycnus. Her list also includes 32 red-figure and non-Athenian black-figure vases. In her list are some doubtful representations and fragments that are difficult to interpret. See notes 68, 72, 73, 75, and 76. Zardini (2009) 5–52 gives also an overview of all texts, discussing the variants (positive and negative connotation of Cycnus; where the fight is situated, the sanctuary of Apollo in Pagasai (Thessaly) or Delphi) and their possible influence on the iconographical tradition. Apart from the *Aspis*, the myth was told in the *Thebaid*, Stesichorus' *Cycnus*, Pindar's *Olympic Ode* X, Euripides' *Heracles,* and several other sources.

sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, may have been inspired by the growing popularity of Apollo during the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons.

2.3.2 *Subtype HC I* 'Heracles and Cycnus fighting' 550-490 BCE

2.3.2.1 Description

On 77 vases (out of 134 Athenian black-figure vases on Zardini's list) Heracles and Cycnus are shown fighting but not separated by an intervening person (*subtype HC I*).[68]

The *typical element* that is always present is the two fighters: Heracles – usually identified by the lion skin – and Cycnus.[69] On all Athenian black-figure vases on which the name of Cycnus is inscribed, he is shown as a typical hoplite, which distinguishes him from most of Heracles' opponents,[70] and he is shown collapsing, which makes clear that he will be defeated. Therefore I presume that on other vases where Heracles is fighting a retreating or collapsing hoplite, the fight with Cycnus is depicted, especially when Athena and another hoplite (Ares) are present. On only one Athenian black-figure vase[71] is Cycnus shown as fighting boldly, an equal opponent of Heracles; in this case the identification of the scene is

[68] On neck-amphora Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1917.471 (BA 1274, Zardini 48) the same scene is found on both sides of the vase. On skyphos Paris, Musée du Louvre, F419 (BA 330868, Zardini 117) the same scene seems to be depicted on both sides, but on one side the name TROOS has been written on the shield of the adversary of Heracles. I left Zardini 77, 107, 115, 121, and 162 out of my list, because Heracles is not depicted with a lion skin or club and there are no other indications that one of his fights is intended. I left Zardini 13 and 86 out because the opponent of Heracles is totally lost. I left Zardini 157 out because it is not a fight. I used Zardini 1, 3, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 67, 72, 78, 79, 83, 88, 89, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 136, 140, 141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 152, 153, 160, 163, 165.

[69] Cycnus is always depicted as a hoplite. Therefore in general I will call the hoplite fighting against Heracles Cycnus, although I will argue that in some cases that he is not the person (see sections 2.3.3.2 and 2.3.4).

[70] Although Heracles is frequently depicted fighting, his opponents are mostly easily recognised by their (often unique) appearance, an attribute, or another object. See note 68 for a hoplite who is apparently named Troos. Other opponents of Heracles depicted as hoplites are the Giants, but in the Gigantomachy other gods are usually present to identify the scene. Finally, the god Ares is represented as a hoplite (see section 2.3.3.2).

[71] Vatican City, Museo Etrusco Gregoriano, 395, a neck-amphora by the Antimenes Painter: (BA 320180, Zardini 130). On belly-amphora Paris, Musée du Louvre, F36, attributed to the Amasis Painter, Cycnus is opposing Heracles, but his knees are bent; Ares is standing behind him (BA 310433, Zardini 110). On Paris, Musée du Louvre, F129, a cup attributed to Skythes (BA 200430, Zardini 111), Heracles is painted on one side and an attacking hoplite on the other. Maybe here too Cycnus is meant. In other pottery styles Cycnus is depicted as an equal opponent: Euboean lekythos, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1913.110 (BA 9390, Zardini 85). On an Euboean neck-amphora Cycnus is attacking Heracles, although his knees seem to be bent: Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum, 86 AE 53 (BA 15387, Zardini 70). On a Corinthian fragment Heracles is not visible, but Cycnus (with his name inscribed) seems to stand firm: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 3410, column-krater frg. (*LIMC* Cycnus 138, Zardini 4).

based on the presence of Athena and of a second hoplite in attacking position standing behind Cycnus, who can be identified as Ares.

On 44 vases one or more gods are present, usually Athena and a hoplite who is to be identified as Ares. They may stand to the side or fight, but they do not restrain the heroes. They are not an obligatory *typical element*: on 28 vases they are not present, and seven times their presence is not certain because of the fragmentary condition.

2.3.2.2 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The *subtype* 'Heracles and Cycnus fighting' is found in most cases on large vases: neck-amphorae, belly-amphorae, hydriai, and a column-krater. It is also painted on small panels of large vases such as the shoulder panels of hydriai and the neck of a volute-krater, and small shapes, such as lekythoi (18 times), cups, skyphoi, a kyathos, an oenochoe, and an olpe.

The composition appears in the middle of the 6th century BCE on vases attributed to the Painter of London B 76 or Lydos, the Amasis Painter, the Princeton Painter, and the Painter of Berlin 1686. It became popular in the last third of the 6th and the first quarter of the 5th centuries. Among later painters are the Antimenes Painter (7 vases), the Lysippides Painter (3 vases), the Leagros Group (14 vases); there are 16 late lekythoi attributed to the Athena Painter, the Diosphos Painter, the Gela Painter, the Haimon Group, and the Pholos Painter.

On 45 vases there is a painting on another section. Fifteen times a mythological scene is depicted, four of which include Heracles. Dionysiac scenes are found on 14 vases. On the others are representations of hoplites leaving home or fighting, chariots, komasts, and athletes.

2.3.3 *Subtype HC II* 'Heracles and Cycnus separated' 570-490 BCE (Table 03, Plate 3)

2.3.3.1 Description

On 45 Athenian black-figure vases,[72] Heracles and Cycnus fight and Zeus – or in a few cases Athena – intervenes (*subtype HC II*). Because on one vase the fight of Heracles and Cycnus

[72] In Table 03 the vase numbers in Zardini are given. I left out Zardini 20, 25 and 65 since I assume that they depict a Gigantomachy: Zeus is not separating the opponents but participating in the fight by throwing a thunderbolt, and Heracles is standing on the pole of a chariot, which is typical for Gigantomachy representations: Jurriaans-Helle (2009). I left out Zardini 26 (see note 25) and 64 (*FM I* 36), because there is no indication that Heracles or Zeus are represented. I included Zardini 38 in Table 03 (*HC II* 01), since in my opinion she gives a wrong interpretation of the picture on the fragment (Zardini p. 191–192): the snakes are not threatening Heracles but are part of the shield of Athena, while the stretched-out hand does not belong to

is depicted on both sides, there are 46 representations of this *subtype* (Pl. 3, *HC II* 09).[73] On three early vases, two by Lydos (*HC II* 03; Pl. 3, *HC II* 05) and one by the Amasis Painter (*HC II* 06), name-inscriptions identify the scene.

Heracles is identified in almost all cases by his lion skin. Twice[74] he is not wearing it but identification of the scene is possible because of the composition with the collapsing hoplite and the presence of Zeus, Athena, and Ares. Heracles fights with a spear 20 times and then he almost always carries a shield, usually a Boeotian one. In 20 cases he fights with a sword and then he usually has no shield (Pl. 3, *HC II* 15). Once he fights with his club, and once he holds a bow in his left hand. Five times his weapons are not visible because of the fragmentary condition of the vases.

Cycnus – or more accurately the opponent of Heracles – wears full armour with the helmet pulled down over his face. He usually fights with a spear and only twice with a sword (*HC II* 10 and *HC II* 34), so on some vases the heroes fight each other with different weapons. In most cases Cycnus carries a round shield. He is shown attacking Heracles 17 times, but in 27 representations he is collapsing, kneeling, sitting, or fleeing while turning his head back towards Heracles, or – in two cases – lying dead on the ground.

On 39 of the 46 representations Zeus is intervening in the fight, usually walking to the right while looking back at Heracles and raising both arms. In most cases the god wears a long garment or mantle (Pl. 3, *HC II* 15), but a few times he wears a short mantle (Pl. 3, *HC II* 05, *HC II* 09). On *HC II* 37 he holds a thunderbolt and on *HC II* 32 a spear. Four times Athena stands in the middle of the fight, holding a spear on three vases, while on a lekythos by the Athena Painter a spear and shield are on the ground next to her (*HC II* 42). On the same vase Heracles' club is also standing on the ground. On three late vases no person

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Heracles coming from the right but to Zeus, who is intervening. My *HC II* 04 is Zardini 17, but she did not recognise the fact that the heroes are being separated. My *HC II* 34 is Zardini 161, but she did not recognise the thunderbolt in the middle. Not in Zardini are *HC II* 21 (which I added because part of the lion skin is visible); *HC* II 31, which is described as a Gigantomachy in True and Hamma (1994) 89; *HC II* 35, which is described in the Beazley Archive as a Gigantomachy. However, both last-mentioned vases have the *typical composition* of the Cycnus scene.

[73] On *HC II* 44 the scene seems to have been depicted on both sides according to the description in Collignon, Couve (1902–1904) nr. 1100. The description is not very clear, however, and there is no photo of side B. It is possible that the *subtype FM I* of 'Fighting men separated' has been depicted as on the other very similar cup by the Caylus Painter (*FM I* 41 = *HC II* 45). Since this is not clear, I left the other side of *HC II* 44 out of my lists for *FM I* and *HC II*.

[74] *HC II* 35, *HC II* 39.

intervenes, but a thunderbolt descends between the two warriors (Pl. 3, *HC II* 40).[75] Although Shapiro interprets this not as Zeus interrupting the fight but rather giving Heracles a sign of encouragement,[76] I included these vases in my list, since in my opinion in all three cases Cycnus is collapsed on the floor and Heracles is attacking Ares rather than Cycnus, in which fight an intervention by Zeus is appropriate.

In the depictions with Zeus (or his thunderbolt) intervening, Athena stands behind Heracles on 30 vases, 21 times in an attacking posture (Pl. 3, *HC II* 05, *HC II* 40). On 33 vases a hoplite – usually identified as Ares – stands behind Cycnus, as far as I can see in all cases attacking and holding a spear. Seven times the gods are not shown standing behind the fighters, and in all of these cases the opponent of Heracles is depicted as attacking and not giving any sign of collapsing or retreating, and both opponents are fighting with a spear (Pl. 3, *HC II* 09).[77] On one of the four vases where Athena is intervening, Cycnus is shown collapsed on the ground and the attacking hoplite can be identified as Ares (Pl. 3, *HC II* 27).[78] On the other three vases, the opponent of Heracles is attacking; on *HC II* 29 and *HC II* 42 there is no other hoplite behind him.

Sometimes there are other gods present, most often Hermes. The oenochoe by Lydos (Pl. 3, *HC II* 05) is the most complete representation of the myth in which many gods are represented, including Apollo. There may also be women standing to the side (Pl. 3, *HC II* 27). Sometimes an anonymous woman stands behind Ares, as a kind of pendant to Athena on the left.

On a few vases chariots are depicted, waiting (Pl. 3, *HC II* 05) or in fast movement. On *HC II* 31 and *HC II* 33 Athena is standing in one of the racing chariots, holding the reins. The *Aspis* tells how Heracles and Cycnus drove their chariots towards each other before the fight, so chariots may have played a role in some versions of the myth. On *HC II* 05 the

[75] Thunderbolt: *HC II* 34, *HC II* 40*, HC II* 41. It is remarkable that there are only a few vases showing *subtype HC II* in Zardini's list that are *not* Athenian black-figure: once Athena is depicted between the warriors: Athenian red-figure, Geneva, Collection Chamay, hydria (BA 200200, Zardini 46); four times a thunderbolt is depicted between the two warriors: Athenian red-figure, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco Villa Giulia, Vighi 99, volute-krater (BA 201940, Zardini 134); Etruscan black-figure, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, B 3146, hydria (*LIMC* Cycnus 122, Zardini 142); Etruscan black-figure, Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, 59/5, amphora (BA 1004008, Zardini 49); Apulian red-figure, Malibu. J.P. Getty Museum, 86 AE 411, calyx-krater (*LIMC* Cycnus 159, Zardini 71). In the last two cases Heracles is not recognisable and the thunderbolt is the reason to identify the pictures as the fight of Heracles and Cycnus.

[76] Shapiro (1984a) 527. On Zardini 145 and 165 a bird is flying between the opponents. This may be interpreted as Zeus' eagle. Since birds are also painted in other places and may have other meanings (see section 3.8.2; Zardini (2009) 90–95), I left these vases out of this list and added them to *subtype HC I.*

[77] *HC II* 09a-b (both sides), *HC II* 12, *HC II* 18, *HC II* 26, *HC II* 31, *HC II* 33.

[78] *HC II* 27 (Cycnus sitting), *HC II* 28, *HC II* 29, *HC II* 42.

chariots with Iolaus and Phobos as charioteers belong to the scene.[79] In the other cases the presence of the chariots – although fitting into the story – may also be explained by the fact that chariots are often depicted on the shoulder of a hydria, the neck of a volute-krater, and the top of the lip of a dinos. In these positions the chariots sometimes belong to a composition, but often they are used as a standard-motif to separate the various scenes in a frieze. There may be also some influence from Gigantomachy scenes, where chariots are part of the battle.[80] On three vases horsemen are depicted, running or waiting to the side.

The story of Cycnus is connected with Apollo and Delphi. Although Cycnus was stealing offerings intended for Apollo and hence no friend of the god, his and Ares' shield device is often a tripod, the symbol of the sanctuary at Delphi (Pl. 3, *HC II* 15).[81] Although this is a common shield device that could be used without any special meaning, I believe that consciously or unconsciously the painter chose the symbol to help the viewer recognise the story.

2.3.3.2 Analysis

In most cases *subtype HC II* gives the impression that Heracles is winning the fight, because, as in *subtype HC I*, Cycnus is running away or collapsing. This corresponds with the fact that Athena is depicted eight times just looking at the fight, while Ares is always shown fighting, indicating that Cycnus needs help, while Heracles does not. At the same time the fighting pose of Ares refers to his own fight with Heracles after the dead of Cycnus.

In 27 cases Cycnus is kneeling, sitting defenceless on the ground, or lying dead, and no longer participating in the fight (Pl. 3, *HC II* 05, *HC II* 15, *HC II* 27, *HC II* 40). In these cases Ares is the opponent of Heracles, and in these cases it makes sense that they have to be separated, because the mortal Heracles should not fight with the god himself. Also in *Aspis* 331–337 Athena prevents the fight between Ares and Heracles. Although there is no literary tradition of Zeus intervening, as the father of both Ares and Heracles he is a logical choice.

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[79] Shapiro (1993) 208–215. Stansbury-O'Donnell (1999) 126: Chariots generally are left out or placed to the sides of the composition, but here they are more prominent since they are placed in front of the combatants.

[80] See note 72. For chariots as standard-motifs, see chapter 3, sections 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.7.

[81] Shapiro (1984b) 271; *idem* (1989b) 21. Dahmen (1996) 238–240. Shield device tripod: Cycnus: *HC II* 08, *HC II* 15 (both by painters close to the Princeton Group). Ares: *HC II* 22, *HC II* 27, *HC II* 34, *HC II* 37. There are also tripod shield devices in *subtype HC I*. See Zardini (2009) 180–181: Zardini 32, 34, 45, 48, 70 (Euboean), 78, 93, 150, 153. See note 41 for the tripod as shield device in *subtype FM I*. There it may have been used to indicate the agonistic character of the duel, but it is possible that the origin of the rather high frequency of this shield device lies in the Cycnus scenes.

In 17 depictions the opponent of Heracles is not giving in but attacking. Nine times the gods Athena and Ares are not shown standing behind the opponents (Pl. 3, *HC II* 09). Since in these cases the hoplite is attacking Heracles and not collapsing or running away, I believe that here Ares is shown instead of Cycnus.[82] The fact that in nearly all of these cases both warriors are fighting with spears[83] shows that they are equal. On seven vases Heracles' opponent is attacking, while Athena and Ares are shown in attacking postures behind their favourites and Zeus is separating the fighters.[84] On one vase (*HC II* 28) Heracles is fighting two attacking hoplites and Athena is intervening. Behind Heracles another hoplite is depicted. Although this was probably done to make the composition symmetrical, one may wonder whether it shows Heracles fighting with Cycnus, while Ares is coming to help his son, in which case the extra hoplite perhaps is meant to be Iolaus. Otherwise perhaps Heracles is shown fighting with Ares, with the two hoplites added to fill the space at both sides.

On a lekythos by the Athena Painter (*HC II* 42) a club, a shield, and a spear are depicted on the ground. The club belongs to Heracles, but although the other weapons may belong to Athena, who is intervening, they may suggest the presence of a third warrior who has lost his shield and spear (Cycnus), in which case the fighting hoplite may be Ares. It is possible that it was from this small addition to the standard composition that the Athena Painter got the inspiration for the pile of arms he added in *subtype FM II* of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' (Pl. 3, *FM II* 15; *FM II* 16).

To summarise, it can be concluded that in *subtype HC II* the real opponent of Heracles, from whom he is separated by Zeus or Athena, is in most cases not the mortal Cycnus but the god Ares.

2.3.3.3 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

About two thirds of the 46 representations of *subtype HC II* are depicted on large shapes, mostly in large panels on belly-amphorae, neck-amphorae, column-kraters, and the body panel of a hydria. The scene is also found on wide friezes like the shoulder panel of a hydria,

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[82] *HC II* 09a, *HC II* 09b, *HC II* 12, *HC II* 18, *HC II* 26, *HC II* 29, *HC II* 31, *HC II* 33, *HC II* 42.

[83] According to Zardini's drawing, on *HC II* 29 Heracles is fighting with a sword and his opponent with a spear. This seems to be the only depiction of a fight between Heracles and an attacking opponent with different weapons without a second hoplite present.

[84] *HC II* 06, *HC II* 19, *HC II* 23, *HC II* 24, *HC II* 25, *HC II* 44, *HC II* 45.

the neck of a volute-krater, and once on the rim of a dinos, as well as on smaller shapes such as lekythoi, and cups.

Subtype HC II is known already before the middle of the 6th century BCE on a krater fragment by the Painter of Vatican 309 (*HC II* 01), followed by four vases attributed to Lydos. On two vases by Lydos (*HC II* 03; Pl. 3, *HC II* 05) and on the tripod-exaleiptron by the Amasis Painter (*HC II* 06) name-inscriptions were added, which may be a sign that the composition was rather new and considered as not immediately identifiable by the viewer. Ten vases are by the Princeton Painter and painters related to him, like the Painter of Berlin 1686 and the Painter of Munich 1379. Approximately half of the vases in this group were painted before 530 BCE, and on all these vases Zeus is shown intervening, dressed in a long garment or mantle.

After 530 BCE the *subtype* is found on vases by the Lysippides Painter, the Antimenes Painter, and the Leagros Group. Zeus is sometimes represented naked except for a short mantle, perhaps under the influence of *subtype FM II*. On three vases by the Antimenes Painter, Cycnus attacks Heracles while Ares is present; this painter also painted the only version of *subtype HC I* in which Cycnus fights bravely against Heracles.[85] However, on his other vases of *subtype HC I* Cycnus is depicted collapsing.

The vases with Athena or the thunderbolt intervening are all late: two vases with Athena are attributed to the Priam Painter and the related A.D. Painter and one to the Athena Painter. Other lekythoi are attributed to the Sappho Painter (both with thunderbolt) and the Edinburgh Painter.

On 31 vases there are other representations, and in most cases a mythological or heroic scene is depicted.[86] On *HC II* 45 the *subtype FM I* of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' is painted on the other side of the vase (*FM I* 41),[87] while on *HC II* 09 (Pl. 3) the Cycnus scene appears on both sides of the vase. On five other vases Heracles is represented in another section: playing the kithara, or fighting the Nemean Lion, the Amazons, or (twice) Geryon. Once Apollo, who has a connection with the Cycnus myth, is shown in the presence of Poseidon and goddesses. There are four Dionysiac scenes. From the Trojan Cycle are

[85] See note 71.

[86] Eight times there is not another panel because of the shape of the vase, and six times we do not know what was depicted on the other panel because of the fragmentary condition.

[87] The other side of *HC II* 44, which apparently also depicted fighters separated, I left outside my lists because it is not clear what was depicted. See note 73.

depictions of Peleus capturing Thetis, the weighing of the souls (*psychostasia*) of Achilles and Memnon, the death of king Priam, and the dragging of the body of Hector.

On 13 vases a chariot scene is painted on another panel of the vase. Twice a wedding procession with gods is found (*HC II* 08 = *WP III* 13; *HC II* 20 = *WP IV* 07) and once Heracles and Athena stand in a chariot with Nike alongside the horses (*HC II* 13). On one vase Athena is shown mounting her chariot while men harness it; on the top of the rim of this vase a chariot race is painted (*HC II* 24). There is another harnessing scene and a frontal chariot. Once a goddess mounts a chariot in the presence of Dionysus (*HC II* 27 = *WOb* 07), and on six vases a departing chariot with hoplites or other men is depicted or a chariot waiting, three times as standard-motifs on the neck of a volute-krater; on one of these a chariot fight appears on another panel. Finally, in the above-mentioned dragging of Hector's body a chariot is also involved.

There are only a few generic scenes: girls at the fountain house, which is often found on a hydria; athletes on the shoulder of a hydria and the neck of a volute-krater; and a running man on the shoulder of a lekythos.

2.3.4 Comparison of *subtypes HC I* and *HC II*

In both *subtypes* the painters leave no doubt that Heracles is winning the fight. Cycnus is depicted in most cases collapsing or running away. In *subtype HC I* there is only *one* vase, a neck-amphora by the Antimenes Painter, that shows Cycnus – backed by Ares – bravely attacking Heracles.[88] In *subtype HC II* there are 17 representations of the opponent of Heracles attacking, but in nine cases Ares is not present as a second figure and the opponent is in my opinion the god himself,[89] as he certainly is when Cycnus is depicted collapsing.

Although *subtype HC II* appears slightly earlier, both *subtypes* are found about the middle of the 6th century BCE in the circle around Lydos and are especially popular in the last third of the 6th century. Although *subtype HC I* occurs almost twice as often as *subtype HC II* and may therefore be regarded as the more popular representation, *subtype HC II* seems to have been more popular at first. One third of the vases with *subtype HC II* were painted before 530 BCE, in contrast to about one sixth of the vases with *subtype HC I,* which seems to have retained its popularity a little longer. *Subtype HC II* is known first on a column-krater by the Painter of Vatican 309 and four vases attributed to Lydos. The earliest

[88] See note 71.

[89] See section 2.3.3.2, note 82.

vase with *subtype HC I* is attributed to the Painter of London B 76.[90] For the rest, the same painters occur in both *subtypes*. On other sections of the vases (with both *subtypes*) mostly mythological scenes or scenes with hoplites are depicted.

Subtype HC I, in which no intervening person is present and the opponent of Heracles is collapsing, seems to be the usual way to represent the fight with Cycnus. The scene is easy to depict and, according to the myth, there was no divine intervention in the fight. However, intervention was certainly appropriate when Heracles fights Ares. In the *Aspis* Athena warns Heracles not to fight against the god, and there was a also a tradition that the thunderbolt of Zeus separated Heracles and Ares.[91] As I argued above (section 2.3.3.2), in most cases of *subtype HC II* the opponent of Heracles must be Ares and to make that clear and distinguish the scene from the fight with Cycnus, an intervening person was added.[92] The facts that Ares is shown as an equal opponent fighting Heracles and that someone has to intervene between them also make it clear that this is a fight that will be indecisive and without someone killed, just as in *subtypes FM I* and *FM II*. Maybe because there was no iconographical difference between the representations of Ares and Cycnus, the intervening person was sometimes added to pictures where Heracles fights against an attacking hoplite, who must be identified as Cycnus because Ares is standing behind him.

2.4 Comparison of *subtypes FM I, FM II* and *HC II*

When we compare *subtypes FM I* and *FM II* of *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' and *subtype HC II* of *type scene* 'Heracles and Cycnus', we may conclude that – although there is some compositional similarity since the general theme is the same – there are important differences. The *subtypes FM I* and *FM II* differ in some details from the *subtype HC II*, while in other details the *subtypes FM I* and *HC II* differ from the *subtype FM I*. The differences are found in date, shape, painters, iconographical details, and composition.

2.4.1 Shapes, painters and other images on the same vase

When we look at the changes over time, the earliest depictions of fighting men separated have a mythological meaning: *subtype HC II* first appeared around 570 BCE.

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[90] Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 52.148, belly-amphora (BA 25160, Zardini 147); Shapiro (1989b) 20–21. Zardini also lists Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akr. 1.612, kantharos (BA 300769, Zardini 20), but that may be a Gigantomachy.

[91] Zardini (2009) 84–88: Apollodorus 2.5.11, and Hyginus, *Fabula* 31. See section 2.3.3.1 and notes 75 and 76.

[92] Shapiro (1989b) 24 suggests that the presence of Zeus may be an invention of Lydos.

Dating to the same period are pictures related to *subtype FM II* on a Laconian cup and on a bronze shield strap from Olympia (*text figure 3*), both of which represent an episode of the Theban War. Heroes from the Theban War separated were according to Pausanias also represented on the Throne of Amyclae.[93] Around 560 BCE *subtype FM I* with two anonymous hoplites is found. Although there is no specific mythological subject, the composition has a heroic quality and is found on large vases that could be used in official contexts. In the last third of the century *subtype FM II* was formed, a variant of *subtype FM I* that may have found its inspiration in the early depictions mentioned above, but in which the theme of fighters separated was adapted to a more daily-life situation. This scene is found on small shapes. In the same period, however, there was a renewed interest in mythology: in *subtype FM I* Athena or an anonymous woman sometimes separates the fighters, and the Lysippides Painter added name-inscriptions for Odysseus and Diomedes (*FM I* 28) while the Athena Painter painted the quarrel of Aias and Odysseus (Pl. 5, *FM II* 15; *FM II* 16). In the last third of the century all of the *subtypes* occur.

Subtype FM I and *subtype HC II* occur on the same shapes and about as frequently on large as on small vases. *Subtype FM II* occurs on smaller shapes. Vases with Heracles and Cycnus and the vases of *subtype FM I* usually have a mythological or heroic scene on another section. This confirms my opinion that *subtype FM I* also depicts a heroic scene, in contrast to the more generic and daily-life imagery of *subtype FM II*.

Some painters painted all three subtypes: the Taleidos Painter, the Leagros Group, the Edinburgh Painter, and the Athena Painter. *Subtype FM II*, however, is not known on vases by Lydos (probably because it was developed after his productive period), the Antimenes Painter, or the Lysippides Painter.

2.4.2 Iconographical details

At first sight the *typical composition* of the three *subtypes* is much the same: two fighting warriors separated by a third person. However, there are remarkable differences in the composition and *typical elements* like attributes that make clear which scene has been depicted, and the painters do not deviate from these meaningful details.

In *subtypes FM I* (Plates 1–2) and *FM II* (Plates 2–3) the warriors are depicted as equally strong: they look much the same, use the same weapons, and are both shown attacking. We may conclude that, since in the *type scene* ‘Fighting men separated’ one of the

[93] See section 2.1.1, note 10.

opponents is never depicted collapsing or kneeling, the outcome of the fight is uncertain and neither will be killed. In a formal fight (*subtype FM I*) the goal would not normally have been for one of the contestants to be killed, so the referee is there to intervene before events turn fatal. Also, a quarrel at a dinner party (*subtype FM II*) should usually not end in a killing, so the bystanders work hard to prevent it.

In both *subtypes* of *type scene* 'Heracles and Cycnus', Cycnus is shown already collapsing or running away, an indication that he is losing the fight. In *subtype HC I* Cycnus is only once depicted neither retreating nor falling,[94] and in section 2.3.3.2 about *subtype HC II* (Plate 3) I argue that in the scenes where Heracles is fighting against one attacking hoplite this opponent should be identified as Ares and not as Cycnus. It is worth observing that in nearly all these pictures Ares and Heracles fight with the same weapon, just as in *subtypes FM I* and *FM II*. In other scenes Heracles may fight with a sword or a spear, while Cycnus usually has a spear. The fact that the two heroes are using different weapons shows their inequality.

In all *subtypes* the intervening person is usually unarmed, showing that he or she is neither participating in the fight nor threatened. The intervening person is usually depicted walking to the right and looking back at the left fighter, while raising both arms or spreading them out in a gesture to separate the opponents. Only when Athena intervenes is she, in most cases, holding her right arm bent before her body to carry her spear. Only once is she shown spreading out her arms, and in that case a spear is lying on the ground (*HC II* 42). Apparently, carrying a spear was so characteristic for the imagery of goddess that it takes precedence over the gesture indicating an intervention. The presence of Athena or a woman intervening also gives the representation a mythological context, and the fact that in *subtype FM II* a woman never intervenes is another indication that this is a depiction of a scene from daily life. On three late lekythoi with *subtype FM II* the intervening man holds a staff or spear, perhaps a sign that there is some danger for him in this spur-of-the-moment fight.

The bystanders have different roles in the various *subtypes*. In *subtype FM I* the onlookers do not react or participate; they just watch the fight. But even when they seem to have been included only to fill the empty space, they were not chosen at random: in *subtype FM I* – the duel – men, women, and a hoplite are depicted, while in *subtype FM II* – which represents a quarrel during a dinner party or symposium – women are never present. Here also the bystanders actively intervene by grabbing the fighters by their waists or arms. Static

[94] See note 71.

bystanders appear in some depictions of *subtype HC II*, but the important figures are Ares and Athena, who are shown in most cases in attacking poses, as if they are participating in the fight, but never holding the heroes back by grabbing their arms. The fact that Athena is represented on some vases as a quiet onlooker, while Ares is always depicted fighting, also indicates that Cycnus is losing the fight.

Small details sometimes make the meaning of the representation clear: in *subtype FM II* the wreaths (Pl. 2, *FM II* 02) (and possibly a *phorbeia,* the mouth strap of an auloi-player on *FM II* 12) and the fact that no women are present, identify the scene as a symposium. The fact that the fighters are not fully armed and sometimes nude makes it clear that this is not a formal duel but a quarrel that suddenly broke out.

2.4.3 Changing the subject of *type scenes*

The meaning of a *type scene* could be altered by the painter adding or omitting a detail in the composition. The change makes it clear that – although the general meaning may remain the same – the specific meaning is not necessarily the same as the original one. An example of an added meaningful detail is the pile of arms that identifies the scene as the quarrel of Aias and Odysseus. When Aias became popular after 508 BCE and the Athena Painter wanted to depict the dispute over the armour of Achilles, he chose a suitable *type scene* and adapted the composition by adding the armour of Achilles as an extra *typical element* (Pl. 3, *FM II* 15; *FM II* 16). However, by providing the heroes with swords he deliberately chose *subtype FM II,* indicating that this is *not* an organised fight to determine who will inherit the weapons, but a quarrel.

Another way the vase-painter could change the meaning of a type scene was by omitting a detail. However, this does not always mean that the meaning will change, since the meaning is always determined by the combination of *typical elements* and details. Often there are more clues in a picture than strictly necessary. When a painter omits a detail, the meaning is still understandable as long as enough clues remain and their combination indicates which story has been depicted. I thus included *HC II* 35 and *HC II* 39 in the list of Cycnus scenes in spite of the facts that a hoplite has been painted instead of Heracles with his lion skin and that the intervening man is not clearly identified as Zeus. However, the composition with the collapsing hoplite *and* with Athena and Ares backing the opponents is unique and makes the story clear. If one of these details were also absent, the picture would no longer be recognisable as Heracles and Cycnus. On *FM I* 29 a man is intervening between two hoplites while another man is lying dead on the ground. This composition is reminiscent

of the Cycnus scenes where Cycnus has collapsed and Heracles is fighting Ares. However, Heracles is not identified by his lion skin, the intervening person is not identified by an attribute as Zeus, and Athena is missing. On either side of the painting a woman stands, making a gesture of mourning and reminding the viewer of the mothers who sometimes watch the duel of Achilles and Memnon. On *FM I* 32 (Pl. 1) Athena is separating two hoplites while a third man sits in the middle. This composition is also reminiscent of the Cycnus scenes, but in the scenes where Athena intervenes between Heracles and Cycnus or Ares, only once is a collapsed warrior depicted (Pl. 3, *HC II* 27); although in this picture women are standing on either side, the myth is clearly indicated by Heracles wearing his lion skin. Both *FM I* 29 and *FM I* 32 may remind the viewer of the Cycnus scenes, but with *typical elements* missing and the composition changed, I doubt whether the fallen warrior alone is enough to make the picture recognisable as the fight of Heracles and Cycnus. Therefore, I included both vases in Table 01 (*subtype FM I*).

Another way to change the subject is by adding name-inscriptions: the names of Heracles and Cycnus are added on early vases three times (*HC II* 03, *HC II* 05, *HC II* 06). Twice the names of Odysseus and Diomedes are inscribed, once with Athena in the middle, referring to a fight between the friends (*FM I* 28) that is in line with the overall meaning of the *type scene*. In the other case[95] the composition is the same but the name-inscription Dolon totally changes the meaning of the picture: the man in the middle is not separating the heroes but is threatened by them.

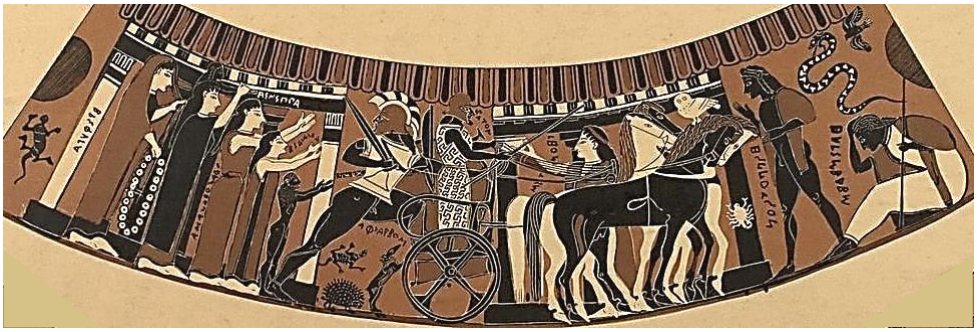
A detail does not necessarily always refer to the same story or situation, but the connotation may change according to the context or combination with other details: inserting the tripod as a shield device or standing to one side may refer in the context of *subtype FM I* to the prize in a fight (Pl. 1, *FM I* 17), but in combination with Heracles and Cycnus it may remind the viewer of Delphi and emphasise the story of Cycnus (Pl. 3, *HC II* 15).

Vase-painters and their public noticed differences in compositions and details and understood the meanings of the various representations. For us, many elements are not self-evident, but by analysing depictions in the way I describe in this chapter, we can achieve a better understanding of the pictorial language of Athenian black-figure vase-painting.

[95] See note 57. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 226 (BA 330814).

Chapter 3

Subtype ‘Hoplites and other men leaving’



Text figure 4

Departure of Amphiaraus. Amphiaraus is mounting the chariot holding his drawn sword in one hand and looking back to Eriphyle identified by name-inscription and a large necklace. On the right side of the picture a man is sitting on the ground bringing his hand to his forehead in a gesture of mourning.

Late Corinthian crater, around 560 BCE.

Once Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung F 1655 (BA 9019292).

After Furtwängler and Reichhold (1904) Taf. 121.

3.0 Introduction

Hoplites are omnipresent in Athenian vase-painting. They are shown departing from home, saying farewell to their families, fighting, dying, and being carried home by a companion. They are often associated with chariots. In Athenian black-figure vase-painting chariots are shown wheeling round or with galloping horses trampling their opponents in battle, while the hoplite stands in the chariot next to the charioteer or with one foot on the pole. Departure scenes show chariots during the harnessing of the horses or waiting while the hoplite prepares to leave.[1]

In this chapter the iconographic *subtype* 'Hoplites and other men leaving' (hereafter: 'Hoplite leaving') will be examined. There are several *typical compositions* showing hoplites leaving home or preparing to depart from the army camp to a battle. The subject of this book is the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile with people standing in and next to it' (hereafter: 'Chariot in profile'), so representations of a frontal chariot, the harnessing of a chariot, and hoplitomachies with a chariot involved will not be discussed.[2] Also not included are depictions of a hoplite departing on foot in which no chariot is present or depictions of a hoplite receiving arms or donning greaves.[3] The term *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' will refer only to representations of a hoplite (a term I use in the broadest sense of 'armed man', even when the man is not carrying a shield) mounting a chariot shown in profile or standing near the chariot. *Variants* of this *subtype* may depict other hoplites, archers, women, children, and old men standing nearby. Although it is especially the presence of family members, who will stay behind, that makes it clear that a departure is depicted, images without these bystanders will also be discussed, since the most important *typical element* is present, the chariot in profile with charioteer and hoplite. I also discuss scenes in which instead of a hoplite an unarmed male figure (henceforth referred to as 'man') is standing in the chariot. Since these scenes have the same *typical composition* as the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving,' I discuss them in this chapter, although I will argue that some of these pictures do not represent a departure.[4]

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[1] Jurriaans-Helle (2009).

[2] Chariots waiting near a fight are discussed in section 3.6 (*variant CW*). Although the chariots are part of a larger scene and not a composition in their own right, they share the same arrangement as other depictions.

[3] In this book I examine the connections between depictions with the same general *composition*. It is also possible to study the connections between scenes that are *thematically* connected, such as the *variants* of 'Hoplite leaving': leaving on foot, on chariot, harnessing scenes, etc. Although these compositions are outside the scope of this study, I mention some examples where influence from these other scenes can be recognised (*HL III* 03, *HL III* 09b, *HL IV* 55).

[4] See for a discussion of these scenes: Wrede (1916) 250–314. Spiess (1992) 32–39; 70–79; 85–89. Manakidou (1994) 238–271 discusses chariots with two men in it, but not chariots in military context. Seifert (2014).

My database includes about 460 vase-paintings that show a hoplite or man leaving in a chariot. The earliest images date to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE. I set these early vases aside as a separate group (*variant HL I*) because the *subtype* had not yet settled into its standard form, although some of the *typical elements* of later *variants* are already present. After the middle of the century, the *subtype* achieved its definitive form, and most depictions date to the second half of the century. Because there are several *variants*, distinguished from each other by the different positions of the charioteer and hoplite, it is possible to deduce the order in which the two men usually mount the chariot. There are images where the hoplite is shown walking towards the chariot or standing next to the horses, while the charioteer is mounting the chariot (*variant HL IV*) or already standing in it (*variant HL III*). In other *variants* the hoplite is mounting the chariot in which the charioteer is already standing (*variant HL II*), or mounting a chariot without a charioteer (*variant HL V*), or the charioteer and hoplite stand together in the chariot (*variant CH*). There are very few depictions of a charioteer mounting the chariot in which the hoplite is already standing.[5] This means that the usual sequence of mounting the chariot was that the charioteer first stepped into the chariot, where he waited until the hoplite mounted.

As mentioned above, there is also a large group of scenes of a chariot with an unarmed man driving the chariot without a hoplite standing nearby ready to mount. The chariot and charioteer may be part of a larger scene (*variant CW*) or depicted by itself, with or without people standing nearby (*variants CF* and *MC*). In other scenes two unarmed men stand in the chariot, some with hoplites standing nearby (*variant CMH*) but others without a military context (*variant CMM*).

The *variants* will be described, and information about the vases[6] and details important for understanding the *variants* will be presented in Tables 04–14. In the text I refer to the vases as *HL I, HL II* etc., followed by the number in the Tables**.**

[5] See section 3.11.1 (*CMM* 27). I did not include in my lists: Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung, F 1901, hydria (BA 302017) (charioteer mounting according to description). Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut Georg-August-Universität, K 203a-g, fragments (BA 9032487) (very fragmentary and not clear).

[6] Information on the whereabouts of the vases, inventory number, shape, painter, date, provenance, references to the record number in the Internet Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BA followed by the number) and finally a short characterisation of the depiction(s) on other sections of the vase. For vases in the Beazley Archive literature is not cited because that can be found there. For vases not in the Beazley Archive a reference to the publication is given.

3.1 *Variant HL I* 'Hoplite leaving home, early depictions' ca. 570–550 BCE (Table 04, Plate 4)

3.1.1 Description

Pictures of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' generally have a heroic atmosphere, but the only image that certainly represents a mythological event – because it is identified by name-inscriptions or an unique *typical element*[7] – is the Departure of Amphiaraus, the hero and seer who knew that he would die in the war of the Seven against Thebes and was betrayed by his wife Eriphyle, who was bribed by Polynices with the necklace of Harmonia. This scene is depicted on some later vases, but it is found especially on vases dating to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE (*variant HL I,* Table 04).[8]

The earliest known representation in Athenian black-figure vase-painting of a hoplite leaving home is found on fragments of a lekanis lid by the C Painter dated to 570–565 BCE (Pl. 4, *HL I* 01): a warrior is mounting a chariot facing to the right while looking back at a woman; a hedgehog is seen under his legs. The charioteer is standing in the chariot with a Boeotian shield slung on his back; both men wear linen corselets. A nude boy reaches up to touch the warrior's chin with his right hand. Along the left edge of the fragment the dress of a second woman is visible.[9] No inscriptions are visible. The composition could represent the departure of any warrior, were it not for the large necklace held by the woman, identifying her as Eriphyle and at the same time the scene as a whole as the Departure of Amphiaraus.[10]

On a belly-amphora ascribed to the Painter of Acropolis 606 and dated to around 565 BCE (*HL I* 02) the chariot is facing to the left. A hoplite is walking behind the chariot, apparently in order to mount it. The charioteer is standing in the chariot looking back at the hoplite. At the horses' heads a nude man is stand facing to the right and caressing the noses of the horses. Above the horses a swan flies to the right.

On a fragmentary neck-amphora, attributed to the Archippe Group[11] and dated to about 560 BCE (*HL I* 03) a hoplite is mounting a chariot in which a charioteer is waiting.

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[7] *HL I* 01*, HL I* 03, *HL IV* 48, *CH* 36. On *CH* 37 the name Adrastus is inscribed. The identification of *HL IV* 51 with the departure of king Priam is based on the visual repetition with the other side of the vase (see section 3.4.1). On *CH* 38 the name Paris is inscribed near an archer.

[8] See section 3.1.3. Krauskopf (1980). Kluiver (2003) 100–101.

[9] Von Steuben (1968) 39. Lioutas (1987) 59, D17; Pl. 30,2.

[10] Brijder (2005) 253–255 with n. 29, fig. 5. It is possible that name-inscriptions or other details, such as the mourning seer sitting on the ground known from other depictions, appeared in the now missing parts, but much of the empty space around the figures is preserved and there is no inscription visible.

[11] Kluiver (2003) 17: the Archippe Painter is related to the Tyrrhenian Group, but it will require further study to decide whether he belongs to it.

Since the chariot is facing to the left, the hoplite is depicted on this side of the charioteer and his round shield covers a large part of his body. An old man is walking to the right near the horses, stretching out his left arm towards the mounting hoplite. Near the heads of the horses an old man is seated on a rock stretching both arms towards the chariot. Behind him a woman is standing to the right with a wreath in her hand. Inscriptions clarify which myth is represented here: the woman is named Eriphyle, and near the wreath in her hand the word *hormos* (necklace) is written. The old man near the horses is named Oikles, the father of Amphiaraus, and the charioteer Baton, the name also given to the charioteer of Amphiaraus on the Chest of Cypselus and the Amphiaraus krater. The name-inscription of the mounting hoplite is mostly lost: only a Δ and part of a second letter are visible. Maybe the Δ should be read as an A, for there cannot be much doubt that the hoplite is Amphiaraus. The painter added enough details and inscriptions (even one to indicate that the wreath was meant to be the infamous necklace) to leave no doubt about the interpretation.

Dated slightly later (around 555 BCE) is a Tyrrhenian amphora by the Castellani Painter (Pl. 4, *HL I* 04).[12] A charioteer with a large Boeotian shield on his back is standing in a chariot facing to the right, holding the reins and a goad; a scorpion is depicted behind him. An old man is standing to the left near the chariot, raising his arms towards the charioteer; behind him stand three women. At the heads of the horses another old man is squatting, raising a hand to his forehead in a gesture of mourning; behind him five women are standing, making the same gesture. The hoplite is walking with a wide step towards the chariot, looking back at a woman standing at the left; under his legs a lizard is seen. A boy and a girl wearing mantles are standing on either side of him stretching their arms toward him. At the far left side of the picture a small woman, a servant or a girl, carries a boy on her shoulder, who is stretching his arm toward the hoplite. There are some nonsense inscriptions.

Much simpler is the composition on a Tyrrhenian amphora in Berlin (*HL I* 05), attributed to the Pointed-nose Painter[13] and dated to 555 BCE. Here too the hoplite is standing behind the chariot, which faces to the right, looking back towards a woman standing at the left edge of the picture. He is nude except for helmet, spear, and shield. The charioteer, wearing a long garment but also a helmet, is standing in the chariot holding the reins and a goad. A woman is standing near the horses facing to the right, looking backwards and raising her arms, while another woman is standing at the heads of the horses. Although

[12] Kluiver (2003) 163, no.180: Castellani Painter, Early period. (Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 3773, Tyrrhenian amphora, to which belong fragments Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung, F 1711).

[13] Kluiver (2003) 164, no.183: Pointed-nose Painter, Early period.

the raised hands show some excitement, there are no gestures of mourning. There are some nonsense inscriptions.

On a Tyrrhenian amphora in Leipzig, attributed to the Pointed-nose Painter (Pl. 4, *HL I* 06) and dated by Jeroen Kluiver[14] to 550–545 BCE, the hoplite is mounting the chariot in which the charioteer with a Boeotian shield on his back is already standing. A nude little boy raising one arm toward the hoplite stands facing to the left between the chariot and the horses (two instead of the usual four); behind the boy stands a woman, also facing to the left. Behind the chariot are two women, one carrying a little boy. At the heads of the horses an old man is sitting on the ground, but he is not making a gesture of mourning. A woman holding a wreath stands behind the old man. At the right side of the picture two hoplites stand facing to the left, and at the left side a hoplite stands facing to the right.

On a damaged amphora in Leipzig (*HL I* 07) attributed to the OLL Group[15] and dated to 550 BCE, a simplified arrangement is found. A nude hoplite with helmet, spear, and shield is mounting the chariot on which the charioteer is standing. A woman is standing near the horses facing to the right and looking backwards, and a man is sitting on the ground at the heads of the horses, raising his hand to his forehead. At the right side of the picture two hoplites are standing.

The simplest version of the mounting hoplite is found on an amphora by the Camtar Painter in Madrid (*HL I* 08) dating to 555–550 BCE. Here only the charioteer and the mounting hoplite are depicted. Since the chariot is facing to the left, the hoplite is shown mounting on this side of the charioteer and his round shield covers a large part of his body. The horses seem to be walking, and there are no other persons present to suggest that a departure is shown. However, since the act of mounting itself is probably enough to indicate departure, I included the vase in this group.

3.1.2 Analysis

Variant HL I gives the impression of a departure of a warrior. On two of the eight vases in the group (Pl. 4 *HL I* 01, *HL I* 03) the scene is explicitly identified as the Departure of Amphiaraus because inscriptions or the necklace in the hand of Eriphyle are included.

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[14] Kluiver (2003) 165, no.196: Pointed-nose Painter, Middle period. Kluiver dates this vase to 555–550 BCE on his p. 101; on p. 113 he states about the Pointed-nose Painter that his "*late* work – and. perhaps some of his *middle*-period work – probably dates to the years after 550 B.C.". In the catalogue on p. 165 the heading is "probably middle period", but the dates are those of the late period: 550–545 BCE.

[15] The OLL Group is related to, but does not belong to the Tyrrhenian Group. Von Bothmer (1944) 162. Kluiver (2003) 17.

The hoplite is armed with a spear, helmet, and shield and ready to depart, stepping into the chariot or standing behind the chariot or walking towards the chariot. Sometimes he is looking back towards a woman.[16] The charioteer always wears the characteristic long garment, usually in combination with some armour: once he wears a linen corselet and three times a helmet. Three times he is carrying a Boeotian shield slung on his back and twice he has a sword.[17] Except for *HL I* 02 and *HL I* 08, at least one woman is shown standing nearby. Sometimes the women make a mourning gesture (*HL I* 03; Pl. 4, *HL I* 04). On three vases children are depicted standing near the hoplite, nude or in cloaks, or carried.[18] The little children that are carried are always boys; they are shown sitting on the shoulder or high on the arm of a woman, although sometimes it is not possible to discern whether they are on the arm or the shoulder. Their high position, above the persons carrying them, makes their depiction dramatically clear to the viewer. On *HL I* 02 a nude male or youth is standing at the horses' heads. Old men standing near the horses are seen on *HL I* 03 and *HL I* 04 (Pl. 4). An old man sitting on the ground (or a rock, but not on a campstool or chair) near the horses' heads appears on four vases. Three times he makes a mourning gesture, once he is just sitting.[19] On *HL I* 01 (Pl. 4) the section with the horses' heads is missing, so it is not known whether there was a seated old man. The presence of these bystanders, who represent the people who remain at home during wartime, makes it clear that the hoplite is leaving home, a fact that is accentuated by the hoplite looking back towards them and by the mourning gestures.

On some vases the chariot is facing to the left, which is unusual later. According to Heinz Luschey,[20] most departure scenes face to the right, so that the left side of a depiction symbolises a safe place like home and the right side the dangerous world outside.[21] In the case of the departure of hoplites, orientation to the right is also connected with the traditional movement to the right of victorious warriors in battle scenes. The fact that there are

[16] *HL I* 01, *HL I* 04, *HL I* 05.

[17] Linen corselet: *HL I* 01. Helmet: *HL I* 01, *HL I* 05, *HL I* 06. Boeotian shield: *HL I* 01, *HL I* 04, *HL I* 06. Sword: *HL I* 03, *HL I* 07.

[18] Standing: in cloaks: *HL I* 04, nude: *HL I* 01, *HL I* 06. On arm or shoulder: *HL I* 04, *HL I* 06.

[19] Mourning gesture: *HL I* 03, *HL I* 04, *HL I* 07. Sitting: *HL I* 06.

[20] Luschey (2002) 26; 39; 42–44.

[21] Malagardis (2014) 167, n. 23 contends that in Athenian black-figure vase-painting the chariot is always moving to right, but mentions some exceptions. She refers to Krauskopf (1980) 108, n. 15, who gives a list. Malagardis also remarks that on Chalkidian amphorae the chariot is directed to the left when the departure of Amphiaraus is depicted "pour signifier son sinistre sort."

relatively more depictions with the chariot facing to the left in this early period[22] (including *HL I* 03 with Amphiaraus, who is certainly not going to a safe place and will *not* be victorious) shows that the *typical composition* has not yet found its definitive form. In my opinion, a reason the early vase-painters chose to orient the chariot to the left is that the composition is easier to draw and understand: usually the hoplite is mounting left of the charioteer; when the chariot is facing to right, the hoplite's body is partly covered by the charioteer, which makes the composition less clear. In left-facing depictions the hoplite is mounting on this side of the charioteer. His head and legs are clearly visible, while his shield conceals the rest of his body and the most complicated part of the depiction.

3.1.3 Changing the composition

Since two depictions of *subtype HL I* represent without doubt the Departure of Amphiaraus because of the presence of name-inscriptions or the necklace (Pl. 4, *HL I* 01; *HL I* 03), it can be asked whether the other similar vase-paintings do so also. Therefore, it seems appropriate to consider two other early representations of the Departure of Amphiaraus – one on the so-called Chest of Cypselus and the so-called Amphiaraus krater.[23] The Chest is known from the description by Pausanias (ca. 115–180 CE).[24] Cypselus was tyrant of Corinth from 657 to 627 BCE. The date of the Chest is not known, but according to Pausanias who visited Olympia ca. 173 CE it was dedicated in Olympia by the Cypselids. The rule of the dynasty came to an end in 581 BCE,[25] but it is possible that the Chest was dedicated by members of the family after that date.[26] It is plausible that the Chest's elaborate representations carved in the cedar wood or made in gold and ivory of this and many other myths served as examples for later images because this expensive votive offering, commissioned by a leading family,

[22] On three of the eight vases of this group: *HL I* 02, *HL I* 03, *HL I* 08.

[23] There are other representations of – possibly – the Departure of Amphiaraus, among which some Pontic vases with apparently Amphiaraus mounting the chariot and an early Etruscan bronze relief with possibly Amphiaraus departing on feet. Payne (1931) 141. Von Steuben (1968) 39–40; 116. Amyx (1983) 39–43. Fittschen (1969) 195. Serneels-Hofstetter (1992) 163–167, who also discusses the early representations and compares the Corinthian and Athenian compositions (152–159).

[24] Pausanias 5, 17,5 – 19,10.

[25] Cypselus' son Periander died in 587 BCE and his nephew and successor Psammetichus in 581 BCE.

[26] Simon (1961) 427–428. Von Steuben (1968) 78 notes some influence from Athenian vase-painting in the composition of some scenes on the Chest of Cypselus and remarks that if that is true the Chest must be dated shortly before the middle of the century. Shapiro (1990b) 139 dates the Chest around 575 to 570 BCE (see also his n. 195). See also Kluiver (2003) 101, n. 160.

was prominently displayed. According to Pausanias's description,[27] the house of Amphiaraus was represented with Eriphyle holding the necklace standing in front of it together with their two daughters and their son Alcmaeon. The charioteer Baton is described as holding the reins while Amphiaraus is stepping with one foot into the chariot. He holds a drawn sword[28] and is turned towards Eriphyle, so carried away by anger that he can scarcely refrain from striking her. The mourning man sitting on the ground in other versions of the scene is not mentioned and therefore apparently not represented. The identity of all figures on the Chest was clarified by name-inscriptions.

The second early representation is on the so-called Amphiaraus krater (*text figure 4*),[29] a Late Corinthian vase dated around 560 BCE, slightly later than *HL I* 01 (Pl. 4). Here, Amphiaraus (identified by a name-inscription) is shown holding his drawn sword in one hand and looking back to the left. He is mounting the chariot which is standing in front of a building. The charioteer (name-inscription: Baton) is waiting in the chariot wearing a long garment and a helmet, with a Boeotian shield on his back. Near the horses a woman facing to the left is raising her right hand. In front of a second building on the left three women, a girl, and a nude little boy are standing, stretching their arms towards the men in the chariot. The woman at the far left side of the group is Eriphyle holding a large necklace, apparently made of big beads. All woman are named by inscriptions; the name of Eriphyle is inscribed on one of the columns of the building. On the right side of the picture, at the heads of the horses, a youth named Hippotion is standing facing left and a man named Halimedes is sitting on the ground bringing his hand to his forehead in a gesture of mourning. Wrede, discussing this figure, interprets Halimedes as a seer, because of the snake and bird above his head and because sitting on the ground is not only a symbol of mourning but also of seers who are seeking contact with the bare earth.[30] Furthermore there are an owl, a hare, a scorpion, a

[27] Reconstructions of the chest: Schefold (1966) 72–75, fig. 26, after Von Massow (1916) Pl. 10. Von Massow depicts the chariot of Amphiaraus facing to the left, following the order of the figures in the description: Pausanias mentions in the cases of rows 2 and 4 that he is describing the scenes from left to right, which implies that rows 1 (with the Amphiaraus scene) and 3 are described from right to left and that the chariot is facing to the left. Splitter (2000) 24–25, n. 98 chooses to orient the chariot to the right because that is usual in chariot-scenes.

[28] Serneels-Hofstetter (1992) 159: "L'arme dégainée manifeste donc la colère du héros envers son épouse." See note 33.

[29] Once Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung, F 1655, column-krater, lost in World War II (BA 9019292). Robert (1881) 14–24. Payne (1931) nr. 1471, 139–141. Amyx (1983) 39–43. See also Snodgrass (1982) 11. Penny Small (1999) 562.

[30] Wrede (1916) 272–274 n. 2. Robert (1881) 14 calls the sitting man a servant. For lizards, see: Hurwit (2006). For the hedgehog, see: Mackay (2016).

hedgehog, and two lizards depicted, animals that – at least in some contexts – can function as omens of disaster and violence.

When we compare the Corinthian representations with the Athenian ones, the most remarkable differences are that on the latter no buildings are represented and Amphiaraus is not drawing his sword. However, there are several identical elements: with *HL I* 01 (Pl. 4) and *HL I* 03 – where the identification is certain – the Amphiaraus krater and the Chest of Cypselus have in common that Amphiaraus is mounting the chariot and Eriphyle is holding a necklace. The exact location of Eriphyle on the Chest of Cypselus is not known, but on all three vases she is standing at the left side of the picture. Since the chariot on *HL I* 03 is facing to the left, she is standing at the heads of the horses and Amphiaraus does not need to look backwards at his wife as he does on the other two vases and on the Chest. The man sitting on the ground is found on *HL I* 03 and on the Corinthian krater. He is not mentioned in the description by Pausanias of the Chest of Cypselus. The right side of the scene on *HL I* 01 is lost, but the seated man may have been depicted there (in which case it would have been his earliest known representation). On *HL I* 03 there are no animals above the man's head, so his interpretation as a seer is not certain; he may just be a mourner. A boy stretching his arms towards Amphiaraus is found on *HL I* 01 and on the Amphiaraus krater. According to Pausanias's description Alcmaeon was represented on the Chest, but his position and posture are not known. Finally, on *HL I* 01 a small hedgehog is depicted near the legs of Amphiaraus, a detail also found on the Amphiaraus krater.

On the other vases in this early group there are fewer indications that the Departure of Amphiaraus is meant. On *HL I* 04 (Pl. 4) the hoplite is not yet mounting the chariot, but he is looking back towards the woman; additional similarities are the presence of children stretching out their arms, the mourning seated man, and the lizard and scorpion that recall the animals on the Amphiaraus krater. A boy stretching out his arms, a seated man, and a woman with a wreath are also found on *HL I* 06 (Pl. 4), but there is no gesture of mourning, and since the woman holding a wreath is standing at the right side of the picture, the mounting hoplite does not have to turn to look at her. On *HL I* 07 the hoplite is mounting the chariot and a mourning seated man is also present. A woman standing near the horses is looking back towards the mounting man. A woman standing near the horses looking back and raising her arms is found on *HL I* 05, but the hoplite is standing behind the chariot, looking back towards another woman. On *HL I* 02 and *HL I* 08 there are no *typical elements* referring to the Departure of Amphiaraus.

According to Ingrid Krauskopf, we should think of Amphiaraus in all Athenian depictions of this scene before the middle of the 6th century BCE, because he is the only hero whose name is inscribed, while in Corinthian vase-painting several other heroes are named.[31] In my opinion in all vase-paintings of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' (including the representations of the Departure of Amphiaraus on the Chest of Cypselus, the Amphiaraus krater, *HL I* 01 and *HL I* 03) *typical elements* are found that indicate a departure: the chariot with charioteer and hoplite, who may be mounting and looking back towards the women, (old) men, and children representing the people staying behind. However, to change the general meaning of a *typical composition* into a specific myth and indicate that the Departure of Amphiaraus is *specifically* depicted, the painters had to add extra *elements* such as name-inscriptions,[32] a significant attribute such as the necklace, the inscription *hormos*, the drawn sword in the hand in the Corinthian vase-paintings suggesting that the hoplite is threatening the woman he is looking back towards,[33] the old man seated on the ground, the child stretching his arms out towards the hoplite, and the mourning gestures of the bystanders – and preferably a combination of these.

Name-inscriptions were the simplest and most explicit way for a painter to give a depiction a clear meaning, and they were used especially when the painter wanted to give a new or unusual meaning to an established composition.[34] On *HL I* 01 (Pl. 4) the C Painter

[31] Krauskopf (1980) 110–111. See her n. 19 for other name-inscriptions.

[32] See sections 1.6 and 2.2.2.3. Meyer (2012) 37. Brownlee (1995) 368 points to the fact that in oral societies "a name ... confers power and identity.", and "that names on vases stay close to their characters, almost as though they were attached." Seifert (2014) 218 argues that "a fixed interpretation of the group showing woman and child as denoting the female figure as wife and mother in mythological scenes and as the family in non-mythical scenes seems to be too narrow or even misleading. The Amphiaraos-scenes indicate kinship relations between warrior and woman by the identification of the figures through inscriptions. So the interpretation as mother/wife results from the inscribed names and the viewer's implicit knowledge of the myth, not from an inscribed term like 'family'."

[33] See section 1.10. Sourvinou-Inwood (1979); *idem* (1991) 29–57. Earlier published in: Bérard, Bron and Pomari (eds.) (1987) 41–48. Discussing representations of Theseus pursuing a woman Sourvinou-Inwood concludes that a drawn sword is unmistakably a sign of menace.

[34] See section 2.2.2.3. Name-inscriptions are used to give an otherwise anonymous scene the meaning of the Departure of Amphiaraus; see also sections 3.4.1 and 3.9.1 (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 48; *CH* 36 and *CH* 37). On a fragment of a Tyrrhenian vase with a frontal chariot (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, G137.53, BA 310011) the name Eriphyle is written. Another frontal chariot, this time with a mourning man sitting on the ground, is found on a fragment by Sophilos (Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, P 18567, BA 305111). Inscriptions may also be used to give a depiction which contains several extra *elements* that *usually* refer to Amphiaraus, another meaning: Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung, 1959.1, column-krater (Gehrig, Greifenhagen, and Kunisch (1968) 63–64, Taf. 43). Although this Corinthian vase-painting recalls the depictions on the Amphiaraus krater, *HL I* 01 and *HL I* 04, and although it contains several *typical elements* indicating a departure (charioteer in chariot, hoplite mounting, hoplite looking back with child stretching his arm to his chin), all the extra *elements* that explicitly refer to Amphiaraus are missing (necklace, mourning, sitting man). Moreover, the mounting hoplite has a name written on his shield: Antimachidas, possibly the commissioner of the vase.

seems to have omitted inscriptions,[35] but he made the identification of the Departure of Amphiaraus clear by adding the necklace, which is unique to this myth.[36] The other *typical elements* may occur in other scenes and refer to Amphiaraus only when they are combined; when only a few of these extra *elements* are present, it is doubtful whether the Departure of Amphiaraus was meant. [37] However, it is possible that the composition evoked some associations with the myth.[38]

After the *typical elements* of the depictions have been charted and it has been established which refer to a generic departure and which to the specific Departure of Amphiaraus, I conclude that in *HL I* 01 (Pl. 4), *HL I* 03, and *HL I* 04 (Pl. 4) there are enough *typical elements* referring to the Departure of Amphiaraus to assume that this myth is represented. The mourning seated man on *HL I* 07 in combination with the mounting hoplite may also have been enough to evoke association with the myth of Amphiaraus. However, I doubt whether Amphiaraus is represented on the amphora by the Pointed-nose Painter in Leipzig (Pl. 4, *HL I* 06): the seated man is present, but he is not mourning; the woman is holding a wreath, but wreaths are also held by women in other scenes including wedding processions and departures of hoplites on foot, and there is nothing to indicate that this time the wreath is in fact the fatal necklace. Also, on the other amphora by the same painter (*HL I* 05) there are no indications of a mythological context or mourning. This painter apparently used the *typical composition* and some *typical elements* (the wreath, the sitting man, the hoplite looking back) but left out the details significant for the mythological meaning. On *HL I* 02 and *HL I* 08 there are no *typical elements* referring to Amphiaraus.

3.1.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The earliest known Athenian depiction of *variant HL I* is found on a lekanis lid by the C Painter and dated to 570–565 BCE. The other representations are on a belly-amphora dated to 565 BCE and on neck-amphorae dated to 560–545 BCE, mostly of the shape common in the Tyrrhenian Group and painted by painters who belong to this group or are related to it.

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[35] See section 3.1.1, note 10.

[36] For the use of inscriptions, and the C Painter choosing a specific detail to characterise a scene, see sections 1.6, 4.2.1, and 6.1.2.

[37] Boardman (2001) 183: "But some of the supporting figures whose postures (the mourning seer) or whose attributes (the amber necklace) told the story, get deselected, or reduced to appear as unexceptional onlookers – wife holding child, household elder – and without the earlier inscribed vases we would not have known the origins of the group. Nor do we know now whether in the later scenes the viewer was intended to recognize a specific myth occasion, when the most important markers were missing." See also Seifert (2014) 215–216.

[38] See section 3.2.3.

Two vases have a mythological depiction on another section. On *HL I* 07 there is a Dionysiac scene. The other representations are related to the world of men: chariots – one involved in an accident[39] – horsemen, hoplites fighting, and a *komos*.

3.2 *Variant HL II* 'Charioteer standing in chariot, hoplite mounting' ca. 540–510 BCE (Table 05, Plate 4)

3.2.1 Description

In the second half of the 6th century BCE the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' became more popular, and around 290 vase-paintings with a hoplite standing in or near a chariot are known to me.[40] Several *variants* may be distinguished, each with its own *typical composition* and comprising *typical elements* that are also found in *variant HL I*. However, although the depiction is still heroic, it seems that the myth of Amphiaraus is no longer represented: the *typical elements* referring explicitly to Amphiaraus are in almost all cases omitted and the *typical composition* of most of the earliest depictions – the hoplite mounting a chariot on which the charioteer is standing – is found on only 20 vases dating to 540–510 BCE (*variant HL II,* Table 05).[41]

In *variant HL II* the charioteer wears the traditional long garment; ten times he is shown with a Boeotian shield on his back (Pl. 4, *HL II* 03) and nine times he is holding a goad.[42] On *HL II* 14 the charioteer is looking back at a second hoplite standing behind the chariot.[43]

[39] Also on *MC* 21 (Pl. 8) and *CH* 13 (Pl. 10) a depiction of a hoplite leaving is combined with one of a falling horse in a hoplitomachy with a chariot. On *CH* 13 an old man sitting on the ground stretches his arm to the chariot; may be the pictures on this vase are to be read together, see section 3.9.1.

[40] There are also depictions where a hoplite is standing near a chariot but is not the intended passenger, since there are already two men standing in it (*variant CMH*)

[41] On one side of a cup in Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 41292 (BA 13028) the horses are wheeling round; a hoplite is driving the chariot while another is stepping onto it. I left this vase outside my list because an *apobates*-scene may be depicted or some depictions are confused. I left belly-amphora Siracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 32108 (BA 14209) out of my list because the description and the photo are unclear. See also Chapter 4, note 95.

[42] On fragment *HL II* 18 the garment of the charioteer is not preserved. Boeotian shield: *HL II* 01, *HL II* 02, *HL II* 03, *HL II* 07, *HL II* 14, *HL II* 15, *HL II* 16, *HL II* 17, *HL II* 18, *HL II* 20. Goad: *HL II* 07, *HL II* 08, *HL II* 12, *HL II* 13, *HL II* 14, *HL II* 16, *HL II* 17, *HL II* 19, *HL II* 20.

[43] As the head of the mounting hoplite is in this case almost hidden behind the charioteer, the gesture may have been influenced by pictures with a hoplite looking back. But as this group is part of a long frieze, it is also a way to connect the different groups.

The hoplite, usually fully armed with a spear (not always visible), helmet, and round shield,[44] is mounting the chariot to stand on the left side of the charioteer. In this position he can hold his shield at the left side of the chariot, protecting himself and the charioteer (Pl. 4, *HL II* 03, *HL II* 09). On a single vase he is represented on the right side of the charioteer (*HL II* 20). This position is illogical, as his shield, held between him and the charioteer, cannot protect either man. However, the position makes the hoplite more visible, as he is not concealed behind the charioteer. Maybe for this reason the chariot is depicted four times in this *variant* moving not to the right but to the left (Pl. 4, *HL II* 13).[45] Furthermore, since in this position the shield (if present) covers the rather complicated position of the men in the chariot, the composition is easier to draw. On *HL II* 10 the hoplite is looking back, which may be a recollection of the earlier vases where Amphiaraus is looking back towards Eriphyle, but in this scene no one is standing behind the chariot.

Usually other people are shown standing nearby, mostly turned towards the chariot. In almost all cases one or more hoplites are standing near the chariot.[46] On 11 vases from one to four women are present. Children carried on the arm or shoulder of a woman, or standing near the horses, are present on three vases (Pl. 4, *HL II* 09).[47] On *HL II* 04 four pairs of a man and a woman are shown standing next to the chariot. Old men are depicted on eight vases, five times in the company of women. On *HL II* 12 one of the old men is sitting at the horses' heads, not on the ground like the seer and the mourning old man, but on a kind of chest; because he is sitting low, he fills the space under the horses' heads. Standing men and youths are found on six vases.

The representation on *HL II* 09 (Pl. 4) is extraordinary: it is the only vase on which all categories of bystanders are represented: an old man, an unarmed man, women, six boys – four carried by three women and a man[48] and two nude boys standing near the heads of the

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[44] No shield: *HL II* 08. Spear not visible: *HL II* 01, *HL II* 02, *HL II* 04, *HL II* 05, *HL II 09*, *HL II* 11, on fragment *HL II* 18 the spear is not preserved. Armour not clearly visible: *HL II* 15.

[45] See notes 20 and 21. Chariot to left: *HL II* 08, *HL II* 13, *HL II* 16, *HL II* 19.

[46] On *HL II* 19 there are no bystanders at all, but I added this vase to the list, because the act of mounting probably was enough to indicate a departure. *HL II* 05 and *HL II* 18 are fragments.

[47] Carried on arm or shoulder: *HL II* 01, *HL II* 02, *HL II* 09. Standing under horses: *HL II* 01 (in cloak). Two nude boys at the heads of the horses: *HL II* 09.

[48] Seifert (2014) 216–218, fig. 1 discusses this vase and argues that each woman carrying a child "serves to visualize different households and not to visualize the extended family" (218). According to her, each woman carrying a child represents an *oikos,* an autonomous household. The scene "reflects that fellows from separate households go to war jointly." (218). However, this is a unique composition that cannot be used to draw general conclusions. It may have been a special order, but in that case the question must be, how it ended up in Vulci.

horses, apparently caressing them. Because a hoplite is also standing in front of the horses, one may wonder whether the two boys are little grooms taking care of the horses or members of the family – thus recalling the children who stand near their father stretching out their arms towards him, as depicted on *HL I* 04 (Pl. 4).

On *HL II 08*, a hydria dated 540–530 BCE, a woman is carrying a cuirass; this vase-painting also shows the mounting hoplite with no shield. Maybe this detail was influenced by representations of women giving weapons to a hoplite departing on foot.[49] An unusual scene is found on a psykter–neck-amphora with a continuous frieze attributed to the Swing Painter (Pl. 4, *HL II* 03): on both sides of the chariot a woman and a man holding a helmet in his hand are seated on campstools. A woman carrying a small lion in her arms stands facing the seated couple behind the chariot, while a young man wearing a cuirass stands facing the couple at the horses' heads apparently receiving the helmet from the seated man.

Three times, on two band-cups (*HL II* 15, *HL II* 16) and the top of the mouth of a dinos (*HL II* 14), the chariot group appears in a long frieze between other standard-motifs – *typical compositions* which are often found placed next to each other without connection – such as other *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving',[50] the harnessing of a chariot, frontal chariots, chariots wheeling round, chariots used in a fight, and hoplites arming themselves.[51] On these vases and on a hydria (Pl. 4, *HL II* 13) there are no women, children, or old men standing nearby, but only hoplites, archers, and unarmed men, who are depicted walking in the same direction as the chariot and not turned towards the chariot.

3.2.2 Analysis

In *variant HL II* the *typical elements* indicating a departure from home to war are depicted: the chariot, the charioteer who carries a Boeotian shield on his back in half of the scenes, the mounting hoplite, additional hoplites, plus various women, children, and old men. Although the old man may be (and often is) interpreted as the father of the hoplite, the woman as his wife or mother, and the children as his children, these figures – in my opinion – symbolise

[49] The motif of bringing armour is found on *HL II* 08, *HL III* 07, *HL III* 28, *HL V* 03, *HL V* 04, *MC* 22, *MC* 42, *CH* 11, *CH* 23, *CH* 38, *CMH* 06, *CMH* 07.

[50] On *HL II* 16 there is also a chariot in profile at the right side of the frieze. A running hoplite is depicted behind it. His posture is more or less the same as that of the mounting hoplite at the left side, but his foot is not in the chariot, so I interpret him as belonging to the chariot wheeling round in the middle of the frieze. However, this example shows that in friezes it is not always clear to which group a figure belongs.

[51] Brownlee (1997) 519 contends that the scenes on the top of the mouth of a dinos are "more generally scenes where a certain sort of behaviour is required, where heroes prove their worth by doing what heroes are supposed to do."

the categories of people who stay at home in time of war: old men, women, and children.[52] Old men and women are depicted together on only five vases, so clearly, one of these two categories was enough to indicate the people that stay behind. Children, however, are always found in the company of women.

On the cups and the dinos (*HL II* 14, *HL II* 15, *HL II* 16) the bystanders are only men – hoplites, archers, unarmed men, old men and youths. As mentioned before (section 3.2.1), in these depictions the bystanders walk alongside the chariot and the implication is that the chariot and the bystanders are all leaving together to fight. The vase-painters probably chose scenes that were especially appreciated by men for these forms of symposium ware. In the depictions with women, children, and old men the emphasis is more on the departure from home. In general, there are fewer bystanders on vases during the last quarter of the century, on both small and large shapes.

3.2.3 Changing the composition

Variant HL II is iconographically the direct successor of the early depictions (*variant HL I*) but apparently lost popularity during the second half of the 6th century BCE. A practical reason may be that new *variants* were created that were easier to draw than this rather complex composition.[53] Another possible reason for the relative rarity of this *variant* may be that – although these vase-paintings were not intended to depict the Departure of Amphiaraus, because all references such as name-inscriptions, the necklace, the man sitting on the ground, and mourning gestures are missing – the *typical element* of the mounting hoplite was still associated with the story of Amphiaraus, as it was available to be seen on the prominently displayed Chest of Cypselus at Olympia. In this context it is remarkable that on *HL II* 09 (Pl. 4) two boys are shown standing at the horses' heads. As mentioned above (section 3.2.1), although the boys seem to caress the horses, they are also standing on either side of a hoplite, resembling the composition on *HL I* 04 (Pl. 4). The *typical composition* of *variant HL II* thus recalls the story of a hero who, betrayed by his wife, was doomed to be killed, which was perhaps deemed less desirable for representation than images showing a more daily-life image.

[52] Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 206. Mackay (2010) 197. Seifert (2014) 218.

[53] This composition is also *not* found in the *variants CMH* and *CMM*, in which two men stand in the chariot.

3.2.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The painting of a hoplite departing is found mostly on large vases. The belly-amphorae are dated 540 to 530 BCE, except for the amphora by the Priam Painter (*HL II* 19), where no bystanders are present, which is dated later, about 510 BCE. The hydriai are dated from 540 to 510 BCE, demonstrating that this shape was becoming more popular in the last quarter of the century. In the last third of the 6th century the scene was also painted on smaller shapes or on small panels of large vases, such as the top of the mouth of a dinos (*HL II* 14), where it is found as a standard-motif in a long frieze.

On five vases a mythological scene is depicted in another section. The representation of Achilles, Troilus, and Polyxena with the broken hydria on the shoulder of hydria *HL II* 12 is obviously connected with the shape of the vase. There is only one Dionysiac scene, on the late neck-amphora *HL II* 20. The other 13 depictions are related to the world of men: sports, horsemen with dogs or hunting and hoplites fighting, the harnessing of a chariot, and other representations of chariots.

3.3 *Variant HL III* 'Charioteer standing in chariot, hoplite standing nearby' ca. 550–500 BCE (Table 06, Plates 5–6)

3.3.1 Description

Among the early vase-paintings discussed in section 3.1 there are some in which the hoplite is not shown mounting but standing behind the chariot (*HL I* 02; Pl. 4, *HL I* 04; *HL I* 05). The composition with a hoplite standing near – although rarely behind – the chariot was popular after the middle of the 6th century BCE. There are 94 vases with a representation of this *variant* in my database (*variant HL III*, Table 06).[54] On four vases it is found on both sides.[55] The arrangements vary from very simple to complex. On long compositions, like the friezes on band-cups, the shoulders of hydriai, the necks of volute-kraters, and the top of the mouth of a dinos, most of which date to the last third of the century, *variant HL III* is used as a standard-motif, just like *variant HL II* (section 3.2.1). It may be used to separate other standard-motifs, but sometimes a chariot is found at both sides of the central motif in a

[54] In my list I left out some fragments on which chariots and hoplites are visible but where, due to the fragmentary condition, it is not possible to draw conclusions about the composition: Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, 2239, cup fragment (BA 44818), and Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2119, volute-krater fragment (BA 9030230). The description of Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung (once) F 1795, cup (BA 310512) does not give enough information on the composition.

[55] *HL III* 09 has two different representations. On *HL III* 39, *HL III* 40, *HL III* 41 both sides have the same representation.

frieze, recalling the chariots waiting on both sides of a duel (*variant CW*). It also may appear as the central motif of the frieze, and in that case hoplites may stand symmetrically on both sides of the chariot with the result that their round shields resemble the *apotropaic* eyes often found in this position.[56] Often it is difficult to decide to which of the standard-motifs bystanders belong.

In *variant HL III* the *typical elements* determining the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' are all found: the chariot with charioteer and hoplite, and the bystanders, such as other hoplites, and women, (old) men, and children who, because they are staying home, make it clear that the hoplite is leaving, which may be accentuated by the hoplite looking back towards them.

The charioteer always wears a long draped mantle or a long narrow garment. In 33 cases he is carrying a Boeotian shield on his back. In three quarters of the cases he is holding a goad, and only eight times one or two spears (Pl. 5, *HL III* 02; Pl. 6, *HL III* 62).[57]

The hoplite is armed with spear, helmet, and round shield. Belly-amphora *HL III* 10 dated around 540 BCE is remarkable because it is the only large vase in this *variant* where the hoplite is carrying a Boeotian shield. Since this type of shield usually is associated with mythological scenes, it is rather surprising that on this vase name-inscriptions were added that seem to refer to real people.[58]

In 50 cases there is a single hoplite standing near the chariot,[59] and in 28 representations there are two. For the remainder of the vases the number of hoplites varies, up to a maximum of six on *HL III* 13 and *HL III* 89. The hoplites may stand near the horses, at the horses' heads, or behind the chariot. In 68 of the 98 representations all of the hoplites are facing to the left, sometimes looking backwards (Pl. 5, *HL III* 20). In this position their shields are seen from the outside, covering their bodies, which is easier to paint than from

[56] Hydriai *HL III* 14, *HL III* 15 and *HL III* 36; band-cups *HL III* 43, *HL III* 44; volute-krater *HL III* 71 (= *HL IV* 68). On *HL III* 42 two hoplites are depicted on either side of the centre, but they stand near the horses of the two chariots in profile at the sides of the frieze.

[57] The goad is not always visible on the photos and often not mentioned in the description. Spear ?: *HL III* 07. Two spears: *HL III* 52, *HL III* 53, *HL III* 76. Spear and goad: *HL III* 33, *HL III* 37, *HL III* 62; on *HL III* 34 two shafts are visible, but the tops are lost; since *HL III* 33 is also attributed to the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, I assumed that on *HL III* 34 both a goad and a spear were depicted.

[58] Inscriptions: Eu[ry]lochos, Klerist[e], Hipodamas and Hipomedon. However, Fritzilas (2012) identifies the charioteer Hippodamas with one of the sons of king Priam (*Iliad* 20, 401–406). In the friezes on the neck of volute-krater *HL III* 72 and on the top of the mouth of dinos *HL III* 38 one of the hoplites carries a Boeotian shield.

[59] On *HL III* 04 the person standing at the horses' heads is almost totally lost, but he is carrying a spear. Therefore I placed the vase in this list; however, he is also holding a wreath, which is more usual for a boy or youth walking in front of the chariot. On cup *HL III* 42 two chariots, each with one hoplite, are facing outwards at both sides of a frontal chariot. On cup *HL III* 43 the chariot is central motif; there are no bystanders near the horses, but a man is standing at the horses' heads, and at both sides a hoplite is standing facing a horseman.

the inside. On some vases dating from the end of the century the hoplite (or one of them) is standing on this side of the horses (Pl. 6, *HL III* 62). Not only does this give a full view of his shield, it was also easier to draw. In 19 cases (15 times with only one hoplite standing nearby and four times with two hoplites) all of the hoplites are facing to the right (Pl. 5, *HL III* 07); in 11 cases they are facing in various directions (Pl. 5, *HL III* 08, *HL III* 11).

When there is a single hoplite – who should be identified as the man about to mount the chariot – he is seldom depicted standing at the horses' heads (Pl. 5, *HL III* 20)[60] behind or next to the chariot, as if he is ready to mount (Pl. 5, *HL III* 02).[61] Maybe the act of mounting a chariot was still associated with the composition of the Amphiaraus scenes and therefore avoided. The hoplite's usual position is standing facing to the left alongside the horses, approaching the chariot (Pl. 6, *HL III* 62).[62] The simple composition of *HL III* 04 with only a chariot with a charioteer and a standing hoplite resembles vases painted with *variants MC, CH, CMH,* and *CMM*.

When there are additional hoplites as bystanders, they typically stand near the horses or the horses' heads. Only when there are three or more hoplites, does one of them usually stand behind the chariot, but in most cases he is turned away from it, indicating that he is not intending to mount.[63] On a belly-amphora attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter and dated about 540 BCE (Pl. 5, *HL III* 08), a boy and a girl, both clothed, stand close to – touching – the hoplite behind the chariot. He is looking back towards the left, but as no one is standing behind him, the pose is meaningless within the context of this scene. However, for people who knew the *typical composition* of the Departure of Amphiaraus, this gesture – especially in combination with two children among whom is a girl – recalls the mythical hero looking back towards his faithless wife Eriphyle. On a belly-amphora attributed to Group E and

[60] One hoplite standing to left at the horses' heads: *HL III* 04 (holding a wreath), *HL III* 20, *HL III* 38, *HL III* 53.

[61] One hoplite standing to right behind or next to the chariot: *HL III* 02, *HL III* 07, *HL III* 10 (names), *HL III* 17, *HL III* 28, *HL III* 39 (standard-motif), *HL III* 64, *HL III* 71 (turning to left to woman).

[62] On *HL III* 12 and *HL III* 92 the hoplites are facing to the left, but as the chariots are also facing to the left, the men are walking with the chariot. On *HL III* 40 the chariot is facing to the left and the hoplite is standing to the left behind it. As the chariot at the left side of the frieze on *HL III* 42 is turned towards the left, the hoplite facing to the right is approaching it.

[63] More hoplites, one standing to right behind or next to the chariot: *HL III* 11, *HL III* 19, *HL III* 25, *HL III* 83. On *HL III* 13 two hoplites are standing to right behind the chariot, one turning back to a woman in between them. More hoplites, one standing behind the chariot but turned away from it*: HL III* 08, *HL III* 29, *HL III* 30, *HL III* 31, *HL III* 41, *HL III* 43, *HL III* 69, *HL III* 70, *HL III* 88, *HL III* 89, *HL III* 90. I interpreted the warrior standing behind the chariot on *HL III* 45 as belonging to the standard scene at the left. *HL III* 72 are fragments; there are four chariots to right and behind three of them a hoplite is standing to left; on two fragments also a hoplite to left is seen standing near the horses.

dated about. 540 BCE (Pl. 5, *HL III* 11), a nude boy is standing between the hoplite (standing facing to the right on the far side of the chariot) and a woman carrying a little boy. These representations recall earlier pictures of the Departure of Amphiaraus (Pl. 4, *HL I* 01, *HL I* 04).[64] However, as there are no other specific *typical elements*, they must be non-specific departure scenes, showing that the hoplites are not only husbands but also fathers.

In some cases the reason for placing the hoplite behind or beside the chariot may have been lack of space. On a large belly-amphora painted by Exekias (*HL III* 17) 13 bystanders fill the space near the horses, and the hoplite is placed on this side of the chariot.[65]

On some vases there are additional details. On a fragment of a belly-amphora dated 530 to 520 BCE the hoplite is shown standing behind the chariot (*HL III* 28). The space near the horses is filled with women bringing armour – a cuirass and greaves.[66] A man is standing between the women, and another man is seated on a campstool at the heads of the horses. Since the hoplite is wearing a cuirass and a helmet and carrying a round shield, one wonders for whom the arms are intended. Another example of people delivering weapons is found on a neck-amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter and dated 540 to 530 BCE (Pl. 5, *HL III* 07): a hoplite wearing a helmet is receiving a round shield from a woman.[67] Both figures are standing on this side of the chariot and the large shield is almost in the middle of the vase, drawing the viewer's attention. Another woman, standing at the heads of the horses, is holding a spear. These scenes recall the delivery of weapons found in standard depictions of 'hoplites departing on foot'. Another motif derived from such representations is the hoplite arming himself. On a belly-amphora dated about 540 BCE (Pl. 5, *HL III* 09b), a hoplite is donning his greaves; and on a hydria by the Ready Painter (*HL III* 03) dated around 540 BCE, one of the hoplites is holding his helmet in his hand. On both vases no women or old men are depicted.

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[64] On *HL III* 19 a little boy carried by a woman is stretching his arms towards the hoplite, who is standing behind the chariot, which recalls the children stretching their arms towards Amphiaraus.

[65] Unfortunately, the other side of this vase is fragmentary. Again, a chariot is depicted accompanied by many people. At the right side an old man is bending forward to a young boy who is standing under the heads of the horses. Although that spot is often filled by a small person, this boy is extraordinary because he is making a gesture of mourning. At the left side of the picture an old man is also bending forward, but the person he is bending towards is lost. Mackay (2010) 180 suggests that another child or even the dead body of a warrior brought home was painted here.

[66] The motif of people carrying weapons is also found in other *variants*, see section 3.2.1, note 49. The motif is found more often in depictions of hoplites leaving on foot.

[67] On *HL III* 19 a large round shield is seen held up between the hoplite standing behind the chariot and the woman facing him. It is not clear who exactly is holding it up and whether the woman is giving it to the hoplite. It may be only painted in this place to make it visible for the observer.

Including the vases mentioned above, women are found as bystanders on 38 vases, chiefly on large forms but rarely in the friezes painted on the shoulders of hydriai, cups, or the necks of volute-kraters. On 23 vases a single woman stands near the chariot, but there are also scenes with two to five women. In most cases the women face the chariot. On crowded vases they are depicted facing in various directions.[68] On the belly-amphora by Exekias mentioned above (*HL III* 17) five women, five (or seven) men, and an old man are depicted. A crowded composition like this one is unusual for Exekias. A simpler arrangement is painted on a belly-amphora attributed to him in Budapest (*HL III* 16), where the hoplite is standing near the horses facing to the right, facing a woman and a young man, while a second woman is standing at the heads of the horses. The empty space under the heads of the horses is filled by the lifted leg of one horse, who is impatiently scraping the ground.

Children are depicted on 12 vases of variant HL III. On five vases a little boy is carried on the arm or shoulder of a woman;[69] on four vases he is turned towards the hoplite. Usually there is a single child, but on *HL III* 11 (Pl. 5) there are two, one carried by a woman and a second standing near the hoplite. Only on *HL III* 18 does the painter position the hoplite more on the right side, standing at the right of the woman and looking back towards her. Since the boy on her arm is still turned to the left, this is the only scene where the child is not looking at the hoplite. Most of these vase-paintings are dated between 540 and 520 BCE, but the motif is also found on hydria *HL III* 74, dated around 510 BCE.

On other vases the boy is depicted as older and stands near the horses' heads, or once behind the chariot.[70] On *HL III* 08 a boy and a girl are standing behind the chariot near the hoplite. On *HL III* 05 the boy is nude; in the other scenes he wears a cloak. On *HL III* 05 and *HL III* 35 the boy stands facing to the left near the horses' heads; on both of these vases the hoplite is standing near the horses to the right, looking back. On a belly-amphora formerly in Toledo (Pl. 5, *HL III* 20), attributed to the Swing Painter, the hoplite stands facing to the left at the heads of the horses, and a little boy is standing between him and the horses. However, the boy is not turned to face the hoplite but also standing facing to the left. On *HL III* 21 the boy is standing behind the chariot; on *HL III* 22 a somewhat taller youth is standing in that

[68] To right: *HL III* 12 (but chariot to left), *HL III* 35 (hoplite to right, looking back; child near heads), *HL III* 36 (standard-motif), *HL III* 47 (looking back), *HL III* 74, *HL III* 78 (2 looking back), *HL III* 94. More women, various directions: *HL III* 13, *HL III* 17, *HL III* 19, *HL III* 23, *HL III* 30, *HL III* 66, *HL III* 71 (standard-motif), *HL III* 84 (figures, possibly women, in various directions).

[69] *HL III* 11, *HL III* 18, *HL III* 19, *HL III* 30, *HL III* 74. On *HL III* 11 a second boy is standing near a hoplite.

[70] *HL III* 05, *HL III* 20, *HL III* 21 (behind the chariot), *HL III* 22 (youth), *HL III* 32, *HL III* 35, *HL III* 57 (with wreath).

position. On both vases the hoplites face to the right. On *HL III* 32 and *HL III* 57 a boy in a mantle is standing facing to the right at the horses' heads, giving the impression that he is going to walk in front of the horses; on *HL III* 57 he is carrying a wreath.[71] A practical explanation for the fact that a child is often painted under the horses' heads, may be that the small figure is filling the empty space.

Old men are present on 26 vases, including the ones discussed above. Usually there is only one old man, and he is almost always turned to face to the left.[72] In seven cases he is seated on a campstool near the heads of the horses, but once behind the chariot (*HL III* 66). On *HL III* 9a the seated man holds a curved staff, which is an attribute of a seer; since there is a bird flying above the horses and a lizard painted between their legs, this composition recalls the Amphiaraus krater, where the lizard may signify a bad omen. However, the man is not making a mourning gesture.

Unarmed men (including some beardless younger men) are present in 40 representations, in 12 cases sitting. Usually there is a single man, but there may be up to five (plus a young man and an unidentified figure) on the crowded amphora by Exekias (*HL III* 17). In about half of the scenes they stand facing to the left. Men and women are shown together 21 times, women and old men nine times, and unarmed men and old men seven times. Men, old men, and women are found together on only four vases.[73]

Archers are depicted on 14 vases, in most cases standing facing to the left. In nine cases they are represented along with women or an old man and therefore in the context of a departure from home rather than the commencement of an actual battle. However, five times there are only hoplites and no women and old men present, so the scene probably represents a departure to battle, especially on *HL III* 45 and *HL III* 52 where the archers are walking to the right with the chariot (see section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

On nine vases (five of which attributed to the Leagros Group) dogs are present, which are not found in *variants HL I* and *HL II*. In five cases the dogs mingle with women

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[71] In wedding processions in Athens a child, the *pais amphithales,* led the procession, and in depictions of *subtype* 'Wedding procession' this child is depicted several times (see sections 4.0; 4.3.1; 4.3.2; 4.5.1; 4.6). On *HL III* 57 the little figure holding a wreath may look like a man since his chin is formed as if he has a beard. However, I think that a boy is intended and that the chin was just drawn too pointed. Cf. *CMH* 29 where the little figure before the horses has a real beard.

[72] Two old men: *HL III* 33 (one standing to right, one to left) and *HL III* 50 (one standing near the horses to right, looking back, one sitting at the horses' heads). One old man to right: *HL III* 13, *HL III* 80, *HL III* 82. To right, looking back to left: *HL III* 20, *HL III* 65.

[73] *HL III* 13, *HL III* 17, *HL III* 51, *HL III* 66.

and old men, indicating a departure from home. On some vases one or two birds are depicted.

I added three vases to this *variant* where Hermes accompanies the chariot, perhaps to indicate that the hoplite is departing on a journey and to give the representation a heroic atmosphere.[74] Once not only Hermes but also a goddess wearing a *polos* is attending the chariot. This may be due to contamination with the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', where gods are more often present.

3.3.2 Analysis

The *typical elements* found in most compositions of *variant HL III*, especially on the larger vases – the chariot with charioteer and hoplite, accompanied by women, children, and old men staying behind – indicate a departure from home. It is noteworthy that on the cups and the lekythoi the bystanders in most cases are only hoplites and men. The charioteer – who is carrying a Boeotian shield on about one third of all the vases of the *subtype* – is in this *variant* carrying a shield in half of the cases and usually when no women are present. Although the bystanders are in most cases not walking with the chariot, the more military context suggests that the hoplite is preparing to depart to the battlefield, rather than just leaving home.

When there is only one hoplite present, he is usually standing near the horses. When there is more than one hoplite depicted, the one behind the chariot is often shown turning away from it. Therefore, we may conclude that in general it is *not* the hoplite behind the chariot but the hoplite standing near the horses and approaching the chariot who is the most important person present and about to mount the chariot.

That the vase-painters did not intend to depict specific families but rather categories of people staying behind is shown by the fact that only on nine vases in this list are old men and women found together, while twice the only other bystander is a boy. Clearly, depiction of one of the categories of ordinary people was enough to indicate the people who stay behind. The boys standing or walking at the horses' heads may have had a function in the procession, and therefore they may indicate that departure is imminent. The nude boy turned

[74] *HL III* 31, *HL III* 46, *HL III* 53 (with goddess). On one of the fragments of *HL III* 72 a person with winged shoes is standing at the heads of the horses, but the context of this chariot scene is not clear. I placed depictions of chariots with hoplites or unarmed men accompanied by Athena and other gods in the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles'.

towards the horses on *HL III* 05 may be a groom. In general fewer bystanders are represented in the last quarter of the century.

3.3.3 Changing the composition

For *variant HL III* the same *typical elements* were used as for *variants HL I* and *HL II*, but the composition has changed and only the hoplite standing with children near him on *HL III 08* and *HL III* 11 (Pl. 5) and the seer on *HL III* 09a recall the iconography of the Departure of Amphiaraus. The scene suggests preparations for a daily-life departure of hoplites, rather than the moment of departure itself. I deduce this from the fact that the hoplite standing behind the chariot is not starting to mount and in most cases is apparently not the man who is supposed to mount, and also from the fact that most of the hoplites and other bystanders face to the left, towards the chariot. When women or old men are present a departure from home is depicted but when only hoplites, archers and men are accompanying the chariot a departure to the battlefield may be meant.

Only on a few vases where the hoplites stand facing to the right (and in some cases looking backwards) does the moment that the procession starts to move seem imminent (*e.g.*, Pl. 5, *HL III* 02, one of the few cases where a single hoplite is shown standing behind the chariot and no other bystander is present). On three late vases (*HL III* 83, *HL III* 85, and *HL III* 86) hoplites are walking to the right, some of them turning to look back at the chariot. As there are no women or other bystanders, these paintings seem to depict the moment of departure from the camp to the battlefield.

3.3.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant HL III is found mostly painted on large panels of large vases, but in the last years of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th century it occurs also on smaller shapes or on small panels on large vases, such as the shoulders of hydriai, the necks of volute-kraters, and the top of the mouth of a dinos, where it is found as a standard-motif in a long frieze. On the bodies of hydriai the depiction is found throughout the whole period from 540 to 500 BCE. In the last third of the century it is less common on belly-amphorae, but the images on column-kraters all date from the last quarter of the century. The neck-amphorae are all from the last two decades of the 6th century except for *HL III* 07 (Pl. 5) by the Princeton Painter.[75]

[75] On a very late neck-amphora dating to 480–450 BCE (London, British Museum, B 275, BA 303027) an old man carrying two spears is shown near the horses instead of a hoplite. This shows that these *formulaic compositions* remained in use for a long time but that the understanding of them was deteriorating.

Small shapes with the image, such as lekythoi and oenochoai, date to the last years of the 6th century and the beginning of the 5th century, as do the volute-kraters.

On 18 large vases mythological scenes are found.[76] Dionysiac scenes appear on 13 large vases and once in the tondo of a cup (*HL III* 44). On 50 vases the depictions on other sections of the vases are connected with the life of men: hoplites leaving on foot or fighting, horsemen, horse racing, sports scenes, and a symposium scene. There are various images with chariots, including a frontal chariot, a hoplitomachy with a chariot and the hoplite standing on the pole, and chariots wheeling round. On vases where the chariot-scenes are used as standard-motifs, identical depictions or other *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' are found.

3. 4 *Variant HL IV* 'Charioteer mounting a chariot, hoplite standing nearby' ca. 540–500 BCE (Table 07, Plates 6–7)

3.4.1 Description

On 89 vases[77] a charioteer is shown mounting the chariot while a hoplite is standing nearby (*variant HL IV,* Table 07*)*.[78] On seven vases this scene is found on both sides. Because the charioteer still has one foot on the ground and is not standing in the chariot high above the others, the composition is particularly suitable for a wide panel with a limited height, such as those found on the shoulder of a hydria, the neck of a volute-krater, band-cups, and the top of the mouth of a dinos; and it is used in two-third of these cases as a standard-motif (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 13, *HL IV* 29). The variant first appears around 540 to 530 BCE but became especially popular in the last quarter of the century.

In this *variant* all *typical elements* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' are found: the chariot with charioteer and hoplite, additional hoplites and archers, and the women, (old) men, and children who, because they remain at home, make it clear that the hoplite is leaving, which is in several cases accentuated by the hoplite looking back towards them.

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[76] True, and Hamma (eds.) (1994) 89 interprets the duel with chariots on the same vase as *HL III* 71 as a Gigantomachy; in my opinion the duel of Heracles and Cycnus is depicted with Zeus intervening (*HC II* 31). See section 2.3.3.1, note 72.

[77] I left some fragments out of my list on which the composition cannot be determined, although a mounting charioteer and a hoplite standing near are visible.

[78] I included some scenes where an archer instead of a hoplite is depicted (*HL IV* 67, *HL IV* 79), or alternatively hoplites and women or old men (*HL IV* 29). I also placed *HL IV* 31 in this list, although there are no hoplites standing close to the chariot, because the composition (a frieze with chariots and hoplites) resembles that on the other dinoi.

The charioteer is – in contrast with the other *variants* – usually (74 times) wearing a short *chiton* and not the characteristic long garment; sometimes he is nude. The reason for this is probably that it was easier for the painter to draw the legs of the man mounting the chariot without a garment, and at the same time it was easier for the viewer to discern that the man is mounting. The charioteer carries a Boeotian shield slung on his back, 32 times in combination with a short tunic and ten times with a long garment. He rarely wears other armour. A few times he wears a helmet, once in combination with a Boeotian shield.[79] On a few vases he wears a *petasus* (brimmed felt hat worn by travellers).[80] He usually holds a goad, but a few times two spears or a goad and a spear.[81]

The hoplites are fully armed with one or two spears, helmet, and shield. On eight vases the hoplites wear their helmets pushed back on the crowns of their heads (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 51, Pl. 7, *HL IV* 55).[82] Most often the shield is round, but a few Boeotian shields are depicted.[83] In 31 cases there is a single hoplite standing near the chariot; in friezes with more than one chariot there is in general one hoplite standing near each chariot. In 38 cases there are two hoplites standing nearby, and in 11 depictions three hoplites.

In half of the scenes a hoplite is standing near the horses, and when there is only one hoplite in the painting, he is in about half of the cases standing there. A hoplite standing at the heads of the horses or behind the chariot often seems to form a separate group with a woman, a seated old man, or other people; and in the cases when he is standing behind the chariot he is not even facing towards it. Only on a calyx-krater from the circle of Exekias (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 06), on which the only hoplite present is standing behind the chariot, is he standing facing the chariot and seems to intend to mount the chariot. On the shoulders of 16 hydriai, one cup, and on the neck of a volute-krater the hoplites are placed on both sides of

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[79] Helmet and shield: *HL IV* 27. Helmet: *HL IV* 37a-b, *HL IV* 38a-b, *HL IV* 39a-b. I added two large vases with a mounting warrior without a shield to *variant HL V* 'Hoplite holding reins', because the composition resembles other depictions in that list (*HL V* 01, *HL V* 09, see section 3.5.1)

[80] Petasus: *HL IV* 01, *HL IV* 04, *HL IV* 06, *HL IV* 10, *HL IV* 42, *HL IV* 60, *HL IV* 69, *HL IV* 70, *HL IV* 72, *HL IV* 79. There may be others, but this detail is not always visible.

[81] Two spears: *HL IV* 07, *HL IV* 14; a goad and a spear: *HL IV* 78; on *HL IV* 87 there are two shafts visible, but not the tops. The charioteer is on several vases clearly depicted as a beardless young man: *HL IV* 05, *HL IV* 06, *HL IV* 08, *HL IV* 16, *HL IV* 17, *HL IV* 18, *HL IV* 19, *HL IV* 20, *HL IV* 21, *HL IV* 23, *HL IV* 44, *HL IV* 45, *HL IV* 58, *HL IV* 62, *HL IV* 66, *HL IV* 75, *HL IV* 78, *HL IV* 79, *HL IV* 84. However, often it is not clearly visible (nor mentioned in the description) whether he has a beard, so I left this detail outside my description and analysis.

[82] Helmet on back of head: *HL IV* 11, *HL IV* 15, *HL IV* 27, *HL IV* 41, *HL IV* 48, *HL IV* 51, *HL IV* 53, *HL IV* 55.

[83] Boeotian shield: *HL IV* 03, *HL IV* 05, *HL IV* 08, *HL IV* 09, *HL IV* 11, *HL IV* 22, *HL IV* 25, *HL IV* 46.

the centre, with the effect that their round shields resemble apotropaic eyes (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 13).[84]

Most often the hoplites face to the left towards the chariot, so that their shields are seen in frontal view and cover a large part of their bodies. Sometimes they are looking backwards. On eight vases dating from the end of the 6th century the hoplite is shown standing to the left but facing to the right on this side of the chariot, which gives a clear view on him although the shield partly conceals the horses (Pl. 7, *HL IV* 55).

In 14 scenes the hoplites are shown standing to the right, and in 18 depictions facing in various directions; these depictions are mostly standard-motifs in friezes. The calyx-krater mentioned above (PL. 6, *HL IV* 06) is the only large vase on which a single hoplite is depicted who is standing facing to the right. There are also only two large vases where the hoplites are shown facing in various directions. One of these is a belly-amphora attributed to the Priam Painter on which the names Amphiaraus, Eriphyle, and Alcmaeon are inscribed (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 48). Without these inscriptions there is nothing in the picture that indicates a mythological subject. The hoplite named Amphiaraus is not standing behind the chariot, there are no mourning people, and no seated man is depicted. The hero is instead shown standing near the horses facing to the left and not looking back towards Eriphyle, who is standing behind him; Alcmaeon on her arm is turned to look back towards his father. This vase shows again that the addition of name-inscriptions can give a new meaning to a standard composition,[85] in this case changing a non-specific departure scene into a mythological one. However, it is possible that the Priam Painter chose the *variant* with the mounting charioteer as a deliberate reminder of earlier depictions with a mounting Amphiaraus.

A hoplite seated on a campstool at the heads of the horses is found on a hydria painted by the Affecter (*HL IV* 01). A woman with a spear stands to the left near the horses, while the charioteer, wearing a short chiton with a *nebris* and a *petasus* is mounting the chariot. As the charioteer has winged shoes, he is probably Hermes.[86] Since the Affecter is known for his enigmatic depictions, it may be an original composition that does not follow the standard iconography. However, a seated hoplite is also found in a frieze with standard-

[84] See section 3.3.1, note 56.

[85] See note 34. At the end of the 6th century BCE Athens, Thebes, and Eretria fought over Oropos, the location of the sanctuary of Amphiaraus. This may be the reason for renewed interest in Amphiaraus; Walker (2004) 155–156. See section 6.5.

[86] A comparable composition with a woman with a spear, but with Heracles mounting and an old man seated at the heads of the horses, is found on *AP VI* 01 (Pl. 20), attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter.

motifs on the top of the mouth of dinos *HL IV* 27, painted in the Manner of the Antimenes Painter.

Women stand near the chariot on 51 vases; usually there is only one woman, but there are a few vases with two women and one vase with three. On the vases where more chariots are included as standard-motifs, each chariot has its own attendant woman and sometimes more than one. Usually the women simply stand near the chariot, sometimes apparently in conversation with the hoplite. In the panel on the body of a hydria attributed to the Leagros Group (Pl. 7, *HL IV* 55) a woman, wearing a wreath of branches and holding a branch, is carrying an oenochoe as if she is about to make a libation. This *typical element* is more often found in late vase-paintings of hoplites departing on foot. The hoplite is wearing his helmet pushed back on the crown of his head; he is clearly paying attention to the offering ritual and not yet ready to depart.

Women carrying a boy are found on only three vases of *variant HL IV*: on the belly-amphora by the Priam Painter with the name-inscriptions Eriphyle and Alcmaeon (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 48), on a hydria (*HL IV* 04), and on a neck-amphora (*HL IV* 71). On both sides of the cup *HL IV* 37 a nude boy is shown standing to the left beneath the heads of the horses, stretching out his arms. On the calyx-krater mentioned above (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 06) a nude boy stands facing to the right beneath the heads of the horses. His presence may indicate that the procession is about to start, which is probably also signalled by the fact that the hoplite seems ready to mount the chariot immediately after the charioteer. On the same vase a tall nude male – maybe a groom – is standing facing the heads of the horses.

On 37 vases one or two old men are depicted, 17 times standing and 24 times sitting; on 12 of these vases also women are present. A particularly interesting vase is a large belly-amphora attributed to the Rycroft Painter in Toledo (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 51). An old man is standing near the horses, while three fully armed hoplites are standing nearby, wearing their helmets pushed back on the crowns of their heads. An archer stands at the heads of the horses. A charioteer in a long garment and with a Boeotian shield is mounting the chariot. At first glance the composition seems to be just one of the many minor variations painters could make, although it is the only representation on a large panel in this group with so many hoplites and no unarmed bystanders other than the old man. However, when we look at the other side of the vase, we see an old man in the same position and with the same face. The scene on this side is easily recognised: king Priam supplicating Achilles to accept ransom

and return the body of Hector. Keeping in mind what Ann Steiner [87] says about *visual repetition* in vase-paintings – how by repeating gestures and compositions within a vase-painting or in the paintings on both sides of a vase, the painter is directing the thoughts of the viewer – it is very tempting to recognise king Priam in the old man in the departure scene. One possibility is that Priam himself is leaving Troy to go to the Greek camp. It would explain why the hoplites are wearing their helmets pushed back on the crowns of their heads: they are the sons of Priam, not leaving for battle but preparing the chariot for their father. However, Priam is facing to the right when he would be expected to be approaching the chariot. This alteration may be a result of the *visual repetition*: on the other side Priam faces to the right, where the body of Achilles is lying under Achilles' dining couch. Another possibility is that the departure of Hector is represented before his duel with Achilles.[88] Which of the two possibilities one chooses, in both cases the old man is king Priam. The painter repeated his posture and position in the departure scene in order to connect the representations as two events in the Homeric narrative.

Unarmed men and youths are found on 46 vases, standing or sitting, most often as part of friezes assembled of standard-motifs. On 29 vases one or two archers are present. Usually they are in the company of a hoplite, but twice no hoplites are depicted and an archer has taken the place of the hoplite next to the chariot (*HL IV* 67, *HL IV* 79). Once an archer is shown driving the chariot (*HL IV* 73).

Gods generally do not play a role in this subtype, but Hermes is present in a few depictions, perhaps to indicate that the hoplite is about to make a journey as well as to give the daily-life scene a heroic atmosphere. On *HL IV* 05, *HL IV* 21, and *HL IV* 22 he is depicted near the horses' heads; on the last vase Poseidon holding a trident is also present. On *HL IV* 01 a man with winged boots, probably Hermes, is mounting as the charioteer. One to three dogs are present in 19 depictions, most often in friezes and eight times on vases by the Leagros Group.

[87] Steiner (2007) 109–114. See section 1.10.

[88] In Book 6 of the *Iliad* Hector says farewell to his mother Hecabe, his wife Andromache and his son Astyanax; Homer does not describe the farewell of Hector and Priam. The interpretation of the scene as the departure of Hector I owe to Dr. Sandra Knudsen, for a long time curator of the Museum of Art in Toledo, who knows the vase very well. She pointed to the fact that Priam is exchanging an intense, tragic look with the central, tallest hoplite, who is Hector, who is about to fight Achilles and die. However, this hoplite is also not walking towards the chariot. The departure of Priam is described in Homer, *Iliad* 24, 247–280.

3.4.2 Analysis

The *typical elements* found in *variant HL IV* – a chariot with a mounting charioteer accompanied by hoplites, archers, women, and old men – indicate a departure. Children are rarely present. In 11 depictions on a large, non frieze-like panel (including three *lekythoi*) the charioteer is carrying a Boeotian shield; in these paintings a woman is present only twice, but six times there is more than one hoplite, five times an archer, five times an old man, and twice a seated man. Although they are not walking with the chariot, the suggestion here, as in *variant HL III*, is that in these cases the hoplites are preparing to depart for battle, rather than leaving home.

In the *typical composition*, the hoplite standing behind the chariot is apparently not the one who will mount it. In most cases he is shown turned away from the chariot or engaged with another figure. Only on *HL IV* 06 (Pl. 6) is the hoplite standing facing to the right behind the chariot, the only hoplite present, so he must be preparing to mount. In the other paintings the hoplite standing near the horses and facing to the left seems to be the important figure who will mount the chariot.

Two-thirds of the many depictions are standard-motifs used in friezes, where the chariots seem to serve to separate other standard-motifs from each other, so it is sometimes difficult to decide to which motif a bystander belongs. In many cases this does not seem important; the painters let one motif flow into another. One can suppose that the friezes were composed with less care than panel paintings and that figures were added simply to fill the space. However, painters did not add figures to a frieze arbitrarily. For example, in large panels women are seldom shown with a charioteer carrying a Boeotian shield; in friezes too, women are not often found in the company of a charioteer with a Boeotian shield (although the combination occurs more often than in large panels). In seven friezes with a single chariot, it is facing to the left (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 13). This may be because the painters were accustomed to show chariots facing to the left in friezes, since chariots are often placed symmetrically to right and to left on both sides of a central element (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 29).

Although there are some interesting and original scenes, such as *HL IV* 48 (Pl. 6), where the name-inscriptions of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle were added to make it clear that the mythological episode is depicted, and the departure scene with Priam (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 51), where the composition and the visual repetition give clues to the meaning, in general *variant HL IV* is more standardised and used with less freedom than *variants HL II* and *HL III*. The vases are mostly of later date, when black-figure vase-painting was already becoming of lesser quality.

3.4.3 Changing the composition

Variant HL IV is a combination of the *typical compositions* of *variants HL II* and *HL III*. It includes the *typical element* of a man mounting a chariot, indicating a departure, but the active figure is the charioteer. Therefore the scene lacks the compositional complexity and the technical difficulty of drawing the mounting hoplite and the standing charioteer together. The figures do not overlap but stand next to each other. This, and the fact that the charioteer has one foot on the ground and is not standing in the chariot towering high above the other figures, makes the *variant* especially suitable for friezes (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 13, *HL IV* 29).

3.4.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant HL IV is painted on larger vases and on a few late lekythoi and a skyphos, but about two-thirds of the cases are found in long friezes painted on the shoulder of a hydria (34 times and once on a kalpis), on the neck of a volute-krater, on cups, and on the top of the mouth of dinoi. In these friezes the *variant* is used as a standard-motif and combined with other standard-motifs,[89] such as other *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', the harnessing of a chariot, frontal chariots, chariots wheeling round, hoplitomachies with and without a chariot, and hoplites leaving on foot or arming themselves. Other images reflecting the world of men include symposium scenes and sports scenes. There are a few scenes of myth, especially with Heracles, and a few Dionysiac scenes on the volute-kraters. Dinos *HL IV* 26 is extraordinary because the top of the mouth is decorated with a frieze of standard-motifs while the body has large paintings of a wedding procession with a chariot (*WP III* 21) and of a hoplite leaving in a chariot (*CH* 28). On eight hydriai a fountain house is painted on the body, a normal reference to the function of the vase.

On the large vases mythological scenes are usually depicted in the other sections, such as Heracles, scenes from the Trojan War, and gods standing together or walking in a procession, attending a wedding procession, or mounting a chariot. Only once is a Dionysiac scene represented, on the calyx-krater *HL IV* 06, where it could have been the choice because of the function of the vase. Other depictions on these large vases – hoplites, archers, horsemen, and chariots – are connected with the life of men; hoplites fighting are depicted only once (*HL IV* 10). On the inside of the neck of one column-krater, symposiasts are depicted (*HL IV* 40). *Variant HL IV* is often found on vases attributed to the Antimenes Painter and his circle (24 vases) and to the Leagros Group (17 vases), especially on the

[89] See note 51.

shoulders of hydriai. When *variant HL IV* is painted on the body of a hydria, a chariot is never depicted in the shoulder panel, although all the other motifs used in friezes are found, such as hoplites fighting, horsemen, Heracles, and (once) a Dionysiac scene.

3.5 Variant HL V 'Hoplite holding reins, no charioteer' ca. 540–500 BCE (Table 08, Plate 7)

3.5.1 Description

In all of the vase-paintings discussed above, a charioteer is holding the reins. This is logical because a hoplite holding a spear and a shield is not able to drive a chariot by himself. Charioteers may be represented with a helmet and using a spear as a goad, but when they have a shield it is of the Boeotian type and they carry it slung on their backs. However, there are 21 vase-paintings where a hoplite is holding the reins; in most cases he wears full armour and carries a round shield (*variant HL V*, Table 08). On *HL V* 08 he is carrying a Boeotian shield, and on *HL V* 01 and *HL V* 09 he has no shield, but I added these vases to this list because the general composition is that of *variant HL V*. Since the hoplite is carrying the shield on his left arm, he is in most cases holding the reins with his right hand. Four times he is shown holding the reins with both hands, sometimes together with his shield.[90] Twice he is shown holding the reins with his left hand: on *HL V* 10 he is holding his shield, spear, and the reins with his left hand, while his right hand is resting on the chariot box. The difficulty of painting a hoplite driving a chariot is best seen on an oenochoe (*HL V* 19): the artist painted the shield on the right arm of the hoplite so that it covers a part of the figure. In most cases the hoplite is holding one or two spears and sometimes a goad, or a goad and a spear. In my database are 18 vases on which the hoplite is depicted mounting the chariot, and three where he is standing in it (*HL V* 08, *HL V* 18; Pl. 7, *HL V* 21). On *HL V* 09 and *HL V* 15 the hoplite-charioteer is wearing his helmet pushed back on the crown of his head. On *HL V* 10 a hoplite standing nearby is doing the same.

On eight vases of the 21 all of the bystanders are fully armed hoplites. The hoplites mostly stand facing to the left, so that their shields cover a large part of their bodies (Pl. 7, *HL V* 11). On four vases with crowded compositions the hoplites face in various directions.[91]

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[90] Reins in right hand: *HL V* 04, *HL V* 05, *HL V* 06, *HL V* 07, *HL V* 08, *HL V* 11, *HL V* 12, *HL V* 13. Two hands: *HL V* 01, *HL V* 03, *HL V* 014, *HL V* 17. On *HL V* 09 he is holding the reins with two hands but is not carrying a shield. On *HL V* 02, *HL V* 15, *HL V* 16, *HL V* 18, it is not visible.

[91] *HL V* 01, *HL V* 02, *HL V* 09, *HL V* 13.

On the late oenochoe *HL V* 16 there is no bystander but, as the chariot is facing to the left, the mounting hoplite is also oriented to the left.

There are three paintings with more than three hoplites standing near the chariot. On *HL V* 01 five hoplites stand facing to the left and approaching the chariot, while one hoplite is standing facing to the right behind the chariot near the charioteer. On the column-kraters *HL V* 03 and *HL V* 04 the accompanying hoplites (six and five respectively) stand beside the horses facing to the left; on both vases the foremost hoplite in the line is holding a cuirass that fills the empty space between him and the mounting hoplite. This recalls depictions of men and women giving weapons to a hoplite leaving home.[92] Maybe the separate charioteer is omitted here to leave space for the cuirass and make it more conspicuous. Lack of space may also be the reason that on two vases attributed to the Euphiletos Painter (Pl. 7, *HL V* 13; *HL V* 14) the charioteer is missing. On both of these vases a boy carried by a woman is depicted in the empty space between the mounting hoplite-charioteer and the woman; on *HL V* 13 the boy turns to look back at the mounting hoplite. Also on *HL V* 13 an archer, a hoplite, and an old man are shown standing beside the horses, while another hoplite and woman stand at the heads of the horses. On *HL V* 14 two hoplites stand facing to the left near the horses.

Because of a missing fragment, the head and part of the body of the mounting man are not visible on *HL V* 02, a belly-amphora attributed to the Swing Painter dated to 540–530 BCE. However, the large round shield that identifies him as a hoplite and a woman standing facing him are preserved. Near the horses another man and woman are standing; this man has no helmet, but part of a shield is visible and therefore I listed him as a hoplite. At the heads of the horses a third couple is standing: a hoplite with helmet and shield turning back towards a woman. Maybe in this case the composition with three couples was the reason to omit the charioteer.

The other vases in this group are less crowded, so lack of space is not the reason for omitting the charioteer, although on oenochoe *HL V* 19 the foreparts of the horses are not depicted. However, the arrangement is simpler and easier for the painter as well as for the viewer. It is remarkable that, apart from the vases already mentioned, a woman is represented on only two other vases (*HL V* 08 and *HL V* 09), standing at the heads of the horse; on both of these vases an old man and a hoplite stand facing to the left near the horses. On all of the other vases of this *variant* only male persons are present.

[92] See section 3.2.1, note 49. *On MC* 22 and *MC* 42 cuirasses, carried by a woman and an old man, are depicted in the same position; on both vases there is no hoplite present and only a charioteer is standing in the chariot.

An archer is depicted three times and once an unarmed man. On eight vases an old man is accompanying the chariot.[93] On three of these vases women are present, and on the late olpe *HL V* 20 there is a second old man seated at the horses' heads. On the other five vases the other bystanders are all hoplites. A dog is found once (*HL V* 15).

On *HL V* 21 (Pl. 7) a hoplite is driving a chariot that is depicted in three-quarters perspective facing to the left. Although I omitted chariots wheeling round, as they belong to battle-scenes, I included this scene in my list because these horses are quietly stepping; it seems a late contamination of different compositions.[94] A boy with a short cloak and a spear is standing facing the horses. He may be a groom or a boy who will lead the procession.

3.5.2 Analysis

The arrangement on the vases of *variant HL V* is simple and emphasises the military aspect of the scene, especially in the cases where only hoplites and men are standing near the chariot. In ten paintings the departure from home is emphasised through the presence of women, children carried on the arm, and old men. Three times women and old men are present; although one of them would suffice to represent the people who stay at home.

The fact that there are only a few examples of this *variant* shows that the vase-painters were in general conscious that an armed hoplite is not able to drive a chariot. In some cases omitting the charioteer seems to have been due to a lack of space in the composition. The fact that sometimes the hoplites wear their helmets pushed back on the crowns of their heads, may refer to the fact that they are not leaving for the battlefield but are still busy with preparations.

3.5.3 Changing the composition

The hoplite-charioteer in full armour is in most cases shown mounting the chariot. The composition is derived from *HL IV*, where the mounting charioteer is usually shown wearing a short chiton and not the characteristic long garment. In a military context a charioteer wearing cuirass and helmet seems logical. On the earliest vase in this group (*HL V* 01) the Princeton Painter painted the charioteer without a shield. On later vases the shield was added, making the scene illogical but at the same time more focused on the military context.

[93] According to the description in the catalogue, Athena is attending the chariot on *HL V* 17. In my opinion, however, an old man is depicted.

[94] See also *CH* 36 and *CH* 37 (section 3.9.1) for chariots in three-quarters perspective with name-inscriptions referring to the Theban Cycle. It is remarkable that the shield device of the hoplite on *HL V* 21 is the same as that on *CH* 36, a white kantharos.

3.5.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant HL V is painted mostly on large shapes. It is found from 540 BCE onwards on belly-amphorae, but in the last third of the century the hydria becomes the more popular shape and in the final decades the neck-amphora. On three of the four hydriai the scene includes a woman and an old man, referring to a departure from home. At the end of the 6th century *variant HL V* is also found painted on oenochoai and an olpe. On these vessels, which were used at the symposium, no women but only hoplites and old men are represented.

On the other sections of the vases Heracles is depicted five times. Dionysiac scenes are found on amphorae and a column-krater, while on another krater a komos is depicted. There are some depictions of hoplites and horsemen.

3.6 *Variant CW* 'Charioteer waiting in chariot' ca. 580–500 BCE (Table 09, Plate 7)

3.6.1 Description

In the previous sections depictions of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' were discussed in which hoplites play a role, mounting or standing near or in the chariot. The chariot and the people standing near it can form a composition in its own right, but in wide friezes they are used as a standard-motif between other motifs. The same can be said of chariots without a hoplite standing near it: the composition is found as a motif in its own right *(variant MC*) and also used as a standard-motif in friezes (*variant CF*). On 11 vases, however, the painters made the chariot part of a larger scene: when two chariots are depicted at either side of a fight, the impression is that the charioteers are waiting for the hoplite or hero who is fighting (*variant CW,* Table 09).[95]

The dinos by the Gorgon Painter in Paris (ca. 580 BCE) has the earliest known representation of a man in a chariot in Athenian black-figure vase-painting (Pl. 7, *CW* 01). On one side of the bowl Perseus is shown pursued by the Gorgons; on the other side a fight is depicted between two warriors in full armour, with on either side of them a chariot in which a charioteer is standing with a Boeotian shield on his back. The horses face outwards, but the charioteers look back towards the hoplites. Because of this last detail the chariots are

[95] An early example of a chariot waiting for the hero, in this case Heracles slaying Nessus, is found on the Protoattic amphora by the New York Nessos Painter, dated to 670–650 BCE, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11.210.1 (Schefold (1966) pl. 23; Shapiro (1994) fig. 110). The small detail that the charioteer is looking back towards the fight connects him and the chariot with the mythological event.

not purely decorative elements, separating the two scenes, but have become part of the story, as if the charioteers are watching the fight, ready to carry their masters away from the battlefield.[96]

The same composition, a duel with chariots waiting on both sides, is found on a *kothon* by the C Group dated to around 570 BCE (*CW* 02). Here the chariots are turned to face the fighting men, so the charioteers do not need to turn their heads to look at the fight. On a column-krater attributed to the Lycomedes Painter (520–510 BCE) (*CW* 04) chariots are depicted on both sides of Heracles fighting with Apollo over the tripod. The chariots face outwards, and the charioteers – with the name-inscriptions Iolaus and Lycomedes – are looking back towards the fight. A subtle detail is that Lycomedes is wearing a mantle, while Iolaus is wearing a cuirass over his long garment. The composition continues onto the other side of the vase, where more gods are depicted.

According to Hans von Steuben,[97] in Corinthian vase-painting the attention of the viewer is directed to the centre of the picture, and when figures turn their heads it is mostly to lead the gaze of the viewer towards that centre, while in Athenian vase-painting the turning of the head is may be also used to connect different elements of the image and forge them into a whole composition. Mackay, Harrison, and Masters contend that "The palinopt figure becomes a signal to the viewer ... introducing a kind of visual enjambement that leads one's eye and attention out of one narrative episode and into the next".[98] In my opinion the chariots with the charioteers turning their heads on the dinos and krater mentioned above serve all these purposes, while at the same time they also serve the function of dividing the scenes from each other on these round vases.

On a Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Kyllenios Painter (around 555 BCE) (*CW* 03) only one chariot is depicted, filling the left half of the shoulder panel and facing outwards.[99] The head of the charioteer standing in it is lost, but he probably was looking back towards Heracles fighting the Hydra at the right side of the panel. That only one chariot is depicted here is logical, as the opponent of Heracles is not another hero but a monster. Of course, a practical reason is that in this panel there is not room enough to show two chariots

[96] Mackay, Harrison, and Masters (1999) 120. Mertens (2014) 140: "Each of the charioteers looks round, almost as though the Gorgon episode was occurring around or above them." In my opinion, however, the chariots are not related to the Gorgon scene but to the hoplites fighting the duel. In fact, another reason for the charioteers turning their heads towards the duel may be to dissociate them from the Gorgon scene.

[97] Von Steuben (1968) 85–86, n. 323.

[98] Mackay, Harrison, Masters (1999) 131. See section 4.5.1.

[99] Kluiver (2003) 157, nr. 109. On the other side of the vase a hoplitomachy is depicted.

and a fight, but the painter is successful in reducing the size of the image without making it meaningless.[100]

A similar composition, a mythological scene with one chariot and a mounting charioteer, is also found on later vases (510–500 BCE). On *CW* 05 (Pl. 7), attributed to the Leagros Group, a man is carrying away a woman at the right side, while his chariot is waiting at the left side, facing outwards with the charioteer looking backwards. The same picture but mirror-reversed is found on a fragmentary olpe attributed to the same Group (*CW* 06). On *CW* 07, also by the Leagros Group, the chariot is on the left side of the panel, facing outwards with the charioteer turning his head to watch Heracles dragging Cerberus. On a hydria by the Acheloos Painter (*CW* 08) Heracles is wrestling with the Nemean Lion at the right side of the panel, while the chariot facing towards the fight fills the left side. Much space in the picture is devoted to the weapons of Heracles lying unused, which may be the reason that the charioteer is carrying a Boeotian shield on his back. The choice to represent a single chariot may be due to the available space (in fact, on the olpe *CW* 06 only the hind quarters of the horses are depicted), but in all four cases it is also logical because no battle between men is represented. It should be noted that on all other shoulder panels of hydriai where a single chariot is depicted, the chariot is in the centre of the composition, with the bystanders placed symmetrically on both sides (see *variants HL III, HL IV,* and *CF*).[101]

In wide friezes chariots are often depicted as a standard-motif on either side of the scene in the centre of the frieze. Chariots with hoplites standing nearby form motifs by themselves and often they function to separate other scenes. However, here too the painters seem in some cases to have made the chariots part of a larger scene; therefore I added these vases to Table 09. In the frieze on volute-krater *CW* 09 the painter depicted two chariots, one on either side of the fight between Heracles and Cycnus (*HC II* 26). The charioteer on the side of Heracles is looking back as if he is waiting for the hero. The charioteer at the other side, however, is not looking back – a clue to Cycnus's approaching death. Heracles and Cycnus are also found on a fragment of another volute-krater (*CW* 11 = *HC II* 30*)* where a

[100] In the same way the long procession of wedding guests as painted on the Sophilos dinos and the François krater was reduced on Tyrrhenian vases to a single chariot with the bridal couple (see sections 4.1 and 4.2). On an East Greek amphora in Würzburg, Martin von Wagnermuseum, L131 (Simon, e.a. (1975) 80–81, Taf.15; Beckel, Froning, and Simon (1983) 56–57, nr. 21) a chariot is depicted in the right half of the picture with a charioteer looking back towards a fight at the left. However, here it is less logical, as the fight is between three hoplites and the viewer may wonder to whom the chariot belongs.

[101] The only examples of chariots *not* placed in the centre are departure scenes with two chariots, which occur a few times (*HL III* 68, *CF* 07), and representations of chariot races. On the shoulder of a hydria by the Madrid Painter, three chariots are depicted, one in the centre and two at the sides (*HL III* 45, *HL IV* 42, *CMH* 33).

charioteer with a Boeotian shield is mounting a chariot on the left side of the central image. There is a chariot depicted on the right side too, but most of it is lost. The composition is comparable with that of *CW* 09, but the charioteer is not looking back at the fight. However, since the woman and Hermes standing near the horses seem to react to Heracles' fight, the group seems to belong together.[102] On a fragment of a volute-krater attributed to the Golvol Group (*CW* 10) a chariot is oriented to face a scene where Athena and Heracles are shown attacking a – now lost – enemy. Poseidon stands near the horses. Here too, the group seems to belong together. The horses are standing quietly, which makes it plausible that the chariot is waiting for the hero.[103] Since, judging from the position of the apotropaic eye above the chariot, the chariot is depicted at the left side of the frieze, there may have been a second chariot at the other (lost) side of it.

The charioteer may wear long or short garments, but in the scenes where he is shown mounting the chariot he wears a short chiton or is even nude (*CW* 07), which is consistent with *variant HL IV*. In half of the cases the charioteer is carrying a Boeotian shield slung on his back, and once he is wearing a helmet (*CW* 06).

3.6.2 Analysis

In *variant CW* the waiting chariot(s) is not a composition on its own but is always part of a larger scene. The connection is achieved by the facts that the charioteers are looking at the scene in the centre and that the persons standing near the chariot react to it.

3.6.3 Changing the composition

The chariot with its charioteer is the same as in other depictions of the *subtype*. The position is comparable with that of chariots placed as a standard-motif in friezes. However, painting the charioteer turning his head back towards the main scene gives the chariot a role within the larger story. In the friezes on the shoulders of hydriai the waiting chariot is not painted in the centre of the panel but at the side. Finally, the fact that a single chariot is painted in

[102] On another fragment of this vase (*CW* 11) the chariot is accompanied by hoplites, while the motif in the centre is Heracles fighting with the Lion; since the chariot seems to be a separate motif, I placed it in Table 07, *HL IV* 34.

[103] Landes, and Laurens (1988) 117, following Brommer, interpret the fragment as part of a large Gigantomachy. However, in representations of the Gigantomachy the chariots and accompanying gods are depicted running and Heracles is usually fighting standing on the pole of the chariot; see Jurriaans-Helle (2009).

scenes where logically only one chariot is needed, helps the viewer to discern the intended interpretation.

3.6.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant CW is found on some early vases, but also on vases dating to the last decades of the 6th century BCE. On vases with an uninterrupted decoration zone such as the dinos *CW* 01 (Pl. 7), kothon *CW* 02, and the later krater *CW* 04, the waiting chariots serve partly to separate the various images; the motif is used in the same way in friezes. An important difference is that in large panels the charioteer is shown quietly standing in the chariot, but in the friezes he is usually depicted mounting, so that he does not tower above the other figures.

Variant CW is always used as part of a larger scene, such as a fight between hoplites or a hero – most often Heracles – fighting a monster. On other sections of the vases the vase-painters placed mythological scenes, twice hoplites fighting, and (once) erotic scenes.

3. 7 *Variant CF* 'Chariot in frieze'
ca. 530–500 BCE (Table 10, Plate 8)

3.7.1 Description

In the last third of the 6th century BCE the representation of a chariot with a charioteer without a reference to military context – except for the fact that sometimes the charioteer is carrying a Boeotian shield on his back – was sometimes used as a motif on its own in wide panels. There are 16 vases in my database; twice the image is repeated on both sides.

On band-cups the chariots may be depicted symmetrically opposite each other. On *CF* 01 (Pl. 8) there are no other motifs; the four chariots, each with a man and a woman standing nearby, face alternately to right and to left, separated by couples of a man and a woman. The charioteers are nude, but the two facing left carry a Boeotian shield; the men standing near the horses hold two spears. On two other cups and a volute-krater two chariots with mounting charioteers are placed on either side of the scene in the centre: Heracles and the Nemean Lion (*CF* 02, *CF* 16a); a man seated between two women (possibly a rudimentary Birth of Athena, *CF* 03b); and hoplites fighting (*CF* 03a). On *CF* 16b a chariot with a mounting charioteer is depicted on one side of three hoplites fighting, while on the other side a man holds the reins of a horse. In the case of the fighting men, one could interpret the chariots as waiting for them (as in *variant CW*), although it is strange that on *CF* 16b there is only one chariot. However, in the images of Heracles and the Lion and the Birth of Athena, the presence of two chariots does not make sense. Moreover, the charioteers

are not looking back towards the centre scene, while the men and woman near the chariots do not seem to be connected with the central event. Therefore, one has to conclude that the chariots are being used as a standard-motif to fill the empty spaces.

On two volute-kraters attributed to the Acheloos Painter (*CF* 14 and *CF* 15) a line of three chariots, each with a mounting charioteer with a long white garment and a Boeotian shield, fills the upper frieze on the neck. The chariots all face to the right, and each chariot is accompanied by a dog, while a man is seated in front of it. On the shoulders of seven hydriai two chariots are shown facing to the right.[104] Here too, the charioteers all wear a long white garment, and there may be dogs and sitting men present. In four cases the charioteers are shown standing in the chariot, which is rather unusual in wide friezes because the charioteer towers high above the rest of the figures. In a few cases the charioteers carry a Boeotian shield on their backs. On *CF* 08 (Pl. 8) the left charioteer is standing in the chariot and carrying a Boeotian shield, while the right one is mounting and has no shield; on *CF* 11 the right charioteer has a shield and both are shown standing in the chariot. On three hydriai[105] a single chariot is depicted in the centre of the shoulder panel, accompanied by men or women. The charioteers are shown mounting and wearing a short chiton.

3.7.2 Analysis

Variant CF may be used as a standard-motif in long friezes. When there is only one chariot, it is placed in the centre of the decorated panel. Two chariots may appear placed symmetrically to right and left to fill the empty spaces on the sides of a central scene; in these cases there is no indication that they belong to or are connected with the scene. There are some friezes where a row of two or three chariots faces to the right, so one wonders whether these depictions with charioteers in long white garments represent a sports context: the composition gives the impression of a parade of racing cars or the start of a race.[106] The choice to represent the charioteer standing, mounting, or carrying a Boeotian shield seems arbitrary. The shields may appear odd in a parade, but they are all found on vases from the Leagros Group and may have been inserted routinely.

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[104] *CF* 06, *CF* 07, *CF* 08, *CF* 09, *CF* 10, *CF* 11, *CF* 12.

[105] *CF* 04, *CF* 05, *CF* 13.

[106] There are many hydriai with a chariot race (with galloping horses) painted in the shoulder panel, which are not included, however, in this study.

3.7.3 Changing the composition

In the case of *variant CF* it is not the composition of the chariot and charioteer that has changed. It is by changing the direction of movement and the number and position in the composition of a frieze that the painters gave meaning to the motif. In the images where the chariots are positioned facing in various directions at either side of a fight, filling the empty spaces, there may be an association with the similar motif of chariots waiting (*variant CW*), although the painters do not paint these charioteer(s) looking at the fight. In the depictions where the chariots are all shown moving in the same direction with the charioteers standing in them, the effect is that of a parade. There may be an association with the sport of chariot racing, but here too the painters did not change the composition in such way as to make it clear, and they even inserted a Boeotian shield a few times.

3.7.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant CF is found painted in long friezes on cups, the shoulders of hydriai, and the necks of volute-kraters, all dating to the last third of the 6th century BCE, especially to the last two decades. Four times a fountain house is represented on the body of the hydriai and once Achilles, Troilus, and Polyxena, which are all depictions in harmony with the function of the vase. There are also mythological scenes and scenes connected with the world of men: hoplites, chariots, and twice a symposium.

3. 8 *Variant MC* 'Man in chariot'
ca. 550–500 BCE (Table 11, Plates 8–10)

3.8.1 Description

The representation of an unarmed man standing in a chariot, without any action or mythological reference but sometimes accompanied by men and women, is found painted on many – mostly large – vases as an image. This is in contrast to *variant CW* and *variant CF,* where the chariot was inserted as a standard-motif in a frieze or participating in the action of the main scene.[107]

On 82 vases a chariot with charioteer is depicted; on 14 vases the scene is found on both sides. A few times the chariot faces to the left.[108] The charioteer is usually shown

[107] A single chariot as a depiction in its own right is also found on the shoulders of hydriai (section 3.7.1, *CF* 04, *CF* 05, *CF* 13). I chose to place these vases in Table 10 because the painting is on a secondary panel and resembles depictions on the shoulders of hydriai with more than one chariot.

[108] *MC* 01a-b, *MC* 10, *MC* 52. On *MC* 44 two of the three chariots are oriented to the left. A lebes gamikos dated to 585–580 BCE (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 915 (CC 654) (BA 9032473) came to my

standing in the chariot but, especially in the last quarter of the century, he may be shown mounting. Nearly always he holds a goad, never a spear. In 55 cases he is bearded, and in 20 cases he is represented as a youth.[109] In most cases he wears a long garment, sometimes combined with a *nebris* or a Boeotian shield. The garment may be white, or dark and decorated. When he wears a short chiton, he is always shown mounting (Pl. 8, *MC* 21; Pl. 9, *MC* 39, *MC* 53a, *MC* 58), but in the last two decades of the century charioteers wearing long garments are occasionally depicted mounting (Pl. 9, *MC* 33b, *MC* 53b; Pl. 10, *MC* 68). A few times the charioteer carries a sword, and once he wears a cuirass and a helmet (Pl. 9, *MC* 53a).[110]

In 57 of the paintings there are no bystanders (Pl. 8, *MC* 04; Pl. 9, *MC* 33b, *MC* 53; Pl. 10, *MC* 68).[111] Because of this and the fact that in most cases the charioteer is not shown mounting but already standing in the chariot, the scene does not give the impression of a departure; it is timeless. This simple representation is found mostly on large shapes such as hydriai, belly-amphorae, column-kraters, and kalpides. A special case is a single Panathenaic amphora (*MC* 57), since chariots with running horses are usually depicted on this type of vases.

Variant MC is also found on cups. The depictions on both sides of two band-cups (*MC* 31 and *MC* 32) are comparable with *HL III* 39 and *HL III* 40, except that no hoplite is shown standing behind the chariot. The image is also found on both sides of three cups attributed to the Virginia Painter; on one side of a cup in Amsterdam (Pl. 9, *MC* 53b) a charioteer in a long white garment is mounting a chariot, while on the other side (*MC* 53a) the mounting charioteer wears a short tunic with cuirass and helmet.[112] On a fragmentary cup (*MC* 55) a charioteer standing in a chariot is depicted on both sides, and on a third cup (*MC* 54) the charioteers are mounting. On all three cups a tree with white fruits, apples or

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attention too late to include in my list; it depicts a man standing in the chariot and a man and a girl standing near the horses' heads. According to Malagardis (2014) 166–167, fig. 2a-b, the scene depicts the groom arriving at the house of the father of the bride. See section 4.1.1, note 13.

[109] In the other cases it is not possible to see on the photo nor mentioned in the publication whether the charioteer is young or adult.

[110] Sword: *MC* 07, *MC* 28, *MC* 44, *MC* 56, *MC* 58. Cuirass and helmet: *MC* 53a, see note 112.

[111] *MC* 13 is badly damaged . It seems that something is depicted in front of the horses, but in the preserved parts at the lower part of the panel there it is nothing to see, probably the reason why the Beazley Archive 14158 says: figure or bird(?). However, a bird would be unusual in this position.

[112] Jurriaans-Helle (2006). I placed these cups in this list (and not in Table 10 *CF*), because the chariots are depicted on both sides and the trees seem remarkable.

quinces,[113] is painted near the horses, a detail also found on some late lekythoi.[114] The interior of a cup of the Segment Class (*MC* 56) is completely filled with a depiction of a nude boy mounting a chariot and a kind of palm tree near the horses.

In 19 images there is only a single bystander. Ten times he is a boy or youth standing at the horses' heads (Pl. 8, *MC* 01, *MC* 30a); three times he is a tall nude youth standing at the horses' heads and turned toward them, maybe a groom. A small nude boy in the same position is found three times, twice carrying a wreath. Once a nude boy carrying a wreath is shown walking in front of the horses, and three times a boy or small person in a mantle is depicted at the horses' heads, once turned towards them and twice looking back at them.[115]

A man standing near the horses is found three times as the only bystander.[116] Twice the man stands facing to the left, once he stands facing to the right but looking back and carrying two spears. Four times the only onlooker is a man seated in front of the horses (*MC* 32a-b, *MC* 70, *MC* 77). An old man or a woman as the only bystander are both found once; both stand facing to the right and looking back towards the charioteer while raising their right hands.[117] The old man is carrying a staff in his left hand, the woman a spear (Pl. 9, *MC* 58). Raising a hand may be a greeting, but when the person doing it is walking in front of the chariot and looking back towards the charioteer, he or she seems to be exhorting the charioteer to follow.[118] At first sight *MC* 58 seems to represent an apotheosis belonging to the *variant AP VIa,* with Athena exhorting an anonymous man, but name-inscriptions inform us that the man is called Simos and the woman Kleita. A dog stands near the forelegs of the horses, another indication that this is a daily-life scene. The charioteer wears a petasus; maybe this vase was ordered for the occasion of a departure, and the *typical composition* of an apotheosis was chosen to give the scene a heroic association.[119]

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[113] Pfisterer-Haas (2003) 94.

[114] Tree with white fruits: *MC* 77. Tree or vine: *MC* 78, *MC* 82. A tree with white fruits is also found on *WOb* 21, see section Chapter 5, note 210; *DIO* 35, see Chapter 5, note 225.

[115] Tall nude youth: *MC* 01a-b (with staff), *MC* 14. Nude boy: *MC* 51a; with wreath: *MC* 25a, *MC* 78. Nude boy walking with wreath: *MC* 30a. Boy in cloak, looking back: *MC* 09, *MC* 16; small person turned to horses: *MC* 18a. Boys, nude or with a mantle, are also found in some depictions with more bystanders (*MC* 21, *MC* 22, *MC* 24, *MC* 43), which will be discussed later in this section.

[116] Man: *MC* 34, *MC* 35 (to right looking back), *MC* 74. The person standing near the horses on *MC* 34 is described in the Beazley Archive (and publications mentioned there) as a woman with a spear, but in my opinion rather a (young) man with short hair in a decorated mantle is represented.

[117] Old man: *MC* 47. Woman: *MC* 58. The old man has turned only his head to the left, the woman her whole upper body. Therefore her raised hand is seen at the left side of her head, and the hand of the old man at the right side of his head.

[118] For the exhorting gesture, see section 5.6, *variant AP IV*.

[119] See also section 3.3.1, note 58 (*HL III* 10). For *variant AP VIa,* see section 5.10.

In representations with no or one bystander a bird may be seen flying above the horses, especially on early vases (Pl. 8, *MC* 01). On *MC* 30a (Pl. 8) the flying bird is holding a snake in its beak. On *MC* 14 a Siren is shown flying above the horses. On vases of the last two decades of the century a dog may accompany the chariot (Pl. 9, *MC* 58; Pl. 10, *MC* 68). In depictions with more bystanders, birds and dogs are never found, except for two vases (*MC* 08 and *MC* 52) that will be discussed below.

On 19 of the *variant MC* vases, the chariot is accompanied by multiple persons standing nearby or seated at the heads of the horses (Pl. 8, *MC* 21; Pl. 9, *MC* 38). Although old men and boys are depicted on some vases, the bystanders are most often unarmed men or women. They usually face to the left or, when they stand facing to the right they look back at the chariot, leading the gaze of the viewer towards the charioteer. Since only one person is standing in the chariot, it is possible that one of the nearby men is the intended passenger on his way to the chariot. The composition is very much like that of the *variants HL III* and *HL IV*, but there are no references to a military context.

On two of these 19 vases one or two women and an old man are depicted as bystanders; once the old man is seated at the horses' heads.[120] The composition recalls a departure from home, especially *MC* 36, where the man mounting the chariot wears a short chiton and a petasus and carries a Boeotian shield.[121] On other vases women are combined with men and youths. On three hydriai with only men and women as bystanders, the charioteer is wearing a short chiton and mounting the chariot.[122] On *MC* 23 a woman is standing near the chariot, but she is not facing the charioteer. She stands facing to the right and unveiling herself to a man carrying a spear, while two other men stand on either side of the chariot. On *MC* 39 (Pl. 9) and *MC* 40 the woman stands facing to the left and looking at the charioteer, a young man; both wear wreaths. On *MC* 40 a nude youth is shown standing at the horses' heads, turned towards the chariot. On *MC* 39 the woman is unveiling herself to the charioteer, holding a flower in her hand. Another wreathed woman stands at the horses' heads, holding a wreath in her hand, while Hermes with petasus, *kerukeion*, and winged shoes stands near the horses. A festive occasion is clearly depicted, and the god may be

[120] *MC* 20, *MC* 36. Women and old men are also found together on *MC* 22 and *MC* 42, which will be discussed later.

[121] Apart from the above-mentioned depictions, a *petasus* is also worn by the charioteers on *MC* 30b, *MC* 66, *MC* 68, *MC* 70.

[122] *MC* 23, *MC* 39, *MC* 40.

present to indicate that the man is leaving on a journey and to give the scene a heroic context.

On an amphora in Paris (Pl. 9, *MC* 43) three women and a man accompany the chariot in which a man is standing. A nude boy is depicted facing to the right under the heads of the horses; he seems to move or dance. The woman standing facing to the right between the chariot and the horses is holding a lyre. It is interesting that a lyre has been depicted and not a kithara; a lyre was a more everyday instrument, played at home by well-educated people. A kithara was a professional instrument used in concerts,[123] and in vase-paintings it is usually seen in the hands of Apollo. Maybe the presence of a lyre is indicates that a daily-life event is represented.

On psykter *MC* 44 three chariots are depicted. Two charioteers in long white garments stand in their chariots, which face each other on either side of a woman. In both cases a nude youth stands near the horses raising his arm. The third chariot is oriented to the left; the charioteer, wearing a short chiton and armed with a sword, is shown mounting. A woman at the horses' heads and a second woman near the horses are turned towards him; a nude youth stands behind him. The composition gives the impression of a procession about to start moving.

There are also scenes with only male persons of various ages. On *MC* 38 (Pl. 9) an old man stands near the horses facing to the left, while another old man is seated at the heads of the horse, facing outwards, which is highly unusual. A man with a petasus and kerukeion is walking with the chariot. Since he has no winged shoes, he is not Hermes but probably a mortal herald who is accompanying the chariot.[124] He is looking back towards the charioteer and raising his hand in the way we have seen above, urging the charioteer to follow him. On two lekythoi (*MC* 61 and *MC* 75) men make the same gesture, standing near the chariot, which is accompanied by men and young men. On *MC* 61 a second man wearing a petasus and a long white garment is standing near the horses; a youth wearing a petasus and an old man standing near the horses are found on *MC* 41.

[123] West (1992) 50: "The box lyres or kitharas … were the instruments used by the professional musician in public performance. The bowl lyre, with a soundbox generally made out of a tortoise shell, must have had a less powerful sound, and they were what was used in domestic settings"; *idem* 54: "Aristotle speaks of the kithara as a 'professional' (*technikon*) instrument, unsuitable for general educational use." (Aristotle, *Politeia*, 1341a18).

[124] Prof. dr. Irene de Jong drew my attention to Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 802–805, where is mentioned that the chariot of Laius and his charioteer was accompanied by a herald.

There are some paintings that deserve attention because of the composition or because some *typical elements* have been added. As mentioned above, generally, on vases with more bystanders, animals are not present. However, on *MC* 08 two men dressed in richly decorated mantles are standing on either side of the chariot while a bird with a snake in its beak is shown flying above the horses. On vases with no or only one bystander, birds are often found, and on *MC* 30a (Pl. 8) the flying bird is holding a snake in its beak. In my opinion the painter used the composition of the chariot with the bird flying above it, but by adding the two men he changed the meaning of the depiction into a bird omen such as we know *e.g.* from Homer, *Iliad* 12, 200–250: an eagle fighting with a snake drops it among the Trojans, and Polydamas warns Hector not to invade the camp of the Greeks, telling him it is a bad sign, whereupon Hector tells him that he does not believe in bird signs and attacks the Greek camp.

Another exception is a pyxis in Brussels (*MC* 52) on which two chariots facing to the left are depicted; one charioteer is mounting, the other is standing in the chariot. The forelegs of the latter's horses are not on the ground and they seem to be running. Both charioteers wear a long white garment. Between the two chariots are a man holding a long tree branch, two horsemen, and a dog, all moving to the left. Two birds are shown flying, one above one of the horsemen and the other above the running chariot. The whole scene is full of movement and gives the impression of a chariot race or training.

On a column-krater attributed to the Swing Painter (*MC* 24) a charioteer in a long garment is shown standing in a chariot. Most of the viewer's attention, however, goes to a man in a richly decorated mantle standing near the chariot on this side of the horses. Another man and an old man are standing near the horses, a boy in a cloak is walking in front of the horses, and two youths are walking at the right and left sides of the panel, looking back towards the centre.

On a belly-amphora attributed to Exekias (Pl. 8, *MC* 21) a man in a short cloak is mounting the chariot and two other men are standing near the horses, while at the horses' heads a nude youth with a staff, perhaps a groom, is shown standing facing to the left and a boy in a cloak is standing facing to the right. Because the charioteer is mounting, the first impression is that the image shows a departure. However, there is not much interaction with or gesturing to the charioteer, and the attention is not directed at him but – as on *MC* 24 – at the man wearing elaborate long garments and standing between the chariot box and the horses. He is facing to the right and seems to be talking with the other man next to the horses, who is looking back towards him, guiding the gaze of the viewer towards him, as do

the staffs of the three men coming together above his head. These small changes in details make the composition seem rather a gathering of men than a departure. Dietrich von Bothmer proposed that racehorses and a chariot are depicted and that the man to whom the attention is drawn is the owner.[125]

There are three vases on which women, men, and old men are present. Two of them deserve attention because *typical elements* have been added.[126] On a large belly-amphora by Exekias (*MC* 22) a chariot is depicted with a man in a long mantle standing in it. A woman carrying a cuirass stands facing to the right between the chariot box and the horses. The composition with women, old and younger men, a boy in a mantle standing near the chariot, and a naked boy standing near the heads of the horses, recalls the standard images of the departure of a warrior (*variants HL III* and *HL IV*). However, there is no hoplite present, nor is there much interaction or gesturing between the man standing in the chariot and the bystanders. Anne Mackay interprets the picture as Pisistratus' entrance into Athens.[127] According to Herodotus, Pisistratus returned from exile to Athens in a chariot driven by the tall girl named Phye dressed up as Athena. His heralds declared that the goddess was bringing him back to the city, whereupon the citizens opened the gate and let him in. According to Mackay, the painter, wishing to make clear that in this case not the goddess but Phye was meant, did not represent the woman wearing the armour but carrying it as if she still has to put it on or has already taken it off, depending on whether the scene shows the departure for or the arrival in Athens. Because the Apotheosis of Heracles with Athena's chariot is represented on the other side of the vase (*AP IV* 01), the two sides are thematically connected. It is a tempting interpretation, but I suggest a simpler explanation: When we look at the arrangement and the *typical elements*, we see that Exekias used the *typical composition* of people bringing armour to a departure. By depicting the person for whom the armour probably was meant (perhaps the man in the decorated mantle facing the woman,

[125] Von Bothmer (1968) 21; Mackay (2010) 79–81 thinks this is an attractive interpretation. She interprets the scene on the other side of the vase, a man killed and a falling horse, as the death of the Thracian king Rhesus famous for his horses.

[126] *MC* 19, *MC* 22, *MC* 42. On *MC* 19 a woman and an old man are standing nearby; a man is sitting in front of the chariot.

[127] Mackay (2010) 187–197. Herodotus, *Hist*. 1, 60. The ancient writers – and the modern ones – do not agree on the chronology of the various periods of Pisistratus' tyrannies, but that discussion is outside the focus of this book. See Shapiro (1989a) 1–17; Blok (2000); Parker (2009). In Chapter 5 on the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' I will discuss the Phye episode (section 5.0).

since she is not turned towards the chariot as in the other scenes)[128] *not* as an already fully armoured warrior, he made the image more true to daily life.[129] Since no other hoplites stand nearby, the scene does not represent a departure to war but rather a festive occasion where a man receives his weapons.

On a hydria dated to 520–510 BCE a comparable image is found (*MC* 42). Several people are approaching the chariot: two old men carrying a cuirass and a shield, a woman carrying a helmet, a man carrying a sword, and two more women. Here, too, there is no hoplite present, only a bearded charioteer.

3.8.2 Analysis

The *typical composition* of some depictions of *variant MC* resembles those of departure-scenes with hoplites: several *typical elements* indicate a departure: a man mounting the chariot, women and old men who stay behind, a person making a gesture with his arm, a seated person or a dog near the forelegs of the horses. However, there are indications that the scene is not a departure in the sense of a farewell but rather a departure of a festive procession in the company of the family: the boys, nude or dressed in a cloak and sometimes carrying a wreath (Pl. 8, *MC* 30a) who may have played a role in the procession; the bringing of the armour (*MC* 22, *MC* 42); and the lyre (Pl. 9, *MC* 43), which is an appropriate instrument for an occasion like a festival where families come together.[130] Finally, there are no baby boys carried on the arm or shoulder of a woman.

However, on most of the vases of *variant MC* these *typical elements* are missing and only the chariot with the charioteer is depicted, and in some cases a single bystander.[131] Therefore, another interpretation must be sought. It is noteworthy that some of these vases have the same image on both sides. Ingeborg Scheibler has argued that large belly-amphorae with horse-heads or horsemen painted on both sides are connected with the social class of

[128] In the interpretation of Mackay the fact that the woman is walking in the same direction as the chariot is an argument that she is not bringing the armour to the man in the chariot but carrying it to Athens. However, if she is Phye, one would expect her standing in the chariot.

[129] See note 49 for vase with depictions of people bringing armour. In most of these cases the present men are depicted as hoplites and – except for *HL III* 07 – one may wonder for whom the armour was meant.

[130] Böhr (2009) 120. During the Apaturia festival there was a rhapsode-contest for the boys and one can imagine that they were accompanying themselves on the lyre. See section 3.11.1, *CMM* 17, *CMM* 22.

[131] On *MC* 60 the chariot is depicted on the neck of a neck-amphora; on the other side a hoplite with a woman and an old man is found. Maybe the two depictions can be read together as a departure.

the Knights, the *Hippeis,* and were possibly used during the Apaturia.[132] In my opinion the vases discussed here belong to this tradition,[133] especially the simple compositions with no bystanders.[134] The same may be said for the cups that repeat the depiction on both sides (Pl. 9, *MC* 53). On one of these cups and also on three late lekythoi (*MC* 77, *MC* 78, *MC* 82) a tree is painted, sometimes with white fruits that may represent apples or quinces; one can imagine that the fruits are referring to at a special annual occasion where these vases were used.[135]

Another resemblance with the amphorae discussed by Scheibler are the birds flying above the horses. Birds may have different meanings: in pictures with a running animal they indicate speed, but since on the *variant MC* vases there is little movement, that seems not appropiate.[136] They may be omens,[137] especially when they hold a snake in the beak, as on the belly-amphora in New York (Pl. 8, *MC* 30a) and the hydria in Rome (*MC* 08) with the two well-dressed men. Or birds may be just a sign that alerts the viewer that something is going to happen.[138] Scheibler interprets the birds flying above the horsemen on large belly-amphorae as eagles.[139] I agree with Scheibler that the association is with the excellence of the eagle over all other birds, since the emphasis in these representations is on the general qualities of the people:[140] the images do not show fights or sporting events; the charioteers

[132] Scheibler (1987) 77–78; 86–89; 101–102, 118. According to Scheibler, the Horse-head amphorae may have been made as prizes for the contests during the Apaturia. For literature on the Apaturia festival, where the *phratriai* came together and several *rites du passage* were performed: Deubner (1966) 232–234. Lambert (1993) 143–189. Böhr (2009) 119–120, n. 75. Kreuzer (1998) 110 considers the horse-heads and other depictions on these vases as "Symbole für die aristokratische Lebenswelt".

[133] I will discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia in section 6.6.

[134] Possibly *HL III* 01, *HL III* 02, and *HL III* 04 – which I listed in *variant HL III* because of the presence of a hoplite –also belong to this group. Related to this group in style and theme are also vases with a hoplite and a charioteer standing in a chariot without bystanders (*CH* 01 – *CH* 05). See section 3.9.1.

[135] Böhr (2009) 119–120 assumes that small cups were presented to the boys at the Apaturia, where they drank wine and offered wine to Heracles, before starting their military training.

[136] Scheibler (1987) 78, n. 72.

[137] Spiess (1992) 106–107; Rodríguez Pérez (2010) 5–6.

[138] Rodríguez Pérez (2010) 16. On the Amphiaraus krater the bird is flying to the left, which may have been interpreted as a bad omen. On other vases the birds may fly to the right or to the left, and since there is no other indication of impending doom, the direction is probably not relevant.

[139] Metzger, and Van Berchem (1967) 157–158: eagles flying above a horseman indicate that he belongs to the class of the *Hippeis*.

[140] Scheibler (1987) 78; Spiess (1992) 107.

are nearly always shown unarmed and although they wear the characteristic long garment of a charioteer it is not a chariot race that is depicted.[141]

There are also no *typical elements* of a departure present on *MC* 21 (Pl. 8) and *MC* 24. The richly dressed man standing near the chariot is in both images the central figure, as marked by the staffs coming together above his head (*MC* 21) and the remarkable mantle (*MC* 24). On a few vases men of various ages are present. According to Angela Spiess, the fact that different generations are depicted together demonstrates that fame is transferred from one generation to the other in a family and that the older generation is an example for the younger one.[142] The presence on both vases of a boy walking in front of the horses indicates that a ritual or procession rather than a departure is represented.

3.8.3 Changing the composition

In *variant MC* the chariot scene is reduced to its simplest form. The representation could be expanded by adding persons, animals, and objects. By adding *typical elements* such as the cuirass, the lyre, and perhaps the decorated mantle, a reference to a special occasion is made. When more details are changed, the meaning may change too: by giving the bird a snake in its beak and depicting two men standing nearby, the image recalls a bird-omen. By depicting a mounting man in a short chiton and people making an urgent gesture, details that are also used in representations of a hoplite leaving, the painter gives the scene the meaning of a departure from home. However, the fact that the same gestures are used in *variants AP IV* and *AP VI* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles', may indicate that the charioteer is moving to a new phase in his life.

3.8.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant MC is found mostly on large vases, from 550–500 BCE on hydriai and belly-amphorae, and in the last quarter of the century also on column-kraters, the shoulder panels of kalpides, and cups. In other variants there is a clear trend that belly-amphorae lose popularity in the last quarter of the century, while hydriai become more popular. In this *variant* hydriai are also less popular and are replaced by the newly invented form of the hydria, the kalpis (Pl. 10, *MC* 68). At the end of the century the variant is depicted on some other large shapes and lekythoi.

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[141] The depiction is found once on a Panathenaic amphora (*MC* 57). Usually chariots racing at full speed are depicted on these vases.

[142] Spiess (1992) 136–138.

It is remarkable that, just as on Horse-head amphorae, 14 times the same image is found on both sides of amphorae, column-kraters, and cups, sometimes with small variations. On 14 large vases mythological scenes are found, especially ones involving Heracles. There are two or three episodes from the Trojan War.[143] Dionysiac scenes are found on five large vases. On 24 vases the depictions on other sections of the vases are connected with the life of men, such as hoplites leaving home, or combat.

3.9 *Variant CH* 'Charioteer and hoplite in chariot' ca. 550–500 BCE (Table 12, Plate 10)

3.9.1 Description

On 51 vases *variant CH* is found, in which a charioteer and a hoplite are shown standing together in a chariot; three times the image is painted on both sides of the vase. This *variant* is found on the sides of large vases dating from 550 to 500 BCE, and only once on the shoulder of a hydria (Pl. 10, *CH* 13). The picture did not evolve into a standard-motif that could be used as part of decorative friezes. On three vases the chariot faces to the left; and on two of these, both attributed to Psiax, the chariot is depicted in three-quarter perspective (*CH* 36, *CH* 37).[144]

The *typical composition* of *variant CH* includes a number of *typical elements* also found in departure-scenes: the chariot with charioteer and hoplite, and in many cases women, (old) men, and children who stay behind (Pl. 10, *CH* 07, *CH* 21b, *CH* 32). However, the hoplite-passenger is not looking back at the bystanders and no one is ever shown mounting the chariot. Therefore, the emphasis is less on the moment of departure than on the fact that chariot, charioteer, and hoplite are participating in a procession or making a journey. There is also less action than in the *variants* discussed above (except *variant MC*) because the hoplite is shown standing quietly in the chariot.[145]

The charioteer always wears a long garment. As far as visible, he is bearded in 30 cases, and 17 times he is beardless. He carries a Boeotian shield slung on his back 15 times,

[143] See note 125. Mackay (2010) 79–81.

[144] See section 3.5.1 and note 94 for *HL V* 21, where also a chariot in three-quarter is depicted.

[145] The *typical composition* resembles both of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' and *variant AP II* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles', where the bride and the hero are depicted standing passively in the chariot. The detail that the hoplite is mounting last, which shows his importance in respect to the charioteer (while the bride and Heracles mounted first), is no longer used.

and on *CH* 36 he wears a helmet. In about two-third of the images he holds a goad, but a few times he also holds a spear.[146]

The hoplite in the chariot is almost always fully armed with spear, helmet, and round shield. A few times the spear is not depicted or visible. On *CH* 10 the hoplite does not wear a helmet. On seven vases dating from the end of the 6th century BCE, three of which are attributed to the Euphiletos Painter, he is carrying a Boeotian shield.[147] On three vases dated around 540 BCE names are inscribed that seem to refer to real people, On *CH* 07 (Pl. 10) the hoplite in the chariot is named Kalias, the old man wearing a long decorated garment is named Anthip[pos] and the hoplite standing at the heads of the horses is named Eteoklos.[148] On two other vases (*CH* 03, *CH* 04) the hoplite is named Anchippos;[149] on both of these vases the names of the horses are also inscribed. It is noteworthy that on three later vases (*CH* 36a-b and *CH* 37 by Psiax, and *CH* 38 by the Priam Painter) the names of mythological figures are inscribed.

On five of the earliest vases there are no bystanders.[150] In 43 scenes additional hoplites are shown standing near the chariot (Pl. 10, *CH* 21a-b; *CH* 32). They usually face to the left so that their shields are seen frontally. Once a hoplite stands on this side of the horses (*CH* 20). On a few vases one of the hoplites is wearing his helmet pushed back on the crown of his head.[151]

Women are included in 31 images. On a belly-amphora attributed to the Swing Painter (*CH* 20) a woman standing near the chariot and facing the hoplite in the chariot is holding a wreath. The women on *CH* 11 are holding spears, and on *CH* 38 the woman is carrying a sword. On *CH* 36a the name Eriphyle is written near the woman standing in front of the chariot, which probably identifies the man, whose name-inscription is not preserved, as Amphiaraus. On the *CH* 36b the name Kalope is written, and the inscription naming the man may be restored as Adrastus.[152]

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[146] Spear and goad: *CH* 29, *CH* 30, *CH* 31, *CH* 49. On *CH* 34 he has a spear, and on *CH* 40 a spear and a goad or two spears.

[147] *CH* 32, *CH* 33, *CH* 41, *CH* 43, *CH* 44, *CH* 48, *CH* 50.

[148] Cf. *HL III* 10 (section 3.3.1, note 58) where names are inscribed in a depiction in which the hoplite is carrying a Boeotian shield.

[149] The name Anchippos occurs on more vases. See: Beazley (1951) 64; Bell (1983) 82–84, n. 51.

[150] *CH* 01, *CH* 02, *CH* 03, *CH* 04, *CH* 05.

[151] *CH* 21b, *CH* 22, *CH* 39, *CH* 40.

[152] On both sides of *CH* 36 an almost identical scene is depicted: a hoplite and a charioteer in a chariot in three-quarter perspective facing to the left with a woman in front of the chariot. See Steiner (2007) 212–215 for a discussion of the vase and recent photographs.

Children are found on six vases, four times carried by a woman near the hoplite standing in the chariot. A boy wearing a mantle or chiton standing near the horses' heads and turned towards the chariot is found on three vases; on *CH* 15 he holds a wreath.[153]

On 18 vases men or youths are bystanders, twice shown seated in front of the horses (Pl. 12, *CH* 12; *CH* 29). The man on *CH* 29 is seated facing the chariot but turns his head and looks away from the chariot. On 22 vases old men are present, four times seated at the horses' heads. The old man depicted on the shoulder of a hydria attributed to the Painter of Louvre F51 (Pl. 10, *CH* 13) is remarkable; he is not sitting on a campstool but on a low block or chest (cf. *HL II* 12) and he stretches out his arm in a way that recalls the mourning man seated on the ground in *variant HL I*. On the body of this vase there is a realistic representation of a chariot fight with a collapsing horse, and both pictures may have been intended to be interpreted together. This could be the reason that – while *variant CH* is usually found only in large panels – it is painted here in the shoulder panel. On both sides of the central motif on the shoulder hoplites are standing, the shape and position of their round shields recalling apotropaic eyes.[154] Old men may be combined with women and men, but there are more images that include either women or old men, as we also saw in *variants HL II, HL III,* and *HL V*. A clear example is a belly-amphora by the Swing Painter (Pl. 10, *CH* 21a-b), where on one side the chariot is accompanied by women and hoplites, but on the other side old men and hoplites.

On 14 vases, all from the last third of the century, archers are present, usually with hoplites. In two depictions archers are the only bystanders: on *CH* 38 the name Paris is inscribed near one of them, and on *CH* 37 the archer is nameless, but the name of the mythical king Adrastus is inscribed near the warrior in the chariot.

On three early vases a bird is shown flying above the horses; on two of these vases (*CH* 01, *CH* 03) there are no bystanders. On the third vase (*CH* 07) – on which the names of Kalias and the other figures are inscribed – the bird is holding a snake (according to the description in the *CVA*). On *CH* 04 a Siren flies above the horses.[155] On *CH* 15 a bird is seen flying under the bellies of the horses, and on *CH* 20 a scorpion. Dogs are included in seven scenes.

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[153] Boys standing near the heads of the horses: *CH* 08, *CH* 15 (with wreath). Boys on the shoulder or arm of a woman: *CH* 10, *CH* 26, *CH* 41. Two children, one on an arm and one standing: *CH* 09.

[154] The same arrangement of hoplites with round shields is found in the shoulder panels of hydriai with depictions of *variants HL II* and *HL IV* (sections 3.3 and 3.4).

[155] A Siren is also depicted on *MC* 14.

Variant CH includes a few images with people carrying weapons, perhaps a reminiscence of the scenes of bringing of armour found on some early vases.[156] On *CH* 23 an old man carries a helmet, possibly meant for, or belonging to, the hoplite standing behind him who is not wearing a helmet. On *CH* 11 the man standing behind the chariot raises a sword and other men and two women hold spears. On *CH* 38, the fragment on which the name Paris is inscribed, the woman near the horses is holding a sword.

On a fragment of a belly-amphora (*CH* 10) the man in the chariot is carrying a round shield, but he is not wearing a helmet and not holding a spear. A boy carried by a woman stretches his arms out towards him. Since this detail is not found in depictions with two unarmed men standing in the chariot (*variant CMM* and *variant CMH*), I added this fragment to this *variant*, although the figure in the chariot is not completely visible. Maybe we are seeing a reminiscence of Hector taking off his helmet and scaring Astyanax (Homer, *Iliad* 6, 466–473). However, in my opinion it is more probable that the painting reflects daily life. A practical reason for the hoplite being depicted without his helmet may simply be that his head is already intruding into the decorative lotus-palmette-chain frame at the top of the panel.

3.9.2 Analysis

Variant CH is almost always painted on large vases and with considerable detail. Old men or women are present on most vases, and some of the women carry boys on their arm or shoulder. Therefore, these vase-paintings may represent an event in the city. Since both the charioteer and the hoplite stand quietly in the chariot and no one is mounting, the scene appears to show a procession or parade rather than a departure, although the boys carried on the arm or shoulder of a woman are part of the traditional iconography of a departure.

The early vases with no bystanders and in some cases a bird or Siren flying above the horses recall the representations of the chariots with charioteer of *variant MC* and *variant HL III*, which I believe continued the tradition of the Horse-head amphorae, especially *CH* 01, where according to the description on the other side of the vase a similar scene with a man and a youth standing in the chariot is depicted.[157] The boy in the mantle standing near the horses' heads is probably playing a role in the procession.

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[156] See section 3.2.1, note 49.

[157] See section 3.8.2. As I have no picture of Side B of *CH* 01, I have not included it in Table 14, *variant CMM*.

It is notable that on some other early vases non-mythological names are found, while on later vases by Psiax and the Priam Painter the names of Adrastus, Eriphyle, and Paris are inscribed.[158] This indicates clearly how at the end of the century the popularity of mythological scenes grew. However, when representing the departure of Amphiaraus, the vase-painters no longer used the older composition with the mounting hoplite (*HL* I) but, by adding the name-inscriptions to later *variants*, gave the new compositions the old mythological meaning.[159]

3.9.3 Changing the composition

By painting the hoplite and the charioteer standing in the chariot, there is less action in the depiction and the painting is timeless. Although the people who stay behind – old men, women, children – are present, other elements of a departure, such as someone mounting the chariot or walking towards it ready to mount, are not.

3.9.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant CH is almost always found painted on large vases, particularly on the bellies of belly-amphorae and hydriai. Only once is it depicted on the shoulder of a hydria. Although both hydriai and belly-amphorae were made during the period from 550 to 510 BCE, the amphora was more popular as a shape in the third quarter of the century, while the hydria was becoming more popular in the last quarter, when the *variant* is also found on neck-amphorae. Nine vases of this group are attributed to the Swing Painter.

On 19 vases one or more mythological depictions are found on another section of the vase, especially stories about Heracles. From the Trojan Cycle there is one scene, Aias and Cassandra (*CH* 25). There are some representations with gods and Dionysiac scenes. On the other vases, hoplites leaving or fighting – on foot or with a chariot – are depicted, and once a komos.

[158] Non-mythological names: *CH* 03, *CH* 04, *CH* 07. Cf. *HL III* 10, *MC* 58. Mythological names: *CH* 36, *CH* 37, *CH* 38. See sections 6.1.5 and 6.5

[159] See also *HL IV* 48 attributed to the Priam Painter.

3.10 *Variant CMH* 'Charioteer and man in chariot with hoplites' ca. 550–500 BCE (Table 13, Plate 11)

3.10.1 Description

On 34 vases two unarmed men[160] are shown standing in a chariot while other people, among them at least one hoplite, stand nearby. These depictions are related to *variant CH*, but the hoplite is not the intended passenger because there are already two men in the chariot. This *variant* is found painted on large vases dating from 550 to 500 BCE, but only once on the shoulder of a hydria (*CMH* 33). Clearly, like *variant CH*, this picture retained its meaning and did not become a standard-motif in decorative friezes.

The charioteer is usually a young man without a beard. He always wears a long garment or mantle and never carries a Boeotian shield on his back. In half of the images he holds a goad, and only once a spear and a goad (*CMH* 23). The passenger is almost always a bearded man, wearing a draped mantle, although a few times he is represented as a beardless youth.[161]

On all of the vases from one to three hoplites stand nearby, almost always facing to the left with their shields covering their bodies (Pl. 11, *CMH* 05, *CMH* 11, *CMH* 18). Archers are found on eight vases. Two times one or more hoplites (and an archer) are shown standing on this side of the chariot (*CMH* 06, *CMH* 32). Twice a hoplite wears his helmet pushed back on the crown of his head (*CMH* 02, *CMH* 21). Furthermore, on *CMH* 02 the warriors do not have shields and there seems to be a connection with the painting on the other side of the vase (Pl. 5, *HL III* 07), where a woman is giving a shield to a warrior.

Women are present in 15 depictions. On *CMH* 21 the woman standing facing the chariot raises her arm as if she is greeting the men in it. On five vases a boy is present, four times near the horses' heads and once behind the chariot. Three times he is wearing a mantle (Pl. 11, *CMH* 05).[162] On *CMH* 29 a bearded little man wearing a short mantle is walking in front of the horses. On *CMH* 13 and *CMH* 26 Hermes is walking in front of the chariot and looking back towards it.

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[160] The *CVA* describes the picture on *CMH* 30 as two men driving two *bigae*, but in my opinion the two men and the four horses belong to a single chariot. *CMH* 34 is described in the *CVA* as a wedding procession; however, the passenger in the chariot seems to be a beardless man instead of a woman and, furthermore, in wedding processions hoplites do not usually accompany the chariot.

[161] *CMH* 04, *CMH* 13, *CMH* 20, *CMH* 27. There may be more examples, but it is not always visible on the photo (or even on the vase) or mentioned in the publication. However, on 24 depictions the passenger is bearded. The charioteer is 17 times beardless and 13 times bearded.

[162] Behind horses with mantle: *CMH* 03. Near heads with mantle: *CMH* 05 (to right looking back), *CMH* 12 (to left). Walking in front of the chariot to right, nude: *CMH* 17, *CMH* 28 (? not visible).

Men are depicted on 18 vases, usually standing but in three cases seated in front of the horses. Young men are present five times, and old men six times, three times in combination with a second old man seated in front of the horses. On three vases old men as well as women are found, and one of these vases (*CMH* 27, on which two chariots are represented) is also the only example in this group of men and old men depicted together. On 14 vases unarmed men, young men, archers and hoplites are present; on two of these vases a boy is standing near the horses' heads. Four times only hoplites accompany the chariot; on two of these vases the only other bystander is a boy is walking in front of the horses (Pl. 11, *CMH* 05; *CMH* 17). Dogs are found on two vases.

Usually the bystanders face to the left towards the chariot. However, in the more crowded compositions people are depicted facing in various directions.[163] This gives the impression that the departure is still in preparation. However, we may wonder what the occasion is: although hoplites stand nearby, it is not a normal departure of hoplites from home because neither man in the chariot is armed. There is only one depiction in this group where all of the bystanders are facing to the right (*CMH* 33). The arrangement on this vase – the only hydria with a depiction of this *variant* on the shoulder – is remarkable: three chariots represent the process of mounting. On the left the charioteer is mounting the chariot (*HL IV* 42), in the centre the charioteer is standing in the chariot and a hoplite is standing near the horses (*HL III* 45), and on the right side, two men are standing in the chariot (*CMH* 33).[164] Women, hoplites, archers, and dogs stand nearby.

In *variant CMH* there are also some vases on which pieces of armour are carried by bystanders.[165] On *CMH* 07 a nude man, standing near the horses to the right facing a woman, is holding a helmet and a spear, and one of the men in the chariot is holding a spear. A hoplite stands at the horses' heads. On a kantharos in London (*CMH* 06) two hoplites and an archer stand facing to the left on this side of the chariot; the hoplite on the left is holding a helmet as if he is presenting it to the men in the chariot. Women, men, and another hoplite stand next to the chariot. On both sides of the picture a wreath is painted, apparently not held by any of the bystanders.

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[163] On 13 vases all of the bystanders stand facing to the left; on eight more vases the people near the horses are oriented to the left but the boy at the heads of the horses or a person following the chariot is oriented to the right. On 12 vases people stand facing in various directions.

[164] The passenger is almost completely hidden behind the charioteer, but he does not seem to be a hoplite because it is obvious that he is not wearing a helmet.

[165] See section 3.2.1, note 49.

3.10.2 Analysis

In *variant CMH* several *typical elements* are present that are also found in departure scenes, including the chariot with men standing in it and the people standing nearby. However, no one is mounting the chariot, and since there are already two men already in the chariot, the hoplite who is standing near the chariot is not the intended passenger. Furthermore, boys carried by women are never found in this *variant,* and old men are depicted on only six vases, while unarmed men are present on half of the images. The fact that in most cases the charioteer is a young man may also indicate that the depicted event is a procession or an occasion where men and hoplites play a role, rather than a departure from home to join the army.

There are a few vases on which only the chariot with the men standing in it and a hoplite standing nearby are depicted, in two cases accompanied by a boy.[166] These vases resemble the simple hydriai of *variants MC*, *CH,* and *HL III*.[167] The paintings in which the chariot is accompanied only by men (of different ages) and hoplites may be related to an event when men are taking their places in the army. The boys at the horses' heads may have played a role in the procession or they may be members of the family.

3.10.3 Changing the composition

At first sight the composition recalls the iconography of a hoplite leaving. However, the most important *typical elements* are missing: the men in the chariot are not armed, and there is little movement in the picture. The men standing quietly in the chariot, and the hoplite standing nearby is not about to mount; old men, women, small children, and dogs are not always present.

3.10.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Representations of *variant CMH* are found in the period from 550 to 510 BCE, mostly on large vases. Images painted on belly-amphorae are found throughout the whole period; hydriai appear somewhat later. Both shapes seem to have lost their popularity in the last decades of the century. This is remarkable since for other chariot scene *variants* – except *variant MC* – belly-amphorae were losing popularity at this time while hydriai remained popular. In *variant MC* hydriai seem to have been replaced by kalpides at the end of the

[166] *CMH* 04, *CMH* 05, *CMH* 17. On *CMH* 18 three hoplites are present.

[167] See section 3.8.2.

century, but I have not found a kalpis with a depiction of *variant CMH*. Six vases in this group – all from the last third of the century – are attributed to the Bucci Painter.

On 12 vases mythological depictions are painted on other sections, mostly scenes with Heracles, but once Aias and Cassandra. On six vases, among them two column-kraters, a Dionysiac scene is found. On other vase shapes there are scenes of hoplites and horsemen fighting or leaving home. There are a few different chariot-scenes, with hoplites fighting or other *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', which are discussed elsewhere in this chapter (*CMH* 02 = *HL III* 07; *CMH* 33 = *HL III* 45, *HL IV* 42).

3.11. *Variant CMM* 'Charioteer and man in chariot accompanied by people' ca. 550–500 BCE (Table 14, Plates 11–12)

3.11.1 Description

On 36 vases dating from 550 to 500 BCE two men in a chariot are represented accompanied by women, old men, and unarmed men but no hoplites or archers. On three vases the image is found on both sides.[168]

In more than half of the cases the charioteer is a young man.[169] He always wears a long garment. He holds a goad in more than half of the cases, but never a spear, and in a single picture, on a psykter attributed to a painter near Exekias, he carries a Boeotian shield on his back. This detail may have been influenced by the chariot scene with a hoplite in the chariot on the other side of the vase (Pl. 12, *CMM* 12 = *CH* 12). On *CMM* 27 the charioteer is shown mounting the chariot in which the passenger is already standing; this is the only example of this sequence of mounting for this *subtype* in my lists.[170]

The passenger is in more than half of the paintings a young man.[171] On 11 vases both passenger and charioteer are young. On *CMM* 20 (Pl. 12) the passenger is holding a branch. On *CMM* 17 (Pl. 12) the passenger is wearing a white mantle decorated with rosettes and holding a lyre. The bearded passengers on *CMM* 31 (Pl. 12) and *CMM* 32 are also wearing richly decorated mantles. On *CMM* 04 (Pl. 11) both men are wearing decorated mantles, and

[168] According to the description in the *CVA* on both sides of *CMM* 36 a wedding procession is depicted. On side B – of which there is no photo – the bride is completely obscured by the man and she may not be present. Since the composition of side B is not certain, I left it out of my lists. On side A, in my opinion, two men are standing in the chariot. A bird is depicted beneath each handle, which recalls the birds often painted on the Horse-head amphorae.

[169] On 21 depictions this detail is visible or mentioned in the text; 15 times the charioteer is bearded.

[170] See section 3.0, note 5, for a few other possible representations of this sequence of mounting.

[171] On 20 paintings this detail is visible or mentioned in the text; 15 times the passenger is bearded and once he is an old man (*CMM* 23). In the other cases it is not known to me.

the passenger is holding a spear. An unusual and atypical depiction is found on the shoulder of a Nicosthenic amphora (*CMM* 23), where an old man is the passenger in the chariot.

In 13 paintings there are no bystanders at all. In eight cases a bird is flying above the horses (Pl. 11, *CMM* 05). Once a large snake is shown crawling in front of the horses (Pl. 12, *CMM* 20); this is the vase on which the passenger is holding a branch. These simple compositions recall the images on large vases of *variants HL III, MC, CH,* and *CMH*. Most of these vases are early, but there are also a few dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BCE (Pl. 12, *CMM* 31).

Women are shown standing near the chariot in 19 paintings, mostly turned towards it (Pl. 11, *CMM* 04); they are never shown carrying a child. On eight vases a boy stands near the horses' heads, either nude or wearing a mantle (Pl. 12, *CMM* 12); twice the boy is holding a goad.[172]

Men are present by bystanders in 20 paintings, nearly always in combination with women and only four times with old men. The men are almost always shown walking with the chariot; sometimes a man looks backwards, and twice a man makes an urging gesture with his hand (Pl. 12, *CMM* 17; *CMM* 18). On two vases a man is sitting in front of the horses. On *CMM* 28 a man is shown walking towards the chariot raising his hand as if he in greeting. A few times the accompanying men carry spears (*CMM* 15, *CMM* 35); on *CMM* 17 (Pl. 12) the accompanying old man holds a spear. An old man standing near the horses is included on five vases, and on two vases an old man is seated in front of the horses. On seven vases young men are shown standing near the chariot; on *CMM* 04 (Pl. 11) a nude youth stand facing to the left near the horses' heads, probably a groom. On *CMM* 23 a nude youth is walking in front of the horses, looking backwards, and another youth is running behind the chariot.

On only one vase (Pl. 12, *CMM* 21) are dogs found; on both sides a dog is shown jumping up in front of the horses. In addition to the birds flying above the horses mentioned above, birds are also depicted beneath both handles of *CMM* 36.

On two vases one of the bystanders is holding a helmet in his hand, recalling images of people carrying pieces of armour. On *CMM* 21a (Pl. 12) a man holding a helmet is standing near the horses facing a woman holding a spear; another woman near the horses'

[172] Boy in mantle: turned towards the horses: *CMM* 10; turned to the right: *CMM* 12. Nude: turned towards the horses: *CMM* 13, *CMM 35*b; turned to the right. Looking back: *CMM* 24, *CMM* 26, *CMM* 33 (with goad); turned to the right: *CMM* 32 (with goad).

heads holds a wreath. On *CMM* 19 (Pl. 12) a nude man holding a helmet is walking in front of the horses and looking backwards.

On the stand for a *lebes* two chariots are depicted (*CMM* 22). In one chariot two young men are standing. The other chariot is almost completely lost, but the head of a young man holding a lyre is visible.[173] As mentioned above, on *CMM* 17 (Pl. 12) the young man who is passenger is similarly holding a lyre. These depictions recall the woman carrying a lyre on *MC* 43 (Pl. 9; sections 3.8.1 and 3.8.2).

On some vases different generations are depicted: on *CMM* 09 (Pl. 11) an old man accompanies the chariot in which a youthful charioteer and a bearded man are standing. The old man is facing to the right: he is not staying behind as in a departure scene but moving in the same direction as the chariot. On *CMM* 13, the reverse of the amphora by Exekias with the suicide of Aias, two young men stand in the chariot and a woman, an old man, some young men, and a nude little boy are shown standing nearby. Mackay[174] points out the care that Exekias took to distinguish the various ages of the males. On another amphora by Exekias (*CMM* 14) there are also two young men standing in the chariot, but in this painting two bearded man and a woman raising her hand stand near the horses. Another woman is shown standing at the heads of the horses, behind a half hidden seated man. On a psykter-amphora in Naples painted in the manner of Exekias (Pl. 12, *CMM* 12) two youths are shown standing in the chariot. Behind the chariot a man is standing, partly concealed by the Boeotian shield the charioteer is carrying on his back. Near the horses an old man and a young man are standing with a woman. At the heads of the horses another woman and a little boy in a mantle are depicted. On the other side of this vase a hoplite is standing in the chariot, driven by a young charioteer; they are accompanied by women and men (Pl. 12, *CH* 12). On each side of a band-cup in Bloomington (*CMM* 35) two chariots are depicted accompanied by a crowd of men with spears, women, and old men. On one side the chariots are moving to the left. On the other side they are moving to the right; here two nude little boys stand in front of the chariots raising their arms.

[173] Manakidou (1994) 248–250, pl. 46–47. According to Manakidou the lyre player is standing in the chariot, and she identifies him as Apollo and the scene as an unusual version of a wedding procession. I have not examined the stand itself, but, looking at the photos, I think the lyre player is not standing in the chariot but rather between the tails of the horses and the chariot, more or less in the position of the woman with the chequered peplos in front of the other chariot on this stand. The person more to the left, of whom only the top of the head is preserved, is more likely the charioteer or the passenger. However, whether the lyre player is standing in the chariot or not, the fact is that a lyre is depicted, while Apollo usually plays the kithara.

[174] Mackay (2010) 249.

3.11.2 Analysis

There are 12 depictions of *variant CMM* that show only the chariot with two men standing in it and no bystanders. Nevertheless, in most cases women, children, men, and old men are present, and at first glance a departure from home seems to be depicted. Only once is a man shown mounting (*CMM* 27): the charioteer, which is highly unusual in this *subtype*. However, in the *subtypes* 'Wedding procession' and 'Apotheosis of Heracles' the charioteer is usually shown mounting last. The detail may be a mistake by the painter, but possibly it was used on purpose to indicate that the passenger is being conveyed to a new stage in his life, just like a bride or Heracles.[175] In all other cases both men are shown standing in the chariot, which must have been enough to indicate that the emphasis is not on the departure itself but on the fact that they are participating in a procession or making a journey. As further evidence that a departure is not represented, old men are included only a few times, and boys are not carried and interacting with the men in the chariot but standing near the horses' heads. Finally, the men are often shown walking in the same direction as the chariot, while the women and old men are turned towards the chariot. Therefore, the composition resembles a procession or parade, in which the men take part, while the other people are spectators.

Since passenger and charioteer are in most cases young men, and no hoplites or other references to a military context are present – even the charioteer carries a Boeotian shield only once (*CMM* 12) – it is logical to think that a non-military event is depicted. These vases – especially the ones on which there are no bystanders – resemble the vases that I believe continue the tradition of the Horse-head amphorae.[176] Not all of the vase-painters pay the same attention to representing the age groups and old men are only depicted on five vases, but it is clear that men and boys of various ages were present at the event.

3.11.3 Changing the composition

The composition of *variant CMM* resembles that of *variants CH* and *CMH,* but there are no references to a military context. The composition is also related to *variant MC* (see section 3.8), where a single man is shown standing in the chariot or mounting. There, too, when there are bystanders, they are mostly men, who are sometimes walking with the chariot,

[175] The composition resembles that of *AP VIIb* 04, with two men in the chariot and the charioteer mounting last, which I placed in the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' because of the presence of gods.

[176] Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 207. Manakidou (1994) 245–248, pl. 44–45 identifies the depictions on band-cup *CMM* 35 as representations of a festival, possibly the Apaturia.

while old men are depicted only a few times. Another similarity between *variant MC* and *variant CMM* is that in both groups some men wear ornate mantles and a man with a lyre is present.

3.11.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant CMM is almost always found painted on large shapes, such as belly-amphorae, hydriai, column-kraters, and five mostly late neck-amphorae. There are eight vases attributed to the Swing Painter, who also painted nine vases with *variant CH*. The *variant* is found on vases dated from 550 to 500 BCE. Belly-amphorae and hydriai painted with *variant CMM* were both popular until 520 BCE. After that date – just as for *variant CMH* – both shapes lost popularity, although for other *variants* the hydria became more popular. The neck-amphorae and the cup and skyphos are dated to the last two decades of the century.

In other sections on these vases mythological scenes are often found, especially scenes with the exploits of Heracles. On the other side of *CMM* 13 is the famous painting of the suicide of Aias by Exekias. There are four Dionysiac scenes. Other scenes are connected with the world of men: hoplites fighting, or leaving, and a symposium. On eight vases there are chariot scenes on both sides: three times the same *variant* is depicted,[177] and twice *variant CH*.

3.12 General conclusions

In the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' not only hoplites standing in or near a chariot are depicted but also unarmed men. Depending on differences in the positions of the passenger and the charioteer, and in the persons standing nearby, several compositional *variants* can be distinguished, which seem to have different meanings.

In the *variants HL I, HL II, HL III, HL IV*, and *HL V* some of the *typical elements* suggest that the scenes represent the departure of hoplites from home. The chariot with a charioteer mounting or standing in it and a hoplite mounting or standing near it, indicate a departure, while the women, sometimes carrying little boys, and old men standing nearby represent the family members who remain at home. In some paintings only hoplites and archers stand nearby; here the emphasis is on the military context and therefore a departure to the battlefield rather than from home is probably depicted.

[177] The chariot scene on the other side of *CMM* 36 may be the same, but that is not certain.

Before 550 BCE the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' had not yet found a definitive *typical composition* (*variant HL I*), although all of the *typical elements* found in later *variants* are also found here. In *variant HL I* the hoplite is in most cases shown mounting a chariot in which a charioteer is already standing, but there are some depictions in which the hoplite is shown standing near the chariot. In some paintings added details make it clear that the mythological story of the Departure of Amphiaraus is represented, such as name-inscriptions, the necklace of Eriphyle, the mourning seer on the ground, and boys (and on *HL I* 04 a girl) stretching out their hands towards their father. In the second half of the century, the mythological composition became more general, featuring anonymous figures, although in a few cases names, probably of real persons, were added.[178] At the end of the century, there was a renewed interest in mythological scenes, and name-inscriptions, among them Amphiaraus, Eriphyle, Adrastus, and Paris could be added.[179]

From the different *variants* it can be deduced that it was normal for the charioteer to mount first and then the hoplite. Evidently, the most important person was the last to mount the chariot. Only one time is the charioteer shown mounting the chariot in which the passenger is already standing (*CMM* 27). Although there are examples of *variants HL I – HL V* in which the charioteer is young and beardless, he is usually depicted as a mature, bearded man.

The *typical element* of the hoplite mounting the chariot in which the charioteer is already standing, is seldom found after 550 BCE (*variant HL II*), probably because – when the chariot is facing to the right of the scene – it was difficult to paint and understand the representation of two men in different postures, the charioteer on this side of the hoplite. The negative association of this composition with imagery of the fatal departure of Amphiaraus may also have played a role.

When a hoplite is depicted standing behind the chariot he is in most cases *not* the man who is going to mount. It is notable that in images with only one hoplite standing near the chariot, he is only a few times shown standing behind it. In compositions with more than one hoplite, the hoplite behind the chariot is often shown talking with a woman or with other persons and not facing the chariot. Apparently, the important hoplite who is going to mount the chariot is in most cases the man shown standing and facing to the left near the horses, on his way to the chariot. He is often painted close to the centre of the composition, and in this

[178] *HL III* 10, *MC* 58, *CH* 03, *CH* 04, *CH* 07. See note 158.

[179] *HL IV* 48, *CH* 36, *CH* 37 and *CH* 38 (Paris). See note 85 and section 6.5; see note 158.

position his shield covers a large part of his body, which makes his figure both easier to paint and prominent. In *variant HL IV* the *typical element* of a man mounting the chariot, referring to a departure, is transferred to the charioteer. This makes the composition simpler to paint and at the same time appropriate for long friezes, because the charioteer does stand high in the chariot and tower above the other figures.

One way to make the painting simpler was to leave out the charioteer and depict the important hoplite holding the reins (*variant HL V*). However, this *variant* seldom found, as it makes the action illogical, because the hoplite has to be shown also holding his shield and spear. In half of these paintings the mounting hoplite-charioteer is shown holding one or two spears instead of, or together with, his goad. In *variant HL V* only hoplites and archers usually stand nearby, which suggests a departure from the camp to the battlefield rather than a departure from home.

Typical elements referring to a departure from home include women, children, and old men, who usually are oriented to face the chariot. Unarmed men are depicted less often, which is reasonable, since most adult men were serving as hoplites. The women, old men, and children emphasise that the hoplite is husband, son, and father, but they do not *literally* represent the wife or mother, father, or children of the hoplite. Often either women or old men are depicted; so one of these categories was clearly enough to indicate the people who stay behind. Little boys are usually carried on the arm or shoulder of a woman and stretch their arms out towards the hoplite. Children standing near the hoplite who stretch their arms towards him, a *typical element* that is found in *variant HL I*, are depicted a few times in later *variants*. Most often the children are boys; however, on *HL I* 04 and *HL III* 08 (Pl. 5) a boy and a girl stand next to the hoplite. Girls are also described on the Chest of Cypselus and the Amphiaraus krater, and in my opinion this is a *typical element* that is so specific that it can only refer to the departure of Amphiaraus – at least when combined with other *elements*. Often boys or youths are depicted standing near the horses' heads; they are not involved with the hoplite and seem to have a different role, grooming the horses or leading the procession.

A different case is *variant MC* in which a single man, who is usually bearded and not wearing armour, is standing in or mounting the chariot and holding the reins. In most examples there are no bystanders or only one. When there are bystanders, they are mostly women and men; old men are included only a few times. Little boys carried on the arm or

shoulder of a woman are not found, but boys and youths may be shown standing near the horses' heads. Often a bird is included flying above the horses.[180]

Paintings showing two persons standing in the chariot (*variants CH, CMH*, and *CMM*) have a different composition and a different meaning. Since there are already two people in the chariot, the *typical element* of someone mounting is not present, with the result that the emphasis is less on the departure and more on the fact that the men are making a journey. When the passenger is a hoplite (*variant CH*), the charioteer is in most cases bearded. Other hoplites stand nearby and also women, sometimes carrying a little boy, and old men. As in the other *variants* of a hoplite leaving, unarmed men are seldom depicted. However, in the *variants CMH* and *CMM* two unarmed men stand in the chariot. Someone mounting the chariot is found only once (*CMM* 27, which is also extraordinary in this *subtype* because the charioteer is mounting last). There may be hoplites standing nearby (*variant CMH*), but there are also depictions where there is no reference to a military context (*variant CMM*). In these two *variants* more men than women and old men are shown standing nearby, and while women and old men usually face the chariot, the men are shown walking with it. This suggests that the men are part of a procession, that the men in the chariot are accompanied by their peers, and that the women and old men are bystanders. Often different generations are present. In these two *variants* there are never children carried on the arm or shoulder, but boys and youths may be shown standing or walking in front of the chariot. They may represent the younger generation, but probably they are playing a role in the procession. Furthermore, these small figures fill the empty space under the heads of the horses.

Depictions of *variants CH, CMH*, and *CMM* with no bystanders or only one person standing nearby are related to *variant MC*. The vases painted with these *variants* (and maybe a few that I placed in *variant HL III*[181] because a hoplite is shown standing nearby) may continue the tradition of the Horse-head amphorae: just as on these vases, a bird is often depicted flying above the horses. Furthermore, the passenger in the chariot sometimes wears a richly decorated mantle and, in a few cases, a lyre is carried by a man in or near the chariot.[182]

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[180] See section 3.8.2. These vases seem to continue the tradition of the Horse-head amphorae that, according to Ingeborg Scheibler, were made for the Hippeis and possibly used during the Apaturia. I will discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia in section 6.6.

[181] *HL III* 01, *HL III* 02, *HL III* 03, *HL III* 04, *HL III* 05.

[182] *MC* 43, *CMM* 17, *CMM* 22. See notes 130 and 173.

In some *variants* with a hoplite leaving, but also in the *variants* with an unarmed man as the passenger, bystanders carry pieces of armour.[183] Maybe the painting depicts a festival or event in which a man is taking his place in the army. On two vases of *variant CMH* (where hoplites are standing nearby and the passenger is usually a bearded man) weapons are carried by the bystanders (*CMH* 06 and *CMH* 07). In the depictions without hoplites (*variant CMM*), the passenger is usually a young man, and there are no examples of bystanders carrying armour. Both *variants* are the only ones in which about half of the paintings depict the charioteer as a young man. Since all of the *variants* that represent hoplites leaving usually show the charioteer as bearded, the beardless charioteer seems to be an indication that an event in the city is depicted.

Although many vase-paintings were mass-produced and not of high quality, there are in general very few deviations from the *typical compositions*. *Typical elements* were *not* added randomly, and the depictions are in general *not* illogical. This is clear in paintings in which the chariot is waiting for the hero to mount (*variant CW*): when the scene is painted in a vase section with room for only one chariot, the painter took care to choose a scene in which only one chariot is logical, *e.g.* because the hero is fighting a monster. However, the compositions with a chariot do not always carry a special meaning: several *variants* also function as standard-motifs in friezes.

The paintings do not necessarily represent a mythological story. To make the story of the Departure of Amphiaraus recognisable, on the earliest vases *typical elements* such as the sword, the necklace, or the mourning seer were added, or the name-inscription Eriphyle (*variant HL I*). When at the end of the century painters wanted to indicate that the Departure of Amphiaraus is depicted, they chose one of the *variants* and just wrote the names Amphiaraus and Eriphyle near the figures.[184] This confirms that a name-inscription can give a specific meaning to a composition, in this case the old mythological meaning to a new *typical composition*.

Although most chariot paintings can be recognised as referring to daily-life events, such as a departure from the city to war, or a procession during a festival, they are not realistic depictions, as the scene is deliberately given a heroic flavour[185] by details such as a

[183] See note 49.

[184] See note 179.

[185] Manakidou (1994) 251–266 discusses these scenes. She contends that the vase-painters made the persons in the chariot anonymous on purpose and deliberately used the same iconography for the aristocratic citizens, heroes, and Olympic gods.

Boeotian shield; the *typical composition*, which may be associated with a well-known mythological scene; or, last not but least, the presence of a chariot. The presence of a quadriga – a chariot drawn by four horses – which was not used in Athenian daily life in the 6th century BCE, in my opinion underscores the importance of the festivity of the moment and draws attention to the people standing in it,[186] and also indicates that the people riding in it are transitioning to a new phase in life: *i.e.,* men are leaving their lives as civilian to join the army, young men are on their way to become adults. In this context it is noteworthy that Warren Moon compares Amphiaraus mounting a chariot with Heracles who is "carried off to a different state of living" in his Apotheosis.[187]

At the end of the 6th century vases painted with images of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' and its *variants* decreased in popularity. This may have been due to the democratic reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 BCE, after which these depictions evoking the aristocratic way of life and warfare lost much of their relevance.[188]

[186] Manakidou (1994) 262.

[187] Moon (1983) 109. See also Tuukkanen (2001) 142.

[188] See sections 6.5 and 6.6.

Chapter 4

Subtype 'Wedding procession'

Text figure 5
Wedding procession with two mule carts.
On the front cart the bride is seated, holding her mantle and a wreath with her left hand. The groom is seated at her right side, holding the reins. A second man is sitting facing backwards on the rear of the cart. A woman with two torches is walking alongside the mule pulling the cart, and another woman with torches is waiting inside the house. On the second cart three men are sitting.
Lekythos attributed to the Amasis Painter, 540 BCE.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.1 (BA 350478).

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses depictions based on the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile with people standing in and next to it' (hereafter: 'Chariot in profile') in which a woman is shown standing in a chariot as a passenger while a man is holding the reins. I named this group as the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', since on some images the names of the married couple are inscribed – *e.g.*, Peleus and Thetis (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 05), Heracles and Hebe (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 08), Admetus and Alcestis (*WP III 31*) – or several attributes are included that make clear that a wedding procession is represented (*e.g.*, torches, packages, and wreaths).[1] But there are many more images in which only one – or even none – of these elements is present. Studying many examples of this picture and analysing the *typical elements* and the *typical compositions*, has helped to discover what these pictures may have meant to contemporary Athenians and whether all the pictures were perceived by them as wedding processions.

It is remarkable that only rarely was a wedding depicted in a way that matched real life in 6th-century Athens. At that time and place, a wedding – at least for the upper classes – lasted for three days.[2] The first day was used for preparations, including the ritual bath and sacrifices. On the evening of the second day, after a shared meal, the bride was transferred to the house of the groom by being driven on a mule cart (*text figure 5*).[3] A boy both of whose parents were alive, the *pais amphithales*,[4] led the procession. On the morning of the third day, the guests came to the bride's new house with gifts.

Although in vase-paintings *typical elements* are found that reflect real life, there are also many elements based on the mythological or heroic world, and the chariot is one of these. Scholars treating the subject of weddings recognise the fact that the depiction of a

[1] Killet (1990) 91–104. Manakidou (1994) 211–235.

[2] I will not discuss all wedding rituals in detail. For more information, see: Froning (1984) 128–131. Oakley and Sinos (1993). Ferrari (2002) 179–209. Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 230–238. Steiner (2004) 456.

[3] Lekythos by the Amasis Painter, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.11.1; BA 350478). See: Crouwel (1992) 93 (with n. 474), Pl. 28–39. Oakley and Sinos (1993) 29–30. Killet (1994) 101–102. Moore (1987) 164–165. On the Tyrrhenian amphora in Leipzig, Antikenmuseum Universität Leipzig, T 3323 (BA 310009) a mule cart as means of transport for a woman (Pandora?) has been depicted, although here the presence of Zeus and Hephaestus marks the setting without any doubt as divine. Homer, *Iliad* 18, 490–496 mentions a wedding procession, but not a type of vehicle. Ps. Hesiod, *Aspis* 273, uses the word *apènè*, which can be used for four-wheeled wagons and two-wheeled carts. Stesichorus, frg. 187 mentions the two-wheeled *diphros* in his description of the wedding of Menelaus and Helen; however, is is possible that it is not the bridal couple that is welcomed, but Menelaus after winning the contest for the hand of Helen. In Sappho, frg. 44 about the wedding of Hector and Andromache, the women use mule-drawn vehicles (*satinai,* a vehicle associated with women, although this definition is probably based on the Sappho fragment), while the men use horse-drawn chariots (*harmata*). See Crouwel (1992) 16–17; 29; 77 for a discussion of the different sorts of vehicles.

[4] See Williams (1983a) 31. Froning (1984) 129–130. Golden (1990) 30. Oakley and Sinos (1993) 12; 20.

chariot drawn by horses is not a realistic daily-life detail.[5] Furthermore, while the bride and groom are usually anonymous people, recognisable gods such as Dionysus, Hermes, and Apollo are often shown accompanying the bridal chariot. However, in many cases it is not clear whether the bystanders in a painting are gods or mortals, and sometimes the two realms seem to be mixed.[6] Because the difference is not always clear, I describe all of the female figures in general as 'women' in my descriptions, unless they can be identified as goddesses by name-inscription or by the *polos*, the high crown worn by goddesses.

Depictions of a man and a woman together in a chariot that may refer to a wedding occur early in Greek vase-painting and usually on large vases of good quality.[7] Weddings were important events where both families want to display their importance.[8] Vases with a wedding procession may have been considered to be appropriate gifts to the new household or offerings to the gods.[9] However, only a few vases in my lists have a provenance that

[5] The chariot was in pictures and stories a suitable way of transport for gods and heroes, but in 6th-century Athens it was only used for racing. See section 0.3.3. For the use of chariots in wedding processions and daily life of Athens, see: Crouwel (1992) 60. See also Krauskopf (1977) 24–26. Connor (1979) 161. Froning (1984) 130. Schmitt Pantel (1991) 172. Oakley and Sinos (1993) 29–30. Sinos (1993) 76–78. Killet (1994) 95. Malagardis (2014) 170.

[6] Krauskopf (1977) 24–26. Froning (1984) 130. Oakley and Sinos (1993) 8; 28–29. Sinos (1993) 76; 85. Mackay (1995) 298. Jurriaans-Helle (1996); *idem* (1997); *idem* (1999). Smith (2014) 38. Malagardis (2014) 170. Ferrari (2002) 6; 17–20 discusses the fact how difficult or even impossible it is to distinguish between myth and non myth.

[7] The earliest depictions of a couple in a chariot are found on large vases from the Cycladic islands: amphora found in a grave in Naxos, chariot to right with Aphrodite (name-inscription) and man (Ares?), early 7th century BCE (Karusos (1937) 166–197). Krater found on Samos, with Heracles and Hebe (name-inscriptions) and Apollo and Hermes, 7th century BCE (*LIMC* V, *s.v*. Heracles nr. 3330, unpublished). Cycladic amphora with chariot to left man and woman (no names, but on the neck the struggle of Peleus and Thetis is depicted), 630–600 BCE (Kavala museum, Lazaridis (1969) pin. 27–28 and cover). Parian amphora found in Aptera (Crete) with Heracles (lion skin) stepping on a chariot to right in which a woman is standing; on the neck Hermes and Artemis (?), ca. 610 BCE (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 354; Von Bothmer and Mertens (1979) 123–124, nr. 72). Further: Protoattic Kynosarges amphora with man and woman in chariot to left, ca. 640 BCE (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 14497, BA 1012555). Middle Corinthian krater with wedding of Paris and Helen in chariot to right (inscriptions), 600–575 BCE (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 27.116; Klinger (2009) 102–103, fig. 9). On a small Corinthian aryballos from Vulci, Heracles and Hebe are depicted standing in a chariot to right, accompanied by Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite and other gods, early 6th century (Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco Villa Giulia, *LIMC* V, *s.v*. Heracles nr. 3331). Couples in chariots (although not bridal couples) are also depicted on Pentheskouphia pinakes, ca. 570 BCE (*e.g.,* Berlin F 493, Manakidou (1994) 120, pl. 25a, chariot to right). Corinthian krater with bridal couple in chariot to right, ca. 560 BCE (Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Albizzati 126, BA 9019291). On an amphora from Melos Apollo and two Muses are standing in a chariot (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 911; Von Bothmer and Mertens (1979) 122–124, nr. 71). On wedding processions in Corinthian vase-painting: Manakidou (2005).

[8] Plutarch, *Moralia* 666f–667b discusses the fact that weddings are celebrated with guests and festivities because of different reasons: the hosts want to show that they are of good family; it is not possible to celebrate a marriage unnoticed because of the cries and auloi, so that one can better invite everyone; it is an important family matter, the union of two houses. Oakley and Sinos (1993) 22.

[9] Boardman (1952) 31–32; *idem* (1958–1959) 161–162. Stewart (1983) 69. Williams (1983a) 32. Smith (2014) 38. Gaunt (2014) 361 contends that – in contrast with bronze vessels – the *aretè* of the François Vase lies in its

corresponds with votive dedications, such as the Acropolis or the Sanctuary of the Nymph in Athens. Most of the vases for which the provenance is known were found in Etruscan tombs.

My database lists about 250 Athenian black-figure vases with a depiction of a wedding procession, of which I included 181 in my Tables.[10] I distinguished fewer *variants* than for the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', because in all of the images the bride is shown standing in the chariot and in most cases the man is also standing in the chariot, and too seldom shown mounting the chariot to form a separate *variant*. The *variants* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' are therefore distinguished on the basis of the figures standing near the chariot and the objects they are carrying.

On the earliest vases of this *subtype*, dating to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE, the procession of wedding *guests* is represented (*variant WG*).[11] Contemporary with these vases, although first appearing slightly later, is *variant WP I* in which the man and woman standing in the chariot represent the bridal couple. Although this classification is rather artificial, I chose to place the vases made in the first half of the century (*variant WP I*) apart from those made in the second half of the century (*variants WP II, WP III,* and *WP IV*), because the *subtype* took a while to establish its standard forms, and in *variant WP I* the *typical elements* of *variant WG* as well of later *variants* can be seen. After the middle of the century, the *variants* of the *subtype* achieved their definitive forms, and most of the vases with a representation of a wedding procession date to this period. However, changes were introduced both gradually and sporadically, and 'old' *typical elements* and unusual

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elaborate storytelling. Decorated pottery "facilitated access to worlds of heroic poetry, myth and above all, beauty."

[10] I left outside my lists fragments on which only a small part of the picture has been preserved, making it doubtful which *variant* – or even whether a wedding procession – is depicted. Examples are: Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 94.345, hydria (BA 8074); Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, P 3167, neck-amphora (BA 301831); Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, P 19045, neck-amphora (BA 31260); Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität, H/10 1205, hydria (BA 6071). Some fragments are too small to give any information on the scene, *e.g.*, Athens National Archaeological Museum, 12400, plate (BA 8540); Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, P 17467, plate (BA 9212); Moscow, Pushkin Museum, M–1318 lekythos (BA 9006856). However, when fragments provide additional information, I mention them in the notes. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 36.631, belly-amphora (BA 590) represents according to the *CVA* not a wedding but a festival of Dionysus. Vase-paintings of which enough was recognisable to assign them to a *variant*, I inserted in my lists. Unfortunately, many vases are so fragmentary that I could not assign them to a *variant*. This is true for many fragments found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph in Athens, published in Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997). However, when there is a clearly visible detail that is important for my study, I mention them in the notes. I left also outside my lists vases of which the photo and the description do not provide sufficient information, such as a lekythos once on the London Market, Sotheby's, lekythos, Catalogue 3-12-1991, nr. 108, on which Hermes is preceding a chariot and a woman is holding extraordinary torches; the rest of the depiction is not visible on the photo.

[11] Manakidou (1994) 122–128 discusses the depictions of rows of chariots with gods standing in them *not* in her section on wedding processions.

compositions can be seen in the later *variants*. In *variant WP II* there are no recognisable gods depicted, and the people standing nearby are carrying objects derived from real-life weddings, such as packages, torches, and wreaths. In *variant WP III* the same objects are included, but some of the bystanders are clearly recognisable as gods, mostly Hermes, Dionysus, and Apollo. In *variant WP IV* the same gods are found but there are no wedding-related objects.

The *variants* will be described and information about the vases[12] and details important for understanding the *variants* is presented in Tables 15–19. In the text I refer to the vases as *WG, WP I,* etc., followed by the number in the Tables**.**

4.1 *Variant WG* 'Procession of wedding guests' ca. 580–555 BCE (Table 15, Plate 13)

4.1.1. Description

The earliest paintings[13] of wedding processions on Athenian black-figure vases are found on vases attributed to Sophilos. The *dinos* in the British Museum (ca. 580 BCE) (Pl. 13, *WG* 01) is the best preserved. Here, a procession of chariots has been depicted, with wedding guests (all identified by name-inscriptions) arriving at the house of Peleus.[14] He is standing to left in front of the house doors, receiving the guests. Thetis is not represented, but is presumably inside the house behind the closed doors. The procession consists of five chariots, each with a driver and a passenger, drawn by four horses that seem to walk. Many goddesses and gods, including Dionysus, walk alongside the chariots, often in groups of three. The gods do not carry gifts, torches, or wreaths. Although some of the divine pairs in the chariots are spouses,

[12] Information on the whereabouts of the vases, inventory number, shape, painter, date, provenance, references to the record number in the Internet Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BA followed by the number) and finally a short characterisation of the depiction(s) on other sections of the vase. For vases in the Beazley Archive literature is not cited because that can be found there. For vases not in the Beazley Archive a reference to the publication is given.

[13] According to Malagardis (2014) 166–167, fig. 2a-b, the groom arriving at the house of the father of the bride is depicted on a lebes gamikos dated to 585–580 BCE (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 915 (CC 654) (BA 9032473). As here only a man (and not a couple) is standing in the chariot, I did not include it in my lists in this chapter. It should rather be in my Table 11, *variant MC* in Chapter 3, but it came to my attention too late to include it there (see Chapter 3, note 108).

[14] According to Brownlee (1995) 368 the name-inscriptions not only confer "power and identity" to the characters, but they were used by Sophilos "to charge, magically, the atmosphere of his narrative … trying to create visually the sensation that members of an oral society experience, that sound is everywhere". Mackay (1995) 285 points to the fact that these inscriptions did not replace iconographic identification and were often redundant. Painters used them as "another kind of visual attribute." Isler-Kerényi (1997) 534 contends that writing had a special social value. The inscriptions added to the splendour of the vases – whether one could read or not (see section 1.0, note 4 for a comparable phenomenon in modern Iran). More practically, the inscription served to give ambiguous scenes a specific mythological theme.

none of them are the bride and groom: inscriptions identify them as Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Amphitrite, Ares and Aphrodite, Hermes and Apollo, and Athena and Artemis. Iris (wearing a short tunic) leads the procession, Hephaestus on a mule ends it. It is remarkable that the unmarried goddesses (Athena and Artemis, but also the Muses, Fates, Graces, and other goddesses walking alongside the chariots) are shown bareheaded and pulling their mantles forwards from their shoulders, while the married goddesses (Hera, Aphrodite, and Amphitrite) are shown wearing their mantles over their heads and holding them up by their cheeks.[15] This gesture with the mantle is described in Homer as "holding her shining veil before her cheeks";[16] it is here evidently a *typical element* indicating a married woman and consequently the newlywed bride,[17] for whom the act of unveiling herself had a special meaning and for whom the gesture later became iconographically characteristic.[18] In the chariots with the married couples, the man is holding the reins, standing on the right side with his wife at his left. In the case of Hermes and Apollo, Hermes is driving the chariot with Apollo holding the kithara as his passenger at his left. In the case of Artemis and Athena, however, Athena is holding the reins with Artemis at her right side, maybe to give the viewer a better sight on the goddess's bow.

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[15] See Williams (1983a) figs. 15, 29–33. Boardman (1958–1959) 159 remarks that in the paintings of Sophilos the wedding guests are holding the mantles out from their shoulders, while the bride is holding it up to cover her face. This is not true for *WG* 01 which was not published yet in 1959. However, on *WG* 02 all goddesses, including Hera and Amphitrite, are holding their mantles out from their shoulders.

[16] Homer, *Odyssey* 1, 334: *anta pareiaoon schomenè lipara krèdemna*. In Homer women wear a veil when they leave the house: Thetis, *Iliad* 24, 93; Calypso, *Odyssey* 5,232; Circe, *Odyssey* 10,545; Nausicaa and her friends throw off their veils when they start playing ball, *Odyssey* 6, 100). In *Iliad* 22, 405–407 Hecabe apparently is wearing a veil when she leaves the house to watch the duel between Hector and Achilles. When she sees Hector's body dragged behind the chariot of Achilles, she no longer conforms to standards of decorum and throws off her veil.

[17] Ferrari (1990) discusses the meaning of the mantle and connects it with *aidos*, respect given and received, which is given visual expression by the mantle enveloping and protecting the woman. Schmitt Pantel (1991) 167: The fact that the bride is not visible on the Sophilos dinos and only half visible on the François krater is comparable to the function of the mantle, which encloses the private space around the body of the bride and keeps it away from the public space where the guests are. Oakley and Sinos (1993) 30: "the gesture became a symbol that could be used in black-figure paintings even outside the context of a wedding to indicate a woman's sexual maturity or marital status." Mackay (1993) 105–106 discusses the gesture and considers it as "a fossilised element that illogically preserves an older custom"(106); see section 1.7. Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 103: the *anakalypsis*-gesture is "a sign of married status"; *idem* 168: "It was unthinkable for a woman to appear uncovered in public". Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 226: "The *anakalypsis*-type ... presents a picture of women in public that epitomises the ideal. She has self-control, and the allusion to bridal ritual also signifies the ideal of the harmonious and productive household."

[18] Ferrari (2002) 182; 186–190 discusses whether and at which moment during the ceremonies the bride uncovers herself. In her opinion the groom gives his bride a nuptial mantle. "It is likely that the bride wore the nuptial mantle as she emerged from her chamber, at once revealed and veiled, and that, poised in the bridal gesture, she exposed her face to the groom, shielding it, at the same time, from the other men present." (190). According to Llewellyn-Jones, (2003) 230–238 there was a series of veilings and unveilings of the bride during the wedding ceremonies. See notes 41, 80, 251, 252, and 253.

Some fragments of other *dinoi* by Sophilos survive. The fragments found on the Acropolis in Athens (*WG* 02) show two chariots holding Hera[19] with Zeus and Poseidon with Amphitrite, some goddesses walking to the right, Iris leading the procession, and part of a house. Hephaestus on a mule is again at the end of the procession. In so far as is visible, all of the women do not wear their mantles over their heads but hold them out from their shoulders.[20] A fragment of a *lebes* by Sophilos found in the Kerameikos of Athens (*WG* 03) has only the upper parts of a couple, the man holding the reins, the bareheaded woman next to him standing as a passenger.

On the fragmentary *lebes gamikos* by Sophilos in Izmir (ca. 570 BCE) (*WG* 04) a procession of two chariots is preserved. In the first chariot a man (holding the reins) and a woman are standing, usually identified as the bridal couple. The woman, who is identified by the name-inscription as Helen, is wearing her mantle over her head and holding it up by her cheek. The name-inscription of the man is lost. In the second chariot two men are standing, identified with the name-inscriptions of Helen's brothers Castor and Polydeuces. John Boardman remarks that an image of the wedding of Helen is not suitable for a wedding vase, because it "seems unlikely to inspire confidence in the groom or conjugal patience in his bride".[21] However, the wedding of Helen and Paris is found in the same period on a Middle Corinthian krater[22] and in literature, too, Helen is not always depicted as an adulteress. In the first half of the 6th century BCE there were versions of the story that exonerate her from blame.[23] Regardless of the mixed reputation of Helen, when we look at the *typical elements* and the *composition*, we may hesitate to decide whether the wedding of Helen is represented: maybe the gesture with the mantle is here, as on the dinos (Pl. 13, *WG* 01), the *typical element* that marks a married woman. In that case Helen is not necessarily shown as a bride

[19] The Beazley Archive contends that Thetis, named by inscription, is standing in a chariot, but that must be a misreading for HER(a). See Stewart (1983) 58–59. If Thetis is shown standing in the chariot, a different moment is being represented, the journey of the bride and groom to their new home.

[20] See note 15.

[21] Boardman (1958–1959) 159. See *idem* 158–159 for a description of the picture and a discussion of the identity of the groom: Menelaus at his wedding or his return from Egypt, Theseus, or Paris. Oakley and Sinos (1993) 44: Menelaus bringing Helen home.

[22] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 27.116, see note 7.

[23] Stesichorus (ca. 630–555 BCE), who was a contemporary of Sophilos, wrote several poems about Helen. In one he apparently portrayed her as a bad character. According to Pausanias 3, 19,13 – 20,1,when he got blind and heard from someone that his blindness was a punishment by Helen, he subsequently wrote a *Palinode*, in which she was absolved from blame, and his blindness was cured. There are more accounts of the *Palinode* (Dio Chrysostomus *Or.*11.40s); one in which Helen never sailed for Troy, and a second in which she ended up in Egypt and only her image arrived at Troy. These versions are also found – much later – in Herodotus, *Hist.* 2, 112–120 and Euripides, *Helena*. Suzuki (1989) discusses the literary tradition of Helen, from antiquity until Shakespeare.

but may be participating in some other ceremonial procession. There is also another argument that supports this interpretation: If this image represents the wedding of Helen, Sophilos may have chosen to paint another moment of the ceremonies than on the vases described above – not the guests visiting the house of the bridal couple on the morning after the wedding night, but the journey of the bride to her new home, which would become the standard depiction in the second half of the 6th century. Although it is possible that *WG* 04 is an early example of this journey, which is indeed already found about 570 BCE (*variant WP I*), I placed the vase in *variant WG* because multiple chariots are depicted – as is usual in the procession of the guests and not in the journey of the bridal couple – and because the other vases by Sophilos belong to this group. The Siren above the horses may be a bird of good omen[24] but she could also symbolise music or an element of seduction.

The François krater painted by Kleitias about 570 to 565 BCE (*WG* 05) presents the most elaborate representation known to us of gods and goddesses driving their chariots to the house of Peleus. [25] Many details are similar to those on the Sophilos dinos, but there are some remarkable differences.[26] Just as on the Sophilos *dinos WG* 01 (Pl. 13), Peleus is standing in front of his house, but this time we can see Thetis sitting inside the house pulling her veil forward. There are seven chariots drawn by four horses, each holding a pair of deities: Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Amphitrite, Ares and Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis, Athena and Leto, Hermes and Maia, and an unknown couple. Here too, although some of the divine pairs are spouses, none of them are the bride and groom: they are all wedding guests arriving at the house of Peleus. The man is always holding the reins; only Athena drives her own chariot. The person holding the reins stands on the right side of the chariot with the passenger at his left, except for the first chariot where Hera is standing at the right side of

[24] Boardman (1952) 34, n. 218.

[25] I will not enter into the discussion whether the François krater was made for an Athenian client and later exported to Etruria, or made for an Etruscan order. Isler-Kerényi (1997) 533–534 contends that it is possible that the vase was ordered by an Etruscan client. On this topic, see: Reusser (2013).

[26] When we look at the impressive list of literature in the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BA 300000), the François krater is probably the single most discussed Greek vase. I will not join the discussion on the interpretation and coherence of the various myths depicted. The paintings on the vase are published by Minto (1960) and more recently – with photos and the drawings of Furtwängler, Reichhold (1904) next to each other – in: Shapiro, Iozzo, and Lezzi-Hafter (eds.) (2013), in which volume the papers of a conference held in Florence in 2003 are presented. The contributions of Torelli, Kreuzer, Neils, Von den Hoff, and Lezzi-Hafter in this volume offer different views on the structure, 'program', and interpretation of the depictions. See also Simon (2015) about this volume. Shapiro (1990b) 140 discusses several proposals and argues that there is no unified 'program', although the scenes are not randomly chosen.

Zeus. Here too, many goddesses and gods, including Dionysus carrying a large amphora,[27] are walking in the procession, often in groups of three. The unmarried goddesses are bareheaded and do not wear mantles; the married ones wear mantles – but not over the head – and pull them forwards from the shoulder. Only Doris, the mother of the bride, wears her mantle over her head, holding it up beside her cheek. Iris and Chiron lead the procession, and Hephaestus on a mule is at the end of it.

On a fragmentary dinos in Chiusi, attributed to the Painter of London B 76 and dated to about 565 to 560 BCE (*WG* 06), a procession of four chariots with wedding guests is depicted.[28] Peleus stands in front of his house, receiving the guests. Hermes, a woman, Dionysus, and three women apparently wrapped together in one mantle, are shown walking in front of the chariots, which are followed by the centaur Chiron. As there are no name-inscriptions, identification of the persons depends on their resemblance to the older paintings, but because of damage it is difficult to identify the figures. Zeus and Hera are probably standing in the first chariot. In the second chariot are two men. In the third chariot are a man and a woman, probably Ares and Aphrodite, and of the fourth chariot only the horses remain. Each chariot is accompanied by three women. At the end of the procession of chariots Hephaestus is shown riding on a mule, followed by (probably) Poseidon on foot. The composition shows great similarity with the Sophilos dinos (Pl. 13, *WG* 01) and the François krater (*WG* 05), but while on those vases Hermes is depicted riding in a chariot, this time he is represented leading the procession, a role that would become his standard position in the years to come.

On the Acropolis in Athens fragments were found of a somewhat later dinos by the Painter of Acropolis 627 (*WG* 07). On one of the fragments the heads of a man and woman standing in a chariot are visible. The woman is bareheaded, and it is not possible to determine whether she is pulling her mantle forward. On the same fragment the heads of three women (or one man and two women) walking alongside the chariot's horses are

[27] According to Rumpf (1953) 470, the amphora carried by Dionysus is empty and a gift in itself: it is the golden amphora made by Hephaestus in which later the ashes of Achilles and Patroclus were buried together (Homer, *Iliad* 23, 83–92; *Odyssey* 24, 71–77. Stesichorus, frg. 234 PMG). Stewart (1983) 56–66, accepts this interpretation and argues that Stesichorus is also the inspiration for the choice of other subjects on the François krater. See note 23 for Stesichorus. Giuliani (2003) 138–158 discusses the vase; he opposes to this interpretation and contends that the amphora of Dionysus is filled with wine as a wedding gift (149). On the role of Dionysus in the paintings on the François krater and the Sophilos dinos, see: Carpenter (1986) 1–12.

[28] Reconstruction drawing in Iozzo (2009) figs. 2–3. Two women wrapped in the mantle are preserved, but Iozzo assumes that there were originally three, because of the groups of three women on the François krater and the Sophilos dinos.

visible. As groups of three persons accompanying chariots are found on *WG* 01 (Pl. 13), *WG* 05, and *WG* 06, this may be a fragment from a procession with wedding guests.

On a very fragmentary amphora by the Castellani Painter,[29] dated by Jeroen Kluiver to his Early period (about 555 BCE) (*WG* 08), two chariots are depicted. One chariot with a man and a woman pulling her mantle forward is well preserved.[30] Three women are walking alongside the chariot. To the right was a second chariot which is now almost completely lost. I placed this vase in *variant WG* because the gesture with the mantle and the presence of three women are *typical elements* in a wedding procession, and because a procession of multiple chariots fits the tradition started with the Sophilos dinos.

4.1.2. Analysis

The vases by Sophilos (Pl. 13, *WG* 01; *WG* 02) and Kleitias (*WG* 05) are painted with the earliest surviving images of wedding processions in Athenian black-figure vase-painting.[31] Since there was as yet no pictorial tradition, the painters made a significant effort to write the names of all the persons (and even some objects). The inscriptions made clear to contemporary viewers – in Athens as well in Etruria – that the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis was depicted, and even people who could not read the names of the persons, could deduce from the presence of written names that specific persons were meant.[32] For images without inscriptions in this *variant*, identification is more difficult. However, since these were painted slightly later, the combination of *typical elements,* such as the man and woman in the chariot, the house with the bridal chamber, and the groups of three women standing together, was enough to identify the scene as a wedding procession, although not a specific one. Objects that were used during wedding rituals are never found in these large processions. However, considering that the guests are depicted visiting the house of the newlywed couple in the morning after the wedding night, torches were not expected, although gifts may have been.

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[29] *WG* 08: Kluiver (2003) nr. 139.

[30] On the photo the detail is not visible but according to Mayer-Emmerling (1982) 135, K 150 the woman in the chariot is pulling her mantle forward.

[31] See note 7 for earlier Greek vases with possible bridal couples in a chariot. According to Isler-Kerényi and Iozzo, the krater and dinoi are certainly made for use during a symposium (Isler-Kerényi (1997) 524–525. Iozzo (2009), 78; *idem* (2013) 61), and although there are other myths depicted on these vases, the prominent position of the wedding processions is a strong indication that they were made on the occasion of a wedding.

[32] See note 14, for other views on the function of name-inscriptions.

Gods are represented in great numbers in these early, elaborate processions (Pl. 13, *WG* 01; *WG* 02, *WG* 05*, WG* 06). The important gods are shown riding in chariots. Only Dionysus is in all cases shown walking (*WG* 01, *WG* 05, *WG* 06). Hermes is riding in a chariot on *WG* 01 and *WG* 05*,* but on *WG* 06 he is walking as he leads the procession, identified by his winged boots, *petasus*, and *kerykeion*. Apollo is depicted standing in a chariot on the Sophilos dinos (*WG* 01) and the François krater (*WG* 05).[33]

On several vases groups of three women are shown walking alongside the horses that draw the chariots.[34] This *typical element* is also known from Corinthian vase-painting. In Corinth, however, the women are usually painted together wrapped in a single mantle and they may also be facing towards the chariot.[35] Dogs are not found in these representations. The Siren on *WG* 04 is the only non-human creature except for the horses.

4.1.3 Changing the composition

A frieze around a vase with a row of chariots was a traditional and well-known way to decorate a large vase in Athens.[36] On Geometric period vases it was used in a funerary context, representing the procession of chariots at a funeral.[37] Sophilos and Kleitias adapted this *composition* to create their wedding procession vases (Pl. 13, *WG* 01; *WG* 02, *WG* 05), and by changing the persons and details and adding new elements and above all name-inscriptions, they changed the meaning of the scene and made clear that a procession of wedding guests is depicted. The persons riding in the chariots were changed to a man and a woman, the house was added as the destination of the journey, and the participants in the procession were identified as gods and goddesses by name-inscriptions. The chariot itself

[33] Apollo playing music at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis: Homer, *Iliad* 24, 62–63. Hadjicosti (2006) 15: In later literature Apollo was sometimes accused of causing the death of Achilles (Aeschylus, frg. 360). In Catullus, 64 he is not present at the wedding.

[34] *WG* 01, *WG* 05, *WG* 06, *WG* 07, *WG* 08.

[35] Bakır, T. (1974) 47; 14, K 32 and K 33. In wedding procession: K 45: Corinthian krater, ca. 560 BCE, Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Albizzati 126, BA 9019291 (see note 7). Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 2032 (with Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, 12.350) shows a chariot moving to the left with a man with a spear and a woman holding her mantle before her face standing in it, and three women walking to the right (Gjødesen (1963) 339–340, Pl. 71, fig. 14). Boardman (1952) 34–35 states that in wedding scenes on Corinthian vases groups of three women are common, but that Hermes and Apollo are never depicted.

[36] See Section 0.3.1. Isler-Kerényi (1997) 526.

[37] Ferrari (2002) 179 points at the similarities of "certain features of the ancient Greek wedding to the features of funerals". The body is washed and dressed, it is brought to a new home, accompanied by torches and songs, and there are communal meals. *Idem* 190: "the correspondences between wedding and funeral are made possible by the fact that the two rituals are structurally alike." *Idem* 191: "The funeral procession and the marriage cortege, however, are not analogous: one is the reversal of the other." See also Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) 216; 218 on the use of *loutrophoroi* in both rituals.

could remain unchanged because – even though it was no longer used in daily life – it was the appropriate vehicle for gods and mythological heroes.

4.1.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The vases on which *variant WG* is depicted are large shapes on which there is enough space for an elaborate processional scene, such as dinoi, a lebes gamikos, and a volute-krater. It is noteworthy that the François krater is the only black-figure volute-krater with narrative scenes on the body;[38] the dinoi in this group, too, have the decoration on the body and not on the rim as was usual later.[39] In this way they recall earlier vases from the Cycladic islands and Corinth. Of the eight vases in *variant WG*, four are by Sophilos or a painter close to him. The other vases are by Kleitias, the Painter of London B 76, the Painter of Acropolis 627, and the Castellani Painter.

When we look at the depictions on other sections of the vases, in so far as they are preserved, the friezes on the Sophilos dinos (Pl. 13, *WG* 01), the François krater (*WG* 05), and the dinos in Chiusi (*WG* 06) continue on both sides. In other zones animals are painted, except for the François krater, which also has narrative scenes painted in the other zones which seem thematically related with each other through relations with Achilles and Theseus.[40] On the stand belonging to *WG* 04 sphinxes and animals are painted, and on the Tyrrhenian amphora (*WG* 08) a *komos*.

4.2 *Variant WP I* 'Wedded couple in chariot, early depictions' ca. 570–540 BCE (Table 16, Plate 13)

4.2.1 Description

Slightly later than *variant WG, variant WP I* emerged, in which some *typical elements* were added, omitted, or changed, with the result that the couple in the chariot seems to represent the bridal couple on their way to their home on the evening of the second day. The woman in

[38] Later volute-kraters have the decoration zones on the neck. See *variants HL III, HL IV, CW,* and *CF*. A volute-krater in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977.11.2 (BA 9989) has large animals painted on both sides of the body.

[39] Depiction on rim: see *variants HL II, HL III,* and *HL IV*. Depiction on body: dinos attributed to the Gorgon Painter in Paris (Pl. 7, *CW* 01, BA 300055). On a dinos in Salerno (BA 30975) attributed to the Antimenes Painter, there are representations on the rim (*HL IV* 26) but also two chariot scenes on the body, including a wedding procession (*CH* 28; *WP III* 21).

[40] See note 26.

the chariot is wearing her mantle over her head and holding it up beside her cheek.[41] Since the woman is now presumably the bride, I will refer to this gesture as the 'bridal gesture'. The mantle held up by the cheek also forms the background against which the white face of the bride stands out. The man is holding the reins and in most cases a goad.

On a tripod-exaleiptron by the C Painter[42] dated to about 570 to 565 BCE (*WP I* 01) a man and a woman making the bridal gesture are depicted standing in a chariot drawn by two horses. Three women are standing to the left holding wreaths in their hands; the leftmost woman is probably carrying two wreaths, but it is possible that the wreath in her right hand is in fact meant to be shown in the hand of the woman in the chariot. The wreaths indicate a festive occasion, and the three women recall the groups of three persons on vases in *variant WG*. However, in *variant WG* the women are walking in the same direction as the chariots, which gives the impression that they belong to the procession on its way to the house of Peleus. On the tripod-exaleiptron, however, the women are turned towards the couple. The C Painter – in whose name the 'C' stands for 'Corinthianizing'[43] – may have painted these groups under the influence of processions of chariots in Corinthian vase-painting, where groups of three persons are depicted walking both alongside the horses and facing the chariots.[44] However, the C Painter's image of a single chariot gives the impression that the three women do not belong to the same group of people moving with the couple in the chariot, but rather are receiving them. In this case, one chariot accompanied by wedding guests does not make sense, and it is more probable that the *typical element* of a man and a woman in a chariot is now being used to represent the bride and groom themselves. On one of the other legs of the tripod-exaleiptron the Judgment of Paris is depicted which may help to identify the couple in the chariot as a bride and groom and more specifically as Thetis and Peleus.[45]

[41] Ferrari (2002) 187. Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 191 uses the term "wedding gesture" or *anakalypsis*. This term is also used by Sinos (1993) 30. According to Ferrari (2002) 302–303, n. 43 the term *anakalypsis* is found in texts only once and with another meaning (Plutarch, *Moralia* 518 D1: disclosure of some sickness). See notes 17, 18, 80, 251, and 252.

[42] Brijder (2005) 254–255, with n. 35, fig. 8a-b.

[43] Beazley (1951) 21.

[44] See note 35.

[45] Boardman (1952) 34, n. 215. See also Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) 220: The Judgment of Paris is painted on some other vases combined with a wedding procession (*WP I* 13, *WP II* 27). See notes 89, 143, and 200. Beazley, *ABV* 58.122, and Brijder (2005) 254: Zeus and Hera.

A group of three women facing a chariot that is carrying a man and woman making the bridal gesture is also found on a hydria dated to 560–550 BCE (*WP I* 02).[46] At the heads of the horses a man is standing facing to the left. Above the heads of the horses a small owl is painted.[47] The painting on the shoulder, a procession with a bull being led to the altar and an *auloi* player, may refer to wedding rituals.

A fragment of a very large skyphos in Athens (*WP I* 03), attributed to Lydos or someone near him and dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE,[48] shows a couple standing in a chariot; the woman is making the bridal gesture. Two men are following the chariot, and a woman carrying a package is walking alongside the horses. On another fragment belonging to this vase a man holding a kerykeion and looking to the left is visible at the heads of the horses. His feet are not preserved, so we do not know whether he had winged shoes or whether he is turned to face the chariot or leading the procession looking backwards. On these fragments a single chariot is visible, which seems to indicate that a bridal chariot is depicted. However, on a third fragment of the vase another chariot is apparently preserved. Eleni Manakidou discusses this vase in her section on 'rows of chariots', while Nassi Malagardis contends that the fragment with the second chariot belongs "de toute évidence" to the other side of the vase, where the same subject was repeated.[49] Because of the presence of the package, I am inclined to agree with the description of Malagardis and placed the vase in *variant WP I*. This is one of the earliest representations[50]

[46] I agree with the date given by Malagardis (2014) 168, n. 35.

[47] Malagardis (2014) 168, n. 35 sees in the owl the presence of Athena. However, the goddess is rarely depicted in wedding processions. Maybe it is a more real-life adaptation of the Siren image found on *WG* 04.

[48] I follow Malagardis (2014) 164: it is a skyphos and not a skyphoid lebes or krater.

[49] Manakidou (1994) 126. Malagardis (2014) 165. According to her description only the lower part of the draped garment of a person standing in the chariot is conserved.

[50] However, Manakidou (1994) 126 attributes the vase to "probably the Princeton Painter" and dates it to about 540 BCE. There are some contemporary fragments with depictions of women carrying packages. On a fragment found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph in Athens and dated to 560 BCE (Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa2560 (NA915, 1002), Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 289, pl. 58) two women are carrying packages alongside horses. Unfortunately the chariot and the rest of the drawing are lost. On a fragment dated to 550–540 BCE (Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, 35371, Astarita 409, BA 9025328; Iozzo (2002), 199, nr. 282, Tav. CXXXVIII) a man holding the reins and a woman carrying a package walking alongside the horses are shown. Of the passenger only a hand resting on the rail of the chariot is preserved. Because of the package it is probably a wedding procession. However, in wedding processions the bride is usually clearly visible standing beside the groom; apparently, in this case she was standing slightly behind the driver. According to Iozzo, this is a fragment of a small amphora. I have not seen it, but in my opinion it could be of a larger amphora with the decoration in zones like a Tyrrhenian amphora. On a fragment dated to 550–540 BCE and found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph (Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa2579 (NA396), Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 279, pl. 55), two women carrying tall packages are approaching a door. However, since there is no chariot present (either because it is lost or because it is a representation of a procession without a chariot), I left it (together with some similar fragments) outside my study.

of a woman carrying a package, which in the second half of the 6th century became a *typical element* in depictions of the bridal couple driving to their new home.[51] Theoretically, it is possible that the painter depicted a procession of guests bringing presents (*variant WG*) to which he added a detail taken from real life. However, since according to Alan Shapiro,[52] Lydos never painted the 'old' scenes, I assume that here the 'new' scene with the bridal couple is meant.

On a Siana cup by a painter near Lydos[53] and dated to 560–555 BCE (*WP I* 04), a man is standing in a chariot holding the reins while at his right side a woman in a richly decorated mantle is making the bridal gesture. Her position on his right side is very unusual; the only other example is Hera on the right side of Zeus on the François krater. The reason may be that – because the chariot is exceptionally moving to the left[54] – the painter of the Siana cup followed the convention that the passenger stands on the far side of the driver. A bareheaded woman is standing near the horses facing the couple; the chariot is followed by a woman pulling a richly decorated mantle forward from her shoulder and a man holding a spear. Unfortunately, the left side of the picture is missing, so we do not know for sure whether other persons – or even a house as on *WG* 01 (Pl. 13) and some contemporary Tyrrhenian amphorae, *WP I* 05 (Pl. 13) and *WP I* 06 – are depicted there, or even whether a wedding procession is represented at all.[55] In fact every element that signals a wedding procession has been left out except for the couple in the chariot and the gesture of pulling the mantle forward.

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[51] Since in *variant WP I* a package and a dinos are both represented only once, I will discuss these *typical elements* in section 4.3 on *variant WP II*.

[52] Shapiro (1990b) 134.

[53] According to *ABV*: Related to the C Painter, but Prof. H.A.G. Brijder told me (email 2-8-2013) that according to him it is painted by someone near Lydos.

[54] Luschey (2002) 34–35: In far most cases the chariot is going to right. The direction to left recalls the bringing home of the bride (see Pl. 7, *CW* 05). Left-directed chariots are found on some of the earliest vases (see note 7, the vase in Kavala and the Kynosarges amphora) and on a lebes fragment in Vienna (Archaeologische Sammlung der Universität, 698, BA 12451) dated to 550–540 BCE, see note 100. See also Malagardis (2014) 167, n. 23.

[55] In the other *variants* of this *subtype* there are no cups. However, there is a fragment of another cup by Lydos (Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, P 14326, BA 310149), which I left out of my list because only the heads of a man and of a woman pulling her mantle forward are visible. The figures apparently are standing in a chariot, as the head of a person following them is painted somewhat lower, but here too it is not clear whether the figures are part of a wedding procession. There are also some fragments of a column-krater by Lydos on which a wedding procession is painted: one fragment shows two women facing to the left (Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Astarita 143, BA 306539). It belongs to a larger fragment in Naples, which was unfortunately not found when Iozzo published the Vatican fragment (Iozzo (2002) Pl. 38, nr. 70), and I have no information on exactly what was depicted.

There are several vases belonging to the Tyrrhenian Group with paintings of a wedding procession.[56] In this group it is possible to see how the image developed over time. According to Jeroen Kluiver, the subject is not found in the work of early Tyrrhenian painters, before 560 BCE.[57] The 'old' composition, with a house at the right side, is found on two Tyrrhenian amphorae attributed to the Castellani Painter that are dated by Kluiver[58] to his Very early period (560–before 555 BCE) (Pl. 13, *WP I* 05; *WP I* 06). However, probably due to the relatively small size of Tyrrhenian amphorae, no procession of chariots is depicted, only a single chariot with a man and a woman making the bridal gesture. In both paintings a woman is shown walking in front of the chariot, approaching the door of the house. She is represented in the same position as Peleus on *WG* 01 (Pl. 13), *WG* 05, and *WG* 06, but because she is not turned to face left, she is apparently not receiving the guests but leading the procession to the house. On both vases a bed can be seen inside the house, above which a wreath is hanging; on *WP I* 05 (Pl. 13) a woman is making the bed. On *WP I* 06 a woman stands in the porch facing to the left (the vase is damaged, but she seems to lift her hand to greet the approaching guests). On *WP I* 06 a woman is walking behind the chariot. On *WP I* 05 two men are walking behind the chariot, one holding a branch, the other a *kantharos*, both attributes of Dionysus. The question is whether, because the attributes are divided between two persons, we should recognise one of the men as the god or just two mortal wedding guests.[59] On *WP I* 06 a woman is following the chariot and two women are standing near the horses. The horses on *WP I* 05 lift their forelegs and seem to be walking.

Although several *typical elements* of the early vases of *variant WG* are present, I placed these vases in *variant WP I*, because the composition is slightly different and this changed the meaning both of some *typical elements* and also of the picture as a whole. The facts that only *one* chariot has been depicted and that Peleus is not standing at the door of his house make it plausible that – as on *WP I* 01 and *WP I* 02 – the persons in the chariot are not meant to be perceived as guests anymore, since it is not clear whom they are visiting. The women leading the procession and receiving it in the porch are more easily interpreted as the mothers of the bride and groom. All of these details, together with the explicit representation

[56] Carpenter (1984) 50–51.

[57] Kluiver (2003) 125–139.

[58] *WP I* 05: Kluiver (2003) nr. 122. *WP I* 06: Kluiver (2003) nr. 127.

[59] On most vases dated to the Very early period of the Castellani Painter, no gods are present. On a fragmentary amphora on the London Market (Kluiver (2003) 158, nr. 125; Sotheby's, Catalogue 9-7-1990, nr. 170) Dionysus or Hephaestus on a donkey is depicted.

of the bed with the wreath above it, have the consequence that the man and woman in the chariot should be recognised as the bridal couple arriving at their home for the wedding night.

On another amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter,[60] dated by Kluiver to his Early period (around 555 BCE) (*WP I* 07), no house is included at the right side. The result is that there is more space for the procession and its participants, so the emphasis is on the journey rather than on the arrival. A man and a woman making the bridal gesture are standing in the chariot. The horses seem to gallop forward with their forelegs in the air, and adding to the impression of movement is the fact that a man is leading the procession, turning his head towards the left and lifting his left arm as if he is urging the others to follow him; another man is walking alongside the horses. Two women pulling their mantles forward from their heads are walking in front of the chariot, and three women pulling their mantles forward from their shoulders are following it. In fact, every element that could point specifically to a wedding procession has been left out except for the bridal gesture of the woman in the chariot; however, since the women preceding the chariot are making the same gesture with their mantles, perhaps it is meant to be understood as a typical gesture for married women and not specifically for a bride – as it was on Sophilos' *WG* 01 (Pl. 13). One may hesitate to conclude whether, without knowledge of the composition of other paintings, this scene would have been recognisable as a wedding procession.

On a hydria attributed to the Guglielmi Painter and dated by Kluiver to his Early period (560–555 BCE) (*WP I* 08),[61] a man and a woman making the bridal gesture are standing in the chariot, followed by two bareheaded women; a man with a wreath on his head is walking alongside the horses, turning back towards the couple and raising his arms. Because of the wreath, he looks like Dionysus, but the gesture resembles the urging gesture of the man leading the procession on *WP I* 07.

On another hydria attributed to the Guglielmi Painter (Pl. 13, *WP I* 09), dated to his Middle period (555–550 BCE), a chariot is depicted with a man and a woman making the bridal gesture.[62] A bareheaded woman holding two torches stands near the horses facing towards the left, and two more women stand facing to the left at the heads of the horses, as if

[60] *WP I* 07*:* Kluiver (2003), nr. 140.

[61] Once Rome Market. It is now only known from a picture in Gerhard (1840–1858) 4, Pl. 311. Kluiver (2003) nr. 228. Gerhard mentions that the vase is restored and mentions the gestures with the fingers: the man and one of the women are holding up two fingers, while the other woman is making a fist.

[62] Kluiver (2003) nr. 229.

they are receiving the chariot and its passengers. Behind the chariot a bearded man wearing long garments is walking; he has a wreath on his head and another in his left hand. There is no doubt that a wedding procession has been depicted. The painter omitted the house with the bed but added the torches and the wreath held in the hand as *typical elements*.[63] This was enough to make the meaning clear.[64] The torches also define the time: the evening after the wedding meal, when the bride and groom were brought to their house.

On an amphora attributed to the Late period of the Castellani Painter[65] (after 550–545 BCE) (*WP I* 10) we see almost the same composition, but here the bareheaded woman facing to the left near the horses is holding a wreath. Two more women stand facing to the left at the heads of the horses. Behind the chariot, Dionysus has been depicted, standing facing to the right but turning his head towards a woman following him with a wreath in her hand. The god is identified by the long vine in his right hand.

On a fragmentary Tyrrhenian amphora from the same period[66] (*WP I* 11), the chariot with the man and the woman making the bridal gesture is followed by a man wearing a wreath on his head and a woman. Another woman wearing a pointed hat is walking alongside the horses facing to the right.[67] At the heads of the horses a woman lifting her arm and a man with petasus and kerykeion are standing facing to the left. He is wearing a long garment and his boots are not winged. There are no wreaths or torches, so only knowledge of the compositions found on the other vases identifies this scene as a wedding procession and the two men, probably, as Hermes and Dionysus.

Also on the last Tyrrhenian amphora in my list, attributed by Kluiver to the Pointed-nose Painter (*WP I* 12),[68] a man and woman are standing in the chariot. She is making the bridal gesture. A wreath is visible in front of her face, however, not held by her but by the

[63] On a fragment of a loutrophoros attributed to the Taleides Painter (about 560 BCE), found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph (Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa2610 (NA279), Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997), nr. 393, pl. 77): two women are standing facing to the left near the horses; one is holding up a wreath. A woman holding torches is standing facing to the left at the horses' heads. I left this fragment out of my lists because of the fragmentary condition.

[64] Sinos (1993) 26: Torches were an integral part of the wedding ceremony and the special responsibility of the mothers of the bride and groom.

[65] Once (?) Bolligen, Coll. Blatter; Kluiver (2003) nr. 161.

[66] Basel Market, J.D. Cahn (once Bolligen, Collection Blatter); Kluiver (2003) nr. 245, attributed by D. von Bothmer to the Castellani Painter, by Kluiver to the Fallow Deer Painter.

[67] Blatter (1980) 14 identifies the woman as Aphrodite because of the pointed hat.

[68] Kluiver (2003) 165, nr. 197 dates it to probably middle period, 550–545 BCE. However, the middle period of the Pointed-nose Painter is dated to 555–550 BCE on p. 164. Kluiver (2003) 113: "the Pointed-nose Painter's *late* work – and perhaps some of his *middle*-period work – probably dates to the years after 550 B.C, … his middle and late periods fall around 550 BC."

bareheaded woman walking alongside the horses who is facing to the right but turning back towards the left, who holds a torch and a wreath in each hand. At the heads of the horses a woman is standing facing to the left, lifting both arms, while Hermes, with petasus, kerykeion, and winged boots, is walking to the right, looking back towards the left. A man wearing a wreath, who may be identified as Dionysus because of the presence of Hermes, is following the chariot, walking to the right but turning his head to the left towards two women, one of them carrying a wreath. Here the painter provides enough details to make both the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' recognisable and at the same time the divine context.

I added two *lebetes gamikoi* found in Eretria to my list. According to John Boardman, they were painted by Eretrians who were "trained or had worked in Athens, or if not in Athens, in some other Attic vase-painting centre."[69] On the earliest of these (*WP I* 13), dated to 555–550 BCE, a chariot is depicted with a man and a woman making the bridal gesture and also, near the horses, two small Sirens.[70] At the heads of the horses a woman facing to the left is holding up two torches. Dionysus and a woman are walking behind the chariot. A woman playing *auloi* and a group of three women facing to the right are depicted alongside the horses. Groups of three women are found on many Corinthian and Athenian vases, but the presence of the *auloi*-player is so far unique. In this early period even Apollo playing the kithara is not depicted in a procession.[71] Apparently, the painter knew Athenian images of wedding processions, for he added Dionysus to give the scene a mythological setting and torches to identify a wedding procession. However, he was not *completely* familiar with the Athenian pictorial tradition and gave it his own spin: he also added the auloi, known to him from real life,[72] but which – as far as I know – are never a part of the *typical composition* on Athenian vases.

The painter of the other lebes from Eretria,[73] dated to 550–540 BCE (*WP I* 14), clearly intended to depict the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, as their names are inscribed and

[69] Boardman (1952) 32; i*dem* 30: Boardman calls them 'amphorae' because of the high necks. See also: Carpenter (1984) 51–54, who points at the parallels between Tyrrhenian and Eretrian imagery.

[70] Boardman (1952) 32–35, Pl. 9a-b, 11a. On the Sirens: *idem*, 34, n. 218.

[71] See note 33. Apollo is depicted standing in a chariot with a kithara on *WG* 01. On *WG* 05 the upper part of Apollo standing in a chariot is lost.

[72] West (1992) 21–22 notes several occasions in literature that mention auloi-players, most of them with a mythological background. Plutarch, *Moralia* 666f–667b is describing a wedding in real life; see note 8. On the shoulder of hydria *WP I* 02 an auloi-player is depicted in a sacrifice-scene, which may be connected with the wedding procession on the body.

[73] Boardman (1952) 38–39, Pl. 9c, 10c.

the man facing the couple is named Nereus.[74] However, the painter added two dinos carriers drawn from daily life and a girl standing at the horses' heads facing to the left. On both vases, elements from the divine and real world are depicted together, something that in Athenian vase-painting is mainly found only after the middle of the century.[75] Therefore, the Eretrian vases may have been painted later than they have been dated.

4.2.2. Analysis

In all of these 14 early vases, the chariot holds a man and a woman making the bridal gesture. Only once do name-inscriptions identify the couple as Peleus and Thetis (*WP I* 14). On most vases the presence of a *typical element* indicating a wedding, such as the house with the bridal chamber, torches, a package or a dinos, and probably wreaths, identify the scene as a wedding procession, although not a specific one.

Wreaths are seen hanging in the bridal chamber on two Tyrrhenian amphorae attributed to the Castellani Painter (Pl. 13, *WP I* 05; *WP I* 06). On two later Tyrrhenian amphorae (*WP I* 10, *WP I* 12) and on the tripod-exaleiptron by the C Painter (*WP I* 01) women are holding wreaths, and on *WP I* 09 (Pl. 13) Dionysus. Torches are included on three vases; twice they are held by women receiving the chariot (*WP I* 09, *WP I* 13), and once by a woman walking alongside the horses looking back towards the chariot (*WP I* 12). A package carried on the head is seen once, on the fragmentary skyphos attributed to Lydos (*WP I* 03), while a dinos carried on the head is found only on an Eretrian lebes gamikos (*WP I* 14).

Three times a group of three women is depicted. In *variant WG* they are a common feature in the long processions walking in the same direction as the chariots. In *variant WP I* they are twice shown facing the chariot as if they are receiving the bridal couple (*WP I* 01, *WP I* 02). Only on the Eretrian lebes *WP I* 13 are they walking in the same direction as the chariot. A girl is standing at the heads of the horses on the other Eretrian lebes (*WP I* 14), where dinoi as real-life elements are also present. She may represent one of the girlfriends of the bride who are accompanying her to her new life. On later Athenian black-figure vases there are always women present but no distinction in age or posture is made.[76]

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[74] Wachter (2001) 7, EUB 2 discusses the inscriptions and argues that the name should be read as Nereus.

[75] On *WP I* 03, the skyphos by Lydos, a woman carrying a package is combined with a possible figure of Hermes. This vase is dated by Manakidou (1994) 126 to about 540 BCE.

[76] Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 187. Boys are more often depicted and are identified as the *pais amphithales*; see notes 4 and 119. A girl standing at the horses' heads is also depicted on *WP III* 07 (section 4.4.1). See note 230 for a depiction of a girl seated at the heads of the horses.

Of the gods, depicted in great numbers in the elaborate processions of *variant WG*, only Hermes and Dionysus are found on the vases of *variant WP I*. Dionysus is clearly recognisable on *WP I* 10, and he may also be the man wearing a wreath following the chariot on other vases.[77] Hermes, identified by his attributes, is included three times, standing or walking near the heads of the horses. Once a Hermes-like figure is shown leading the procession.

An owl is found on *WP I* 02 and a bird on *WP I* 14. On *WP I* 13 two Sirens are depicted.

4.2.3 Changing the composition

I have discussed this early period rather elaborately, because we can see how the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' developed. Even given the few vases that are preserved from this period, it is possible to see how the composition changed during the course of the second quarter of the century and eventually acquired a new meaning. The *typical element* of a couple in a chariot remained constant, but by changing the context this *element* acquired a new meaning. In the friezes with long rows of chariots (*variant WG*), the figures in the chariots represent wedding guests arriving at the house of the newly married couple. When the picture needed to be condensed to fit on a smaller vase or on a square panel, the procession was usually reduced to a single chariot.[78] At first the house remained part of the picture (Pl. 13, *WP I* 05; *WP I* 06), but by adding the bed with a wreath above it inside the house and by replacing Peleus waiting in front of his house with a woman leading the procession, the meaning is easily changed, so that the couple in the chariot becomes the bridal couple arriving at their home for the wedding night.[79] The gesture of the woman holding her mantle away from her face remained, but while it originally identified her married status, it became associated with the *anakalypteria*.[80] In most later paintings,

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[77] Dionysus: *WP I* 08, *WP I* 09, *WP I* 10, *WP I* 11, *WP I* 12, *WP I* 13. On *WP I* 05 two men are walking behind the chariot, both with an attribute of Dionysus. Hermes: *WP I* 03, *WP I* 11 (without winged boots), *WP I* 12. On *WP I* 07 a Hermes-like man is leading the procession.

[78] Shapiro (1990b) 132: Shapiro discussing the fact that on later vases the version with the bridal couple is found, contends that one should "better speak of a revival and a reformulation of an older scene than of a continuous tradition."; *idem* 146: This change correlates with the changed format of the decorated sections on vases, from "friezelike compositions … to metopes"; *idem* 147: The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis has "been reformulated to suit a different picture field".

[79] There was a tradition of depictions of bridal couples riding in chariots on vases from the seventh century on. See note 7.

[80] Oakley and Sinos (1991) 25–26. Ferrari (2002) 186–190 points at the fact that the word *anakalypteria* does not mean the act of unveiling. It is the name for the day of the wedding ceremony on which the bride is

however, the house is not depicted, so the wedding context had to be made clear in a new way. The most important *typical element* of the composition is the couple in a chariot. The chariot, associated with the heroic world and not with daily life, points to the event being a special occasion, and probably the single most important occasion when an Athenian man and woman appeared together in public was their wedding, especially the journey to their new home. However, simply depicting a couple in the chariot was not enough: to make the new context – which also implies another moment in the wedding rituals – perfectly clear, at least one other *typical element* was added, such as wreaths, torches, and once a package, held by accompanying women.[81] While wreaths could be and were used for any festive occasion, torches and packages were almost exclusively used in wedding contexts. The presence of torches also indicates the moment that is depicted. The procession of the guests (*variant WG*) to visit the newlyweds took place in the morning, so it is logical that there are no torches. However, when the meaning of the representation was changed to the journey of the bride and groom to their home the evening before, torches were added.

The package on *WP I* 03 raises some questions: is it a wedding gift or something that was used during the rituals? Related to this, which moment is depicted, and who are the people standing in the chariot: the bridal couple or guests? If the package is a wedding gift, it would be expected within the context of the procession of wedding guests on the morning of the third day (*variant WG*). However, packages are never included then, perhaps because they were considered too trivial for gods.[82] On later vases, packages are found in depictions of the bridal couple travelling to their new home (*variant WP II* and *variant WP III*),[83] and in my opinion Lydos painted that scene.[84]

On the vases with a row of chariots many gods are shown as part of the procession, but in *variant WP I* only Dionysus (and occasionally Hermes) are found. The reason may be that in the early, elaborate processions the other gods (including Hermes) were depicted standing in chariots. When the row of chariots was reduced to one, the gods were left out

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unveiled. That may be before the bride and groom ride to their house, but also the moment on the following day when wedding gifts are brought to the house and the bride shows her face to her new family. Stansbury O'Donnell (2006) 191, 222, 226 discusses the *anakalypsis*-type of female spectators. See notes 17, 18, and 41.

[81] On *WP I* 01 and *WP I* 10 the wreath is held by one of the attending women, but on first sight the bride seems to hold it. Maybe the habit of depicting a bride with a wreath in her hand, which is found in *variant WP II*, has been evolved from this kind of ambiguous depiction.

[82] There is a second chariot depicted on another fragment of *WP I* 03, probably belonging to the other side of the vase; see note 49. See section 4.1.1, note 27 for the amphora Dionysus is carrying on the François krater.

[83] For a discussion about the packages, see section 4.3.1.

[84] See section 4.2.1, note 49, for different reconstructions of the painting on this vase.

together with the chariots in which they stood. Only Dionysus, who was represented walking in the early depictions, retained his position. Hermes, who is shown walking on *WG* 06, was the first of the other gods to be reintroduced in the new composition. For the other gods it took a while to find a way to restore them to the standard composition, and some never did reappear in wedding processions.

Finally, even when none of the *typical elements* is depicted,[85] the *typical composition* of the painting with the position and gestures of the additional figures (a man leading the procession, the presence of Dionysus or Hermes), combined with the knowledge of other more elaborate representations, probably established the meaning as a wedding procession.

The name-inscriptions that in *variant WG* identify the event as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, disappeared in *variant WP I,* and it is no longer clear whether Peleus and Thetis (or any other mythological couple) was understood as the bride and groom, or an anonymous mortal bridal couple. Only on the earliest vase in *variant WP I* (*WP I* 01, dating to the same early period as *variant WG*) and on the two non-Athenian, provincial vases (*WP I* 13, *WP I* 14) are references to that myth made by name-inscriptions or by the depiction of the Judgment of Paris on another panel of the vase. After 560 BCE not only the shapes of the vases changed, which made adjustments to the composition necessary, but there seems also to have been a shift in interest from the depiction of a heroic episode to a scene that included elements based on daily life. However, the chariot in and of itself is a sign that these vase-paintings are *not* exact representations of a real-life wedding but rather of the general concept of a wedding, focussing on the most important part of the wedding: the journey of the bride and groom to their home and – more symbolically – to their new life as a married couple. The presence of gods and the composition recalled the mythological Wedding of Peleus and Thetis for people who knew the pictorial tradition. It is the deliberate mixture of these elements that makes it probably incorrect to try to distinguish between images of myth and daily life.[86]

4.2.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Most of the vases of *variant WP I* are large shapes that might have served a function in rituals. The hydriai and lebetes gamikoi offer enough space for elaborate pictures. The skyphos *WP I* 03 is also of exceptional size (diameter 38 cm, conserved height 18 cm). The

[85] *WP I* 07, *WP I* 08, *WP I* 11. *WP I* 04 is very fragmentary preserved.

[86] Ferrari (2002) 18.

Tyrrhenian amphorae and the tripod-exaleiptron have the images painted on smaller panels, for which the older, standard depictions were adapted. The Siana cup is enigmatic, as no other cups with wedding processions survive from Athenian black-figure vase-painting.[87] A reason may be that cups were made for use during the *symposium*; as this event was for men only, a representation of a wedding was possibly not considered appropriate. However, since only fragments of the cup are preserved, we do not know for certain whether a wedding procession is depicted. Of the 14 vases in *variant WP I*, one is attributed to the C Painter, two to Lydos or someone related to him, and eight are by later painters of the Tyrrhenian Group.

On the shoulder panels of the hydriai twice a mythological scene is depicted and once a procession with a sacrifice, which may be related to wedding rituals. On the partly preserved other side of skyphos *WP I* 03 a chariot scene was painted, possibly also a wedding procession.[88] On the other side of the Eretrian lebes gamikos *WP I* 13 a Siren is depicted and on the neck the Judgment of Paris, an image often found in combination with a wedding procession.[89] Although the myth is associated with adultery, it was apparently considered as a suitable picture on wedding gifts: the emphasis was probably more on the beauty of the bride. Furthermore, the scene on the reverse helps to identify the couple in the chariot as a bride and groom and possibly as Thetis and Peleus. In this case we can see that a picture can get its meaning not only by including various elements within a painting, but also by association with the meaning of picture on another panel of the vase. The Judgment of Paris is also found on one of the other legs of the tripod-exaleiptron *WP I* 01; on the third leg the Birth of Athena was painted. Athena was the patron of spinning and weaving and other duties of a wife. So when we look at the scenes on the legs of the tripod-exaleiptron, all three are related to the life of women and important goddesses: the Judgment is connected with Aphrodite, the wedding with Hera, and the Birth of Athena with Athena.[90] However, not all of the images on other panels are related to the world of women: on top of the exaleiptron is a scene of fighting hoplites. Nevertheless, the women-related imagery made the vase, which

[87] See note 55 for a fragment of another cup by Lydos with a possible depiction of a wedding procession.

[88] See notes 48 and 49.

[89] The combination of these scenes is also found on *WP I* 01, *WP I* 13, *WP II* 27. See note 45.

[90] See sections 4.4.4 and 4.6. See Schmidt (2005) 109, Abb. 52: Athens, Archaeological Museum of Kerameikos, 1590 (BA 9022660), tripod-exaleiptron, 510–500 BCE, from a woman's grave: the images on the three legs are the Judgment of Paris, the Birth of Athena, and the struggle of Peleus and Thetis. Schmidt also discusses *WP I* 01; *idem* 107–108: most themes depicted on pyxides are related to the world of men, but there are a few that are more connected with the world of girls and women.

was used to hold costly liquids, an appropriate wedding gift for the bride. On all of the other vases in this group the pictures on other panels are images from the world of men. On the Tyrrhenian amphorae hoplites, horses, and (twice) a *komos* were painted. Hoplites fighting are also found on the Siana cup, together with a Dionysiac scene in the interior.

4.3 *Variant WP II* 'Wedded couple in chariot, no gods present' ca. 540–500 BCE (Table 17, Plates 13–14)

4.3.1 Description

After the middle of the sixth century BCE images of wedding processions on vases became increasingly popular.[91] The *typical elements* derived from real life that were already present on some vases of *variant WP I*, such as torches, wreaths and packages, were included more often, while some *elements* disappeared, such as the groups of three women standing together (*variant WP II*). However, the changes took place gradually and, especially in the first decade of the second half of the century, the composition may differ from the *typical composition* (*e.g.*,*WP II* 01 and *WP II* 02).

As *variant WP II* I grouped 28 depictions in which no identifiable gods are present. As mentioned above,[92] when the long row of chariots with wedding guests in *variant WG* was reduced to a single chariot carrying the bridal couple, the gods who were standing in the chariots also disappeared. It took some time before the painters found a new way to insert them in the new composition.

The bridal couple in the chariot is present in all images. The man is standing in the chariot holding the reins and usually a goad. Only once, on a late lebes gamikos (510–500 BCE) (*WP II* 27), is he depicted mounting.[93] The woman in the chariot is in most cases wearing her mantle over her head and pulling it forward to make the bridal gesture.[94]

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[91] Many vases and fragments with depictions of wedding processions have been found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph in Athens. See note 10.

[92] See section 4.2.3. Dionysus is the only god who is depicted walking in the long procession (*variant WG*). That may explain why he was the first god to be included in the new composition. Hermes was once shown walking in *variant WG*, and his role – leading the procession – made it easier to give him a position in the new composition.

[93] The foot of the mounting person is painted white, but I agree with the *CVA* that this is clearly a mistake by the painter, who coloured the wrong foot.

[94] On some fragmentary vases from the Sanctuary of the Nymph the bridal gesture is visible. *E.g.*, Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa423 (NA969), amphora, 550–540 BCE, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 277, pl. 54. Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa317, fragment, 500 BCE, *idem* nr. 481, pl. 96. On Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa263, fragment, Theseus P., 500–490 BCE, *idem* nr. 480, pl. 95, according to the description, a chariot with a man and a woman is depicted accompanied by another woman, but that side of the vase is not illustrated.

However, in a few cases she is bareheaded (Pl. 13, *WP II* 15).[95] In *variant WP I* she is never shown holding a wreath, but in this group she holds one eight times (Pl. 13, *WP II* 15, *WP II* 21),[96] and on *WP II* 03 she holds a branch.

On 24 vases additional women are present. They may just be standing or walking with the chariot, but usually they are carrying objects.[97] Three times they hold wreaths in their hand:[98] on one of the vases, a woman standing near the chariot and facing it is holding up a wreath, and on two vases wreaths are held by women walking alongside the chariot and carrying packages on their heads. Torches are included on three vases, twice held by women standing at the heads of the horses as if they are receiving the couple and once by a woman leading the procession and carrying a dinos on her head.[99] Women carrying dinoi are also found on *WP II* 20.[100] On *WP II* 05 a woman is carrying a *liknon* on her head, a basket for ritual objects that is not found in *variant WP I*.[101]

The *typical element* most often depicted are long flat packages (Pl. 13, *WP II* 11).[102] On 17 vases one or two women are carrying these on their heads, supporting them with one hand; sometimes they use a small doughnut-shaped cushion to keep them balanced (Pl. 14, *WP II* 23).[103] In most cases the women with the packages are walking with the chariot alongside the horses, but on *WP II* 19, *WP II* 20, and *WP II* 27 they are turned to face the chariot, which may indicate that the procession is standing still.

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[95] The bridal gesture is not always clear: *WP II* 04, *WP II* 12, *WP II* 14. Bareheaded: *WP II* 15*, WP II* 16*, WP II* 17*, WP II* 18. I wonder whether on *WP II* 16 the passenger is a woman or a young man. However, I have not seen the vase myself. On Siracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 32108 (BA 14209) a man is mounting and another person, who seems to be a woman according to the description in the *CVA*, is standing in a chariot. Because of the confusion, I assume that the supposed woman is bareheaded and not making the bridal gesture. I left this vase outside my list, as it is not certain that the passenger is a woman and the description and the photo are not clear. See note 123. See also Chapter 3, note 41.

[96] *WP II* 05, *WP II* 06, *WP II* 12, *WP II* 15, *WP II* 17, *WP II* 20, *WP II* 21, *WP II* 28.

[97] The same objects are also found a few times in *variant WP I*, see Table 16. Only the *liknon* is a new element.

[98] *WP II* 04, *WP II* 06, *WP II* 10.

[99] *WP II* 05, *WP II* 23. With dinos: *WP II* 27.

[100] On a fragment of a lebes (Vienna, Archaeologische Sammlung der Universität, 698 (BA 12451), dated to 550–540 BCE) two women are depicted walking alongside the horses. One is carrying a dinos, the other a package. The procession is facing to the left, which is very rare, and – as far as I know –found only in this *subtype* on *WP I* 04, the Siana cup attributed to a painter near Lydos. See note 54.

[101] Oakley and Sinos (1993) 29.

[102] On some fragments found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph women are depicted carrying packages in a wedding procession. Since these vases are too fragmentary to discern to which variant they belong, I left them out of my lists: Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–NAK 931, loutrophoros-hydria, Theseus P., 500–490 BCE, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 476a, pl. 94. Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa191B, fragment, 510–500 BCE, *idem* nr. 466, no picture.

[103] *WP II* 04, *WP II* 06, *WP II* 12, *WP II* 13, *WP II* 23.

There has been much scholarly discussion about the nature of the packages.[104] They are almost exclusively depicted in wedding processions,[105] and with their long, flat, and square forms they do not look like ordinary baskets.[106] Most of them are marked with a long horizontal incision, as if they consist of a box and a lid. The little doughnut-shaped cushion (Pl. 14, *WP II* 23, *WP III* 48) may indicate that they were heavy and unwieldy, and perhaps fairly wide.[107] Ingrid Krauskopf calls them baskets and discusses their interpretation.[108] She rejects the possibility that they contained wedding gifts, since these were brought to the new home on the third day. She also rejects the idea that the objects are bales of textile, since these would not be so stiff that they could be carried in this way without bending. She contends that the baskets contain costly textiles[109] or private possessions that the bride is taking to her new home, or that they contained objects used during the wedding rituals, like the dinoi and likna also carried in the procession.[110] Nassi Malagardis[111] speaks of a box or basket in which part of the bride's trousseau is carried,[112] or the presents that the bride received from the groom on the occasion of her unveiling herself to him, the so-called *dōra anakalypteria*. Boxes or baskets containing fabrics or folded garments are in my opinion a good suggestion. Textiles were costly possessions[113] and may have formed part of the

[104] In descriptions in *CVA*s they are often called 'wedding gifts' or 'bales of fabric'.

[105] Moore (2007) 31–33, discusses a Panathenaic amphora by the Princeton Painter (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.1, BA 320404) on which a woman standing next to Athena is carrying a package on her head.

[106] There are depictions of objects that are certainly baskets, which are round and often much higher and without a lid. *E.g.,* Oakley and Sinos (1993) fig. 60, described on p. 26 as a basket with the dates, nuts, and dried fruits that were poured over the bridal couple.

[107] Moore (2007) 33.

[108] Krauskopf (1977) 21–24. She brings into the discussion the incisions on the box depicted on Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 89.562 (BA 71) (see note 126). However, this vase is a 19th-century forgery (see section 0.2.2). Connors (1979) 160 notes that on an amphora in Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 1729/4 (*WP III* 09, BA 350445) the girls are grasping a handle, which is according to him "confirmatory evidence that what we have here are indeed baskets with some sort of lid which provided an edge to hold." However, this vase has more oddities and unique features. See notes 129, 154, and 204.

[109] Cf. Boardman (1952) 39: "flat boxes, no doubt containing linen". Trendall (1958) 10: "objects, which have sometimes been interpreted as sieves … though in reality they must be folded garments."; *idem* (1968) 7: "probably sieves, the emblems of household industry." Froning (1984) 130: "persönliche Ausstattung der Braut, Gewänder und Stoffe". Also Moore (2007) 33: "Folded fabric fits better in a square or rectangular container".

[110] Cf. Killet (1994) 96: Baskets containing either the belongings of the bride that she brings to her new home, or wedding gifts, or objects used during the rituals.

[111] Malagardis (2014) 166–167.

[112] Cf. Oakley and Sinos (1993) 29: baskets that may "carry part of the bride's trousseau."

[113] Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 24, 228–231: when Priam leaves to beg Achilles to return the body of Hector, he takes robes and mantles from chests. Homer, *Odyssey* 15, 105–129: Helen gives a robe to Telemachus to give to his future bride. *Odyssey* 18, 292–295: Antinous gives Penelope a peplos. Many ancient Greek garments were

trousseau or personal belongings of the bride that she brings to her new home. On a late Nicosthenic pyxis (Pl. 14, *WP III* 65) the packages are chequered, which indicates they were made of plaited fiber.[114]

On 15 vases men are present, usually standing nearby, but on five vases a man leads the procession, walking to the right and looking back towards the chariot (Pl. 13, *WP II* 11).[115] He has the posture of Hermes, but he does not wear winged shoes and there are no other elements in the painting that refer to a mythological context. On *WP II* 04 a small man is depicted at the heads of the horses, walking to the right. His small size at first glance gives the impression that he is a boy, but according to the description in the *CVA* he has a beard.[116] A man seated on a chair facing the horses' heads is found five times; twice he is clearly marked by grey hair as an old man.[117] On four vases a kitharode is depicted on the far side of the horses (Pl. 13, *WP II* 21); three times he is bearded (Pl. 14, *WP II* 23).[118]

On four vases a boy in a mantle is seen among the participants in the procession. Twice he is shown standing at the heads of the horses, turned to face the chariot (*WP II* 06, *WP II* 10) and twice he is following the chariot (*WP II* 07; Pl. 13, *WP II* 11). On *WP II* 14 a nude boy wearing a short mantle over his arm is walking in front of the horses to the right and looking backwards. The boy may be the *pais amphithales*.[119]

Packages and other *typical elements* are not depicted in all vase-paintings of this *variant*. On a belly-amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, dated 540–530 BCE (*WP II* 01), a man and a woman making the bridal gesture are standing in a chariot, while a group of four women is standing to the left next to the horses, as if they are receiving the couple. No other details refer to a wedding, but the resemblance with older images where groups of three women stand near the chariots must have been sufficient to identify the scene.[120] On

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square pieces of fabric that could be draped and worn as garments or used for different purposes. Marinatos (1967) A 41–44.

[114] See section 4.4.1.

[115] *WP II* 02, *WP II* 07, *WP II* 08, *WP II* 10, *WP II* 11.

[116] Cf. *CMH* 29, Chapter 3, section 3.10.1.

[117] *WP II* 02, *WP II* 11 (old man), *WP II* 20, *WP II* 21, *WP II* 22 (old man). A sitting man is also found on a fragment found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph: Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa188, 520–500 BCE, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 461, pl. 90.

[118] Bearded: *WP II* 02, *WP II* 22, *WP II* 23. Beardless: *WP II* 21. For another bearded kitharode, see note 174 (*WP III* 30).

[119] See section 4.0, note 4; note 76.

[120] *WG* 01, *WG* 05, *WG* 06, *WG* 07, *WG* 08, *WP I* 01, *WP I* 02, *WP I* 13.

the other side of this vase the Birth of Athena is depicted, which was one of the pictures on the tripod-exaleiptron by the C Painter (*WP I* 01).[121]

The composition on the name-vase of the Princeton Painter (540–530 BCE) (*WP II* 02) is remarkable: behind the chariot with the couple, a man is shown facing to the left and walking away from the chariot. A woman and two men are standing near the horses. Under the horses a bird is seen. Two men are leading the procession, one walking to right while probably looking back to the chariot (he is half covered by the horses); in front of him is a kitharode, walking to the right where a man is seated on a chair. Although one is inclined to recognise the two walking men as Hermes and Apollo, I prefer to define them as mortals. The Hermes-like man does not wear winged boots, and the kitharode is bearded, whereas in general Apollo is depicted beardless. There are no other features that distinguish Apollo from a mortal kitharode;[122] his identity is determined by context, such as the presence of other gods. Moreover, as far as I know, there are no other representations of Apollo in this *subtype* at this time, and on later paintings his place is (almost) without exception near the horses, not at the head of the procession. It is notable that the two men near the horses are turned to face each other, as if they are standing and talking with each other. The impression that the procession has arrived at its goal is enhanced by the seated man. The couple in the chariot suggests that the scene is a wedding procession, but the composition is original and unique and was not followed as a model by later painters when they depicted a wedding procession.

Some of the depictions of *variant WP II* are very simple: just the bridal couple in the chariot and no or only one bystander.[123] On a belly-amphora attributed to a painter near the Princeton Painter or the Swing Painter (540–530 BCE) (*WP II* 03) the woman in the chariot is making the bridal gesture and holds up a branch in her hand; there are no bystanders. The only other figure is a Siren sitting on the reins and looking back towards the couple. On *WP II* 15 (Pl. 13) a single woman is walking alongside the horses. The woman in the chariot is bareheaded and holding a wreath. Garlands hang from the black line marking the border between body and shoulder of the vase. On a neck-amphora attributed to the Painter of

[121] See notes 45, 89, and 90.

[122] If there are other gods present or if the image is of a known mythological story, a beardless kitharode will be Apollo; if not, he may be mortal. When the kitharode is bearded, I assume he is a mortal. See notes 118, 134, 135, 144, and 174.

[123] According to the description in the *CVA*, a man and a probably bareheaded woman riding in a chariot are depicted on belly-amphora Siracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 32108 (BA 14209). See note 95.

Vatican 365 (ca. 530 BCE) (*WP II* 16), a young man is standing facing to the left at the heads of the horses and a bird is flying to the right above the horses. The woman in the chariot is bareheaded and wearing a hair ribbon. The same composition is found on a belly-amphora (ca. 520 BCE) (*WP II* 17): a man and a woman, bareheaded except for a hair ribbon and holding a wreath, are standing in a chariot. A single man is shown standing facing to the left at the heads of the horses.

On two vases without the usual *typical elements* such as packages and torches, additional people are shown standing near the chariot. On a hydria in Jena (510–500 BCE) (*WP II* 28) a chariot with a man and a woman making the bridal gesture and holding a wreath is depicted. A man with a staff is walking to the right alongside the horses and turning his head towards left; he is raising his left hand as if he is urging the others forwards.[124] Three women without attributes are standing to the left near and in front of the horses. Although there are no torches or packages, there is nothing that suggests the scene is *not* a wedding procession, and probably the *typical composition* of the man and woman in the chariot, the bridal gesture, the wreath, and the presence of women, was enough to identify it as such. However, on a hydria in the Louvre dated to 530–520 BCE (*WP II* 18), a man and a bareheaded woman are standing in a chariot. Four men and a single woman stand nearby. One of the men, walking alongside the horses, lifts his arm as if he is greeting the man and woman facing him, who are both wearing wreaths. The third man is standing behind the chariot, and the fourth man is a nude youth who is standing at the horses' heads. Although the most important feature is present, the couple in the chariot, there are no other *typical elements*, not even the bridal gesture, that indicate the scene is a wedding procession. Moreover, there are more men than usual in the painting, and there is also a dog walking with the horses, which is unusual in wedding scenes but may be derived from the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. When discussing 'Hoplite leaving' depictions with no or one bystander, I contended that dogs are an indication that the scene is connected with daily life in the city.[125] One may hesitate to decide that a wedding has been depicted here, or some other occasion for which the painter used the *typical element* of a man and a woman in the chariot, omitting all other determining elements and combining it with the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.

[124] The composition and the gesture recall that of *CMM* 17 and *CMM* 18, where two men stand in the chariot.

[125] Chapter 3, section 3.8.1. The only other dogs in *subtype* 'Wedding procession' are found on *WP III* 16, *WP III* 60, see notes 172 and 193.

It is remarkable that animals seem to be present only on vases that do *not* have the *typical composition* of a wedding procession. The dog on *WP II* 18 is noted above, and on *WP II* 02 and *WP II* 16 birds are depicted. However, on *WP II* 04, which has the *typical composition* of the *subtype*, a bird is shown flying above the heads of the horses. On *WP II* 03 a Siren is sitting on the reins.

Finally, a short discussion of a hydria in Boston is appropriate.[126] It was recognised as a 19th-century forgery some years ago, but it is has been discussed in some texts on wedding processions. At first sight the *typical elements* are all present: the man is mounting the chariot on which the bride is standing; she makes the bridal gesture, while people carrying objects are standing nearby. However, when I prepared my lists of vases with *typical elements* used in depictions of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', I noticed that this vase included several unique or rare features. The woman standing behind the chariot, carrying a liknon on her head, is shown frontally, which is as far as I know unique, and the old man seated in front of the horses is not facing towards the chariot but outwards.[127] Near the horses it is not a man but a woman playing the kithara.[128] Behind her a woman carrying a package on her head is turned to the left towards a man carrying a hydria on his shoulder. Hydriai are (almost)[129] never depicted in wedding processions. However, it is possible that they were used during the rituals and the wedding meal.[130] Finally, when discussing the nature of the packages, Krauskopf and Moore pointed out the unique incisions on the package depicted on this vase.[131] A vase-painter was of course free to vary the *typical composition* and *elements,* but on this vase almost all parts of the drawing deviate from the usual ones. Still, the scene could be the work of an original painter. However, the unusual details are better explained as the result of the vase having been painted by someone who

[126] See Introduction, section 0.2.2. See note 108. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 89.562, 530–525 BCE (BA 71). Krauskopf (1977) 18–22, nr. 14, Abb. 7. Connor (1979) 160. Killet (1994) 93. Moore (2007) 33.

[127] The only other frontal woman in a wedding procession is Calliope playing the pan flute on the François krater. A sitting old man turned outwards is depicted on *MC* 38.

[128] This is also found in the painting of *WP III 53* in Gerhard (1840–1858) 4, Pl. 313. However, photos of the vase itself, show that here in fact a male is depicted.

[129] On a fragment of an amphora in Frankfurt, Liebighaus, Li 524, 530–520 BCE (BA 4411), a man carrying a hydria on his shoulder and a woman carrying a package on her head, are seen. Since the rest of the picture is missing, and no chariot is visible it is difficult to draw a conclusion. Hydriai carried by women are depicted on an amphora in Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria 1729/4 (BA 350445) (*WP III* 09). However, there are also more unusual features in the depiction. See notes 108, 154, and 204.

[130] Steiner (2004) 456.

[131] Krauskopf (1977) 22. Moore (2007) 33.

knew these vase-paintings in general but was not acquainted with the pictorial language as well as the Athenian vase-painters.

4.3.2 Analysis

In all depictions of *variant WP II* the *typical element* of a man and a woman standing in the chariot is present, and at first sight all of the surviving paintings could be identified as wedding processions. The groom is usually shown standing in the chariot, which means that the emphasis is on the journey itself, not on the departure. Only once, on *WP II* 27, is he depicted mounting. Although the mounting charioteer pose is probably derived from the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', there is a difference: in *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' the driver is waiting in the chariot for his passenger, while here the bride is already standing in the chariot, awaiting the man who will drive her to their new home.

In this group packages carried by women are present on most of the vases. It is noteworthy that the Princeton Painter does not depict packages on his vases (*WP II* 01, *WP II* 02, *WP II* 03). Perhaps this rather old-fashioned painter was not following this new trend. The presence of torches, a liknon and dinoi occurs only in combination with packages.[132] Wreaths are depicted on ten vases; four times they are the only *typical element* (*WP II* 15, *WP II* 17, *WP II* 21, *WP II* 28).

A bearded man or an old man sitting in a chair at the heads of the horses as if he is receiving the procession is included on five vases On two of the vases, the people near the horses are walking in his direction (Pl. 13, *WP II* 11; *WP II* 22), but on three vases they are shown facing in different directions (*WP II* 02, *WP II* 20; Pl. 13, *WP II* 21); on *WP II* 20 even the woman with the package is facing to the left although usually the women carrying packages are participants in the procession, walking in the same direction as the chariot. The fact that the people are not all shown moving in the same direction gives the impression, in combination with the seated man, that the procession is no longer walking but has arrived at the house and that the people are just standing around talking with each other. On *WP II* 19 and *WP II* 27 too, the bystanders, among whom is a woman carrying a package on her head, are turned to face in different directions, indicating that the procession is standing still. On *WP II* 19 two women and a man are standing at the horses' heads, receiving the

[132] Torches: *WP II* 05, *WP II* 23, *WP II* 27. Liknon: *WP II* 05. Dinoi: *WP II* 20, *WP II* 27 and the lebes fragment in Vienna, mentioned in note 100.

procession.[133] However, on *WP II* 27 a woman facing to the right, carrying a dinos and holding two torches, is leading the procession, suggesting that the procession is about to depart rather than arriving. This agrees with the fact that on this vase the groom is shown mounting the chariot; that he is standing with one foot on the ground also indicates that the chariot is standing still.

On four vases a kitharode is present; three times he is bearded.[134] When I discussed *WP II* 02 in section 4.3.1, I contended that a mortal kitharode is depicted, because of the beard and the absence of any mythological or heroic elements in the image.[135] On all four vases with a kitharode, *elements* taken from real life are present: a package and torches on *WP II* 23 (Pl. 14) and a man sitting at the heads of the horses on the three other vases, which is in my opinion also an element derived from real life.[136] Therefore, I consider these kitharodes to be mortal musicians and not Apollo.

As I mentioned in section 4.3.1, on one vase there are no bystanders at all (*WP II* 03), and on other vases there is only one onlooker (Pl.13, *WP II* 15; *WP II* 16, *WP II* 17). These vases recall vases from *variants MC*, *CH*, *CMH,* and *CMM,*[137] not only because of the rather simple compositions, but also because of the shapes (belly-amphorae and hydriai), the bird, the branch, and the Sirens. Moreover, the depiction on the other side of *WP II* 17, is *CMM* 25.[138] Only on *WP II* 03, where a Siren is sitting on the reins, does the woman in the chariot wear a mantle over her head and make the bridal gesture. On the other three vases the woman in the chariot is bareheaded. Three of these vases include wreaths, which are seen in wedding processions but could be also used at other festive occasions; all of the other *typical elements* that may refer to a wedding are lacking, except the man and woman standing in a

[133] A man is following the chariot. Behind him a hoplite is shown, but as he does not belong to the *typical composition* of a wedding procession, he should possibly be connected to the picture on the other side of the lekythos, where another hoplite and a person are visible, as well as Heracles fighting with the Nemean Lion.

[134] Bearded: *WP II* 02, *WP II* 22, *WP II* 23. See notes 118 and 122.

[135] On *WP II* 21 (Pl. 13) the kitharode is beardless. The chariot is followed by a man of whom only the lower part of his body is original. Usually this is the position of Dionysus, but since it is not clear whether the god is depicted, the identification of the kitharode as Apollo is also uncertain.

[136] Cf. *WP II* 11: on the other side of this vase a wedding procession with Hermes is depicted (*WP III* 10). The seated old man painted beneath the handle between the two scenes, however, is turned to face the side without gods, here under discussion. The same can be said of the boy following the chariot beneath the other handle.

[137] See sections 3.8, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, and 3.12. Bird: in all above-mentioned *variants*; branch: *CMM* 20 (Pl. 12); Siren: *MC* 14, *CH* 04.

[138] See note 95 for belly-amphora Siracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, 32108 (BA 14209), on which also on one side a chariot with a man and possibly a woman is depicted, and on the other side *variant HL II* (Chapter 3, note 41).

chariot. Therefore, in my opinion, it is not the wedding itself that is represented on these vases, but rather a festive occasion connected to it.[139]

Another extraordinary composition is found on *WP II* 18, where all of the *typical elements* referring to a wedding are also missing. The woman in the chariot is bareheaded and there are no women carrying objects. Instead, there are four men of various ages, including one standing next to a woman, both wearing wreaths, and a nude youth standing at the heads of the horses. Furthermore, there is a dog present, which is very unusual in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' but often found in *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. Therefore, in my opinion, this vase-painting is also not a representation of a wedding procession.

On *WP II* 12 a woman with a package is the only person accompanying the chariot;[140] the woman in the chariot does not seem to make the bridal gesture and holds a wreath just as the woman does on *WP II* 15 (Pl. 13) and *WP II* 17. On *WP II* 14 the woman in the chariot is also not making the bridal gesture and may be even bareheaded; a woman with a package is standing to the right near the horses, and a nude boy is leading the procession. Boys leading a procession are found in wedding contexts as the *pais amphithales*, but also in the *variants* discussed in Chapter 3 of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. However, packages are almost exclusively depicted in wedding contexts, and they are in my opinion an important *typical element* indicating – in combination with the couple in the chariot – that a wedding procession is represented.

4.3.3. Changing the composition

In *variant WP II* the most important *typical element*, the man and woman standing in the chariot, remained the same as in *variant WP I.* However, the bride is sometimes shown holding a wreath, which indicates a festive occasion – although not specifically a wedding – and also identifies the person holding it as a beautiful young woman.[141] To make it clear that a wedding is depicted, other *typical elements* derived from real life are included, such as torches and packages that are almost exclusively shown in wedding processions.

The emphasis of *variant WP II* is on the journey the couple is making rather than on the departure or arrival. The groom is almost always depicted standing in the chariot (and

[139] See section 6.6, where I discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia festival, where newlywed women were introduced into the *phratria* of their husbands.

[140] On *WP II* 24, *WP II* 25, *WP II* 26 the only accompanying person visible is a woman with a package, but these vases are fragmentary preserved.

[141] Killet (1994) 96.

not mounting), the other figures are walking in the same direction as the chariot, especially the women with the packages. However, torch-bearers may stand in front of the horses, as if they are receiving the bridal couple. On some vases the bystanders are turned to face in different directions, which gives the impression that the procession has stopped. When this feature is combined with a man sitting in front of the horses or a torch-bearer facing to the left in front of the horses, the chariot seems to have arrived at its destination. However, on *WP II* 27 the mounting groom in combination with a woman carrying a dinos and torches leading the procession to the right, gives the impression that this chariot is departing.

There are some vase-paintings in which most of the *typical elements* are omitted and even the woman in the chariot does not make the bridal gesture and may be bareheaded.[142]

In the vase-paintings of *variant WP II* all of the elements are derived from daily life, with the chariot as the only exceptional feature. This means that we are *not* looking at a record of a real event but rather at the deeper meaning of the ritual, the 'passage' from being unwedded persons to wedded ones.

4.3.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Just as in the *variants WG* and *WP I* most of the painted vases are large, with panels big enough for a complex image, and might have been used during the actual wedding rituals. Although the several shapes were used throughout the period, the belly-amphora seems to have been more popular in the third quarter of the sixth century BCE, while hydriai were increasingly popular in the last quarter of the century. The single lekythos is remarkable as a shape and also because of the unusual decoration with a representation of Heracles and the Nemean Lion on the back.The vases were decorated by painters close to the Princeton Painter and Group E. The Princeton Painter uses the by-then old-fashioned *typical element* of women standing together (*WP II* 01) and his name-vase has an unusual composition (*WP II* 02); he does not use the 'new' *typical elements* such as the packages and the torches. However, the painters around him (Painter of Berlin 1686, Painter of Louvre F 42, Painter of the Vatican Mourner) do include these elements. The new detail of packages taken from real life may have been introduced by painters of the innovative Group E.

When we look at the images on other sections of the vases, there are some mythological scenes, especially ones with Heracles. Twice the story of Achilles, Troilus, and Polyxena is depicted on the shoulder of a hydria (*WP II* 06 and *WP II* 13), a common scene

[142] See note 139.

on hydriai because of the role of the vase in the story. On the reverse of the lebes gamikos (*WP II* 27) and on its stand the Judgment of Paris is depicted. When this myth is found on a vase with a wedding procession, one is inclined to interpret that depiction by association as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis. However, in the wedding procession on this vase there are no identifiable gods. On the belly-amphora by the Princeton Painter (*WP II* 01) the Birth of Athena is represented, a scene that is also found – together with the Judgment of Paris – on the early tripod-exaleiptron by the C painter (*WP I* 01).[143] On both sides of the early neck-amphora painted in the Manner of Exekias (Pl. 13, *WP II* 11) a wedding procession has been depicted; on one side there are only real-life elements, while the presence of Hermes on the other side gives the scene a mythological flavour (Pl. 13, *WP III* 10). On the other vases scenes from the world of men are depicted: hoplites fighting and leaving, horsemen, and a frontal chariot. Once the fight between Pygmies and cranes (*WP II* 15) is depicted, which is also found on the François krater (*WG* 05).

4.4 *Variant WP III* 'Wedded couple in chariot, with *typical elements* from real life and gods present'

ca. 540–500 BCE (Table 18, Plate 14)

4.4.1 Description

In the previous section representations of v*ariant WP II* were discussed, in which packages, wreaths, and torches are carried by women, but no gods are present. The absence of gods makes the wedding procession look like a real-life event (with the chariot as the only non-daily-life element) and the packages and torches add to this impression. But there are also 68 representations in my database of wedding processions that include both gods *and* these daily-life objects (v*ariant WP III*).[144] Most vases belonging to this *variant* were painted in the last third of the 6th century BCE, although a few were painted earlier.

On all vases in this group a man and a woman are in a chariot. He is holding the reins and usually a goad; six times he is shown mounting the chariot in which the woman is waiting.[145] In most cases the woman is making the bridal gesture.[146] She carries a wreath 11

[143] See section 4.2.4, note 89.

[144] Here again the problem arises that the identification of Apollo depends on the presence of other gods (see sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2). Not every kitharode must be identified as Apollo and not every herald is Hermes, as we have already seen on the name vase of the Princeton Painter (*WP II* 02), see note 122. Because the composition is the same, I treated the representations with a beardless kitharode as the only male bystander in this section, even though it is not clear whether he is Apollo or a mortal.

[145] The goad is visible on the photos of about 40 vases. Probably it is present on more vases but not visible in the photos. However, on some vases it is not depicted, maybe because the composition is rather crowded.

times and twice a flower,[147] which – according to Killet[148] – are both attributes that identify the person holding them as a beautiful young woman and at the same time mark the festive character of the procession. On *WP III* 31 name-inscriptions identify the bride and groom as Alcestis and Admetus.

On all of the vases women are shown standing nearby. On *WP III* 23 the old-fashioned *typical element* of three women standing together near the horses, facing to the left is found. In most cases at least one of the women is carrying an object. Only once does a woman hold up a wreath towards the bride (Pl. 14, *WP III* 46), but on two loutrophoroi and on a lebes fragment, women carrying wreaths are depicted on other sections of the vases.[149] A woman with a flower accompanying the chariot is found twice.[150] Women carrying packages on their heads, sometimes with the help of a little cushion,[151] are found on 22 vases, particularly on vases made during the first decade of the second half of the century (Pl. 14, *WP III* 37, *WP III* 48 (cushion), *WP III* 65). On the *lebes gamikos WP III* 36 (520–510 BCE) only the heads of the horses are visible, preceded by a woman and by Hermes; the rest of the image is lost. However, since on the other side three women carrying packages are depicted (separated from Hermes by a Nike under the handle) and the paintings on wedding vases are often thematically connected with each other, a wedding procession was

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Mounting driver: *WP III* 35, *WP III* 39, *WP III* 42, *WP III* 52, *WP III* 53, *WP III* 54. On fragments of a neck amphora found on the Athenian Agora (Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, P 19597, *Agora* 23, pl. 49, nr. 514, BA 31081) the man is also mounting. Note that the Publication Records in the Beazley Archive are wrong: the cited publications in *Hesperia* and *AJA* refer to a lebes (Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora P 7893 and P 9897, BA 11043, my *WP III* 36). Apparently, someone read *Agora* 23, p.167, the upper part of the right column as the continuation of the upper part of the left column where nr. 514 (the neck amphora fragments, BA 31081) is described, instead as the continuation the lower part of the left column where nr. 516 (the lebes, BA 11043) is described.

[146] Only once (*WP III* 64) is the woman in the chariot not wearing a mantle over her head. On some depictions she is wearing her mantle over her head, but not pulling it up beside her cheek (*WP III* 16, *WP III* 20, *WP III* 34, *WP III* 48, *WP III* 68).

[147] Bride with flower: *WP III* 09, *WP III* 17. On *WP III* 58 a curved line before the head of the bride suggests that she is holding a flower, but the line ends in the palmettes and no flower is visible. Bride with wreath: *WP III* 03, *WP III* 14, *WP III* 15, *WP III* 25, *WP III* 26, *WP III* 30, *WP III* 38, *WP III* 42, *WP III* 43, *WP III* 47, *WP III* 56. On a hydria-fragment in Philadelphia, University Pennsylvania Museum, 530 BCE (BA 14703), the bride is holding up a wreath. I left the fragment outside my list since it is not possible to say anything about the composition: the only other figures that are preserved are a kitharode and (the hand of) a woman standing facing him. Since the kitharode is beardless, I presume he is Apollo.

[148] See note 141.

[149] *WP III* 67, *WP III* 68. On a loutrophoros found in the Tomb of the Plataeans, Marathon, Archaeological Museum, K 160, 525–500 BCE (BA 5417), women with wreaths are depicted on the neck. According to the description a wedding procession is depicted on the body with a woman holding a flower standing nearby. Since the vase is damaged, I left it out of my lists. See notes 157, 162, and 199.

[150] *WP III* 28, *WP III* 58. See also note 147.

[151] *WP III* 02, *WP III* 07, *WP III* 12, *WP III* 22, *WP III* 36, *WP III* 38, *WP III* 48, *WP III* 50, *WP III* 56.

probably painted on the first side. A very late depiction of the packages is found on the Nicosthenic pyxis (500–490 BCE) (Pl. 14, *WP III* 65).[152] Here the packages do not have a horizontal line, but are chequered or decorated with chevrons, indicating that they represent plaited baskets. On a fragment of the neck of a volute-krater attributed to the Swing Painter (*WP III* 12) a procession of chariots was apparently depicted, a subject very fitting for the wide decoration panel. At the right side of the fragment, a chariot with a man and a woman making the bridal gesture is preserved. In front of them a woman is walking carrying a package, which seems to indicate that a wedding procession is represented. The chariot is followed by a second chariot, preceded by Hermes with a kerykeion and winged boots. Because the chariots seem to belong to the same scene and are not just a loosely connected row of standard-motifs, one may hesitate to decide whether the 'old-fashioned' procession of guests is depicted (but with the unusual addition of a package) or a elaborate procession bringing the bride and groom to their house.

Likna are carried in the procession on five vases, always in combination with packages. A dinos is found on five vases, twice in combination with packages and a liknon (Pl. 14, *WP III* 37), and three times as the only object.[153] On *WP III* 09 four women are walking alongside the horses; two are carrying a package on their heads and two a hydria. This last detail is unique.[154]

Women with torches, which are rare in *variant WP II*, are in this group found on 44 vases, most of them dating to the last third of the century (Pl. 11, *WP III* 37, *WP III* 46, *WP III* 65). They are usually carried by women walking alongside the horses or standing at the heads of the horses, turned towards the chariot as if they are receiving the procession.[155]

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[152] Lyons (2009) 171 and 177, nr. 41. See section 4.3.1.

[153] Liknon: *WP III* 07, *WP III* 08 (2 likna), *WP III* 10, *WP III* 37, *WP III* 38. Dinos: *WP III* 13, *WP III* 37, *WP III* 38, *WP III* 39, *WP III* 53.

[154] See notes 108, 129, and 204. The only other example of a hydria carried in a wedding procession is on Boston 89.562 (BA 71), where a man is carrying one on his shoulder. This vase has been identified as a forgery (see note 126; Introduction, section 0.2.2). The vases in Boston and Melbourne are, according to Trendall (1958) 11, "very close in style". A man carrying a hydria is also depicted on a fragment in Frankfurt (BA 4411) (see note 129).

[155] On 27 vases the torch-bearer is facing towards the chariot. On five vases there are additional torch-bearers, facing in various directions (*WP III* 21, *WP III* 28, *WP III* 55, *WP III* 61, *WP III* 65). On 12 vases they are walking with the chariot; on five of these they turn back towards the chariot (*WP III* 26, *WP III* 30, *WP III* 32, *WP III* 42, *WP III* 60). On only four of the complete vases the woman with the torch is standing to right (*WP III* 24, *WP III* 29, *WP III* 34, *WP III* 53). There are some fragments that I did not include in my list because they are too fragmentary or not illustrated. On a hydria, once Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung F 1891, Antimenes Painter, 520 BCE (BA 320020), a woman with torches is, according to the description, turned towards the chariot. On a fragment of a lebes gamikos in Tübingen, Antikensammlung des Archaeologischen Instituts der Universität S/10 1483 (BA 5914), a woman to right with torches is preceding Hermes who is turning to left to the heads of horses; to the right stand a youth and a woman and maybe more chariots were

A boy is present five times; three times he is dressed in a mantle and standing facing either to left or right at the horses' heads (*WP III* 21, *WP III* 31), or standing facing to the right beneath their bellies (*WP III* 06). On *WP III* 39 a nude boy is walking in front of the chariot and looking backwards. On *WP III* 30, where three chariots are depicted, a nude boy is shown jumping in front of the chariot with the bridal couple, but closer to the chariot being driven by a goddess (*AP IIc* 07). On *WP III* 07 a girl is standing to the right beneath the heads of the horses.[156]

While in *variant WP II* men are part of the processions in about half of the cases, in this group they are present only in seven paintings. On all of these vases one god[157] is present – six times Hermes and once Dionysus – and on six of these vases also women with packages. A man sitting on a chair near the heads of the horses is depicted only on *WP III* 44.[158]

Gods are present on all of the vases in this group. Hermes is shown 50 times and throughout the entire period.[159] On 45 vases he is standing at the heads of the horses, usually at the head of the procession and turning around towards the chariot.[160]

Dionysus is shown on 34 vases; 17 times he is standing behind the chariot and once at the heads of the horses.[161] In the other cases he is standing near the horses, next to or in

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depicted. On the fragments of a neck amphora (Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, P 19597, BA 31081; see note 145) a kitharode is walking alongside the horses while a woman with torches is following the chariot. As the rest of the vase is missing, it is not clear whether other details were depicted. Since the kitharode is beardless, I assume Apollo is meant.

[156] See note 175. A jumping boy was also depicted on the lost vase in Berlin (F 1891, BA 320020, see note 155) and on fragments of a belly-amphora in Moscow, Pushkin Museum, M–1245 (BA 1012092). See also *WP IV* 62, note 229. For girls: see the Eretrian lebes *WP I* 13, and note 230.

[157] On *WP III* 02 and *WP III* 06, both with Hermes present, a man is following the chariot, but he is not identified by an attribute as Dionysus. On the fragment from Marathon (BA 5417, see note 149) two men are standing at both sides of the chariot scene. A kitharode is standing near the horses. The vase is damaged and details are not visible.

[158] I consider the sitting man and Athena on the Nicosthenic pyxis (*WP III* 65) as forming a separate scene, since both figures are rarely found in wedding processions. See notes 169 and 186. For Athena on *WP III* 03, see note 176.

[159] Hermes is also found on the fragment in Tübingen (BA 5914), at the heads of the horses, but his legs are lost, and the lost hydria F 1891 in Berlin (near the horses) (see notes 155 and 156). On *WP III* 15 he has no winged shoes, but the presence of Dionysus is identifying him as a god too. On *WP II* 44 the figure covered by the heads of the horses was once restored as a woman. However, the legs are missing and only an arm and elbow are visible. In my opinion Hermes is depicted here, in his characteristic posture of turning backward to face the chariot.

[160] Six times Hermes is not looking back (*WP III* 05, *WP III* 11, *WP III* 17, *WP III* 26, *WP III* 29, *WP III* 55). Eight times he is standing to the left receiving the procession (*WP III* 01, *WP III* 14, *WP III* 16, *WP III* 24, *WP III* 28, *WP III* 34, *WP III* 38, *WP III* 65). On six vases he is standing near the horses (*WP III* 03, *WP III* 15, *WP III* 20, *WP III* 25, *WP III* 39, *WP III* 61).

the place usually occupied by Apollo. Although the god is depicted throughout the whole period, he is found less often in the last quarter of the century.

Apollo is depicted 49 times.[162] Representations of him are not found on the earliest vases in the group, but from about 530 BCE on he is present on almost all vases, usually standing near the horses playing the kithara. However, on *WP III* 13, which is dated to about 540 BCE and attributed to the Amasis Painter or the Painter of Berlin 1686, Apollo is following the chariot; a Siren is sitting at his feet. Hermes is leading the procession as usual, and Dionysus holding a vine and Poseidon with a trident are walking alongside the horses. A woman carrying a dinos on her head is also walking alongside the horses, while another woman holding two torches is standing facing to the left at the heads of the horses. This is an elaborate composition with gods and diverse *typical elements*, but the position of Apollo and the presence of Poseidon are unusual in the *typical composition* that had become the standard in the last decades of the century.

Poseidon is also depicted on another vase attributed to a vase-painter near the Amasis Painter (about 525 BCE) (*WP III* 14). On this vase the *typical composition* is depicted, except for the additional presence of Poseidon: the chariot with the groom and the bride holding a wreath is followed by Dionysus, wearing a wreath on his head. Apollo stands near the horses with his kithara. A goddess wearing a polos is standing facing him. Behind her back Poseidon with a trident is depicted standing to the right. At the right side of the picture Hermes with kerykeion and petasus is standing to the left facing a woman. Another woman is standing at the horses' heads. The presence of the god of the sea in these depictions may identify the bride as Thetis, but it is also possible that it is a personal choice of the painter and his workshop.

On most vases two gods are depicted: thirteen times Apollo and Hermes,[163] nine times Hermes and Dionysus, and six times Apollo and Dionysus. In some cases the choice may be due to a lack of space, but two gods were probably considered sufficient to indicate a divine context. On 18 vases all three gods are present; in 12 of these depictions Dionysus is

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[161] Dionysus behind chariot: *WP III* 07, *WP III* 09, *WP III* 14, *WP III* 15, *WP III* 17, *WP III* 18, *WP III* 21, *WP III* 25, *WP III* 26, *WP III* 29, *WP III* 37, *WP III* 40, *WP III* 46, *WP III* 57, *WP III* 58, *WP III* 59, *WP III* 64; standing at the heads of the horses: *WP III* 31.

[162] Apollo is also depicted on the loutrophoros in Marathon (BA 5417, see notes 149 and 157), the lost hydria F 1891 in Berlin (BA 320020, see notes 155, 156, and 159), and the fragments from the Agora in Athens (BA 31081, see notes 145 and 155).

[163] On the lost hydria F 1891 in Berlin (see note 155) also Apollo and Hermes were depicted.

following the chariot, Apollo is standing near the horses, and Hermes is standing at the heads of the horses.[164]

On seven of the complete vases[165] Hermes is the only god present; Dionysus without the other gods is found only on an oenochoe (*WP III* 33); perhaps the function of the vase was the reason to choose Dionysus. On ten vases only a kitharode is depicted. Because – as said in section 4.3.1 – the identity of Apollo is determined by the context, including the presence of other gods,[166] these vases deserve more attention: in almost all cases women carrying torches and twice with packages are present, both elements derived from daily life. However, the kitharode is in every case beardless, once one of the women standing facing him is characterised as a goddess by her polos (*WP III* 23) and once a deer is standing near the horses (*WP III* 66). Therefore I presume the god is depicted and added these vases to this *variant.*

On a hydria in Oxford (530–520 BCE) (*WP III* 15) a kitharode is shown walking alongside the horses. In front of him a Hermes-like man is walking to the right, looking backwards. He is wearing a petasus, but his shoes are not winged. A Dionysus-like man, with a wreath on his head, is following the chariot. A woman is standing facing to the left at the heads of the horses. There are no packages or torches, but the bride is holding a wreath. On this vase identification of the kitharode as Apollo (and maybe also of the herald as Hermes) depends on the identification of Dionysus. However, the general composition including all three figures serves to identify them even without additional attributes.

Artemis is identified once by a name-inscription (*WP III* 31); she is also wearing a polos. Women identified as goddesses by their poloi are found on seven more vases.[167] Five times they are shown standing facing Apollo, once holding a flower and twice torches.[168] Once a woman wearing a polos is standing at the horses' heads holding up torches.

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[164] See notes 160 and 161.

[165] In the case of fragments it is not always certain how many gods originally were depicted.

[166] See notes 122 and 144.

[167] *WP III* 14, *WP III* 17, *WP III* 28 (flower), *WP III* 49 (torches), *WP III* 59 (torches). On *WP III* 23 three women standing together are depicted, of whom the one in the middle is wearing a polos. Standing at horses' heads: *WP III* 37 (torches).

[168] Voza and Pelagatti (1973) 98 identified the goddess on *WP III* 59 as Demeter carrying corn ears. In my opinion the objects are torches and if so, this is a rare example of a goddess (recognizable by her polos) carrying torches. The woman with polos and torches on *WP III* 49 is also called Demeter in the catalogue (New York, Christie's, Auction Catalogue 7-12-2006, nr. 81), although the torches are not mentioned. It is not clear whether they identify the woman carrying them because the cataloguer considered them to be corn ears, or because she is acting as the mother of the bride (see note 184).

Other gods and goddesses are rarely found in the paintings. On *WP III* 03 (Pl. 14) Athena wearing the *aegis* is standing behind the chariot, holding a flower and raising her left hand. On a Nicosthenic pyxis (Pl. 14, *WP III* 65) dated to 500–490 BCE,[169] Athena is depicted standing facing a seated man, with her back to the wedding procession; in my opinion, she is not a part of the procession.

A lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter (*WP III* 64) is unusual in composition and details There is a couple standing in the chariot, but the woman is wearing a polos instead of a veil and holding a vine. The chariot is followed by Dionysus, also holding a vine, and a woman. Hermes, surrounded by vines and followed by a billy-goat, is walking in front of the chariot. Near the horses Heracles with club and lion-skin is standing, looking backwards and making an urging gesture.[170] In front of the horses a woman is standing holding torches. Eleni Hatzivassiliou interprets the scene as a possible depiction of Hades and Persephone and explains the presence of Heracles from the Eleusinian context. However, except for the torches, the whole composition looks more like a Dionysiac scene than a wedding procession, and the presence and gesture of Heracles seems to be influenced by *variant AP IV* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles'.[171] The vase is late, painted at a time when various compositions seem to have been confused.

Animals are found on eight vases of *variant WP III*. Once a billy-goat is depicted, and six times a deer, once combined with a panther and once with a dog. Because panthers, deer, and even billy-goats are animals that are not found in a daily-life wedding procession, their presence suggests a divine context. On *WP III* 21 – where a deer is shown at the feet of Apollo – the panther is standing at the feet of a woman with a package; Dionysus is present but standing a little to the left. Dogs are rarely found in wedding processions,[172] but in *variant WP III* a dog is twice shown standing near Hermes (*WP III* 16, *WP III* 60). On *WP III* 16 also a deer is depicted. The combination of animals is unusual, but maybe this painter just loved to paint animals: on the other side of this vase Poseidon carrying a fish is accompanied by a panther, and Artemis by a deer.

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[169] See note 152. I will return to both of these vases in section 4.4.2.

[170] The hero is seldom found in wedding processions: on *WP IV* 05 he accompanies Athena, and on *WP IV* 08 he is the groom standing in the chariot with Hebe. In both cases he is not wearing his lion skin but identified by a name-inscription.

[171] Hatzivassiliou (2010) 59; 127. For the Apotheosis, see section 5.6.

[172] See note 125. The only other dog in a wedding procession is found in the atypical depiction on *WP II* 18.

There are some vases in this group that deserve extra attention because they reflect earlier compositions. On hydria *WP III* 55, dated to the last decade of the century, a chariot accompanied by Apollo, Hermes, and a woman with torches is depicted. A woman standing to the left with torches is receiving them in front of a house. She seems to carry a sort of plate with fire on her head, and is identified as Hestia in the description in the catalogue of the Hermitage Museum. Another woman stands behind her in the portal of the house, while in the house a servant is seen making the bed. This is almost the same composition as was depicted about 50 years before on two Tyrrhenian amphorae by the Castellani Painter: on *WP I* 06 a woman stands to the left in the porch, and on *WP I* 05 (Pl. 13) a woman is making the bed. The similar composition proves that in the intermediate years vase-paintings with this composition must have existed or continued to be made, even though they are not preserved.

On a neck-amphora dated to 520–510 BCE a row of three chariots is depicted around the body, not interrupted by the usual decoration beneath the handles (*WP III* 30 = *AP IIc* 07). Maybe this composition hearkens back to the earlier type of the wedding procession with multiple chariots (*variant WG*), but there are several differences: at the heads of the horses of each chariot a woman holding torches (which are never depicted in *variant WG*) is standing facing to the left, and there are also in all three cases a woman with torches standing to the right and looking backwards behind the heads of the horses. In all three chariots a man and a woman are standing, but twice the woman is holding the reins. This defines the women as goddesses but is also noteworthy: when a divine couple is riding in a chariot, the god is usually holding the reins.[173] Possibly the change was done to make a clear distinction with the third chariot, where a bridal couple is depicted and the man is driving while the woman is holding a wreath and making the bridal gesture. Hermes is shown walking between the two divine chariots, following the first, which is accompanied by Dionysus walking near the horses, and looking back towards the second, where Apollo is depicted near the horses. However, the bridal chariot is also accompanied by a herald and a second kitharode. The herald is wearing winged boots, which identify him as Hermes, who seems therefore to be depicted twice in this scene. However, the wings may be a mistake, because the second kitharode near the bridal chariot is bearded and can be interpreted as a mortal.[174] Furthermore, his instrument is slightly different from the one played by Apollo. A

[173] See *WG* 01, *WG* 02, *WG* 05, *WG* 06. See section 5.3, *variant AP IId.*

[174] For bearded and beardless kitharodes: see notes 118, 122, 134, 135, and 144.

last interesting detail is a nude little boy jumping between the bridal chariot and the chariot to the right of it.[175] This seems like a detail based on daily life. Whether we interpret the second herald as a mortal or a god: the divine realm and the real world are woven together in this painting, and figures belonging to different worlds are depicted side by side.

4.4.2. Analysis

On nearly all of the vases of *variant WP III* a wedding procession is depicted. The chariot with the bride making the bridal gesture and the groom is the most important *typical element*. The only vase on which another type of procession may be depicted is *WP III* 64, where the woman's head is uncovered and the chariot is surrounded by vines and where Heracles is present, who is usually not depicted in wedding processions. Because Dionysus is following the chariot, the scene may be some Dionysiac ritual for which the painter used the *typical composition* of a wedding procession and added Dionysiac details.

The representation on *WP III* 03 (Pl. 14) with Athena and anonymous men standing nearby is also unusual. Bérard interprets the aegis-clad Athena-figure as the high-priestess of Athena blessing the bridal chariot and considers the picture as a more realistic representation of a daily-life wedding ritual.[176] In my opinion it is also possible that the painter used the *typical element* of the bridal couple in the chariot to depict another scene with a chariot (a festival of Athena?). It is noteworthy that the only *typical element* is the relatively 'neutral' wreath and that no packages or torches are present.

In addition to the *typical element* of the couple in the chariot with the woman making the bridal gesture, on all vases of *variant WP III* at least one other *typical element* is depicted, such as packages, torches, or wreaths. The wreath, which is not exclusively used in wedding rituals but can also be used in other festive contexts, is only a few times the only *element*. Most often the wreath is held by the bride, which probably strengthens the wedding context. Torches and packages are more often included as the only *typical element* to identify the scene, since they seem to have been almost exclusively used in wedding contexts. In the second half of the century the images show an increasing presence of torches, along with a corresponding decrease in the presence of packages and dinoi. While in *variant WP II* the dinos is found only in combination with packages, in *variant WP III* it is

[175] For jumping boys: see notes 156, 206, and 229.

[176] Vernant, et al. (1984) 94.

twice depicted as the only object carried along by the processing people. The unique depiction of the hydriai on *WP III* 09 is discussed above.[177]

Likna are always depicted in combination with packages (and dinoi). According to John Oakley and Rebecca Sinos, "the *likna* ... symbolize the civilizing effect of the wedding ritual, which separates the human couple from the primitive state in which men once lived. The symbolic value of the likna ... had full force in the mortal realm only".[178] However, in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' likna are nearly always found in scenes where gods are also present.[179] This is visible on the neck-amphora in Naples made in the Manner of Exekias (Pl. 13, *WP II* 11; *WP III* 10). A wedding procession is depicted on both sides. On one side no gods are included in the procession; women are carrying packages (*WP II* 11). On the other side the man leading the procession is identified as Hermes by his petasus and winged boots (*WP III* 10); here not only packages are carried, but also a liknon.[180]

On all of the vases painted with *variant WP III* gods are present, most often Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus. Apollo does not appear on the earliest vases. His increasing popularity seems to correspond with the decreasing presence of Dionysus during the last quarter of the century. Even on some kraters that have plenty of space for many figures and that have a functional connection with wine, Dionysus is sometimes missing, although on two kraters he is depicted in a scene on the other side.[181] Alan Shapiro connects the growing popularity of Apollo with the purification of Delos by Pisistratus around 540 BCE and with his support of the revival of a festival on Delos with musical and choral competitions, but "the presence of Apollo on these wedding and apotheosis vases serves primarily to denote a happy or festive occasion".[182]

Apart from these three gods only Poseidon (*WP III* 13, *WP III* 14), Athena (Pl. 14, *WP III* 03), and Artemis (*WP III* 31) can be identified with certainty in the processions.[183] A few times women can be recognised as goddesses because they are wearing the polos. The goddess with a polos standing facing Apollo on *WP III* 14, *WP III* 17, and *WP III* 28 may be

[177] See notes 108, 129, and 154.

[178] Oakley and Sinos (1993) 29.

[179] On *WP II* 05 a liknon is depicted with no gods present.

[180] For the use of likna, see Krauskopf (1977) 21–23; Oakley and Sinos (1983) 29.

[181] Dionysus not depicted: *WP III* 28, *WP III* 38, *WP III* 41, *WP III* 42. Dionysus depicted on the other side: *WP III* 28, *WP III* 41.

[182] Shapiro (1989a) 56. On the purification of Delos: *idem*: 48–49. See also Mackay (2010) 96–97.

[183] As mentioned above (section 4.4.1), the picture with Heracles (*WP III* 64) is probably not a wedding procession.

identified as Artemis. However, not every goddess wearing a polos has to be Artemis. It is however notable that women identified as goddesses by wearing a polos are never shown carrying packages, perhaps because real-life tasks such as carrying packages was thought of as not appropriate for goddesses (and because it would be rather odd to carry a package on top of a polos). On a few vases a woman with a polos is holding up torches (Pl. 14, *WP III* 37; *WP III* 49, *WP III* 59). She may be Artemis, but Demeter, acting in the place of the mother of the bride in daily life, is another strong possibility.[184] Apparently, holding up the torches was considered appropriate for a goddess, although it should be noted that on the vase with the name-inscriptions (*WP III* 31) the woman holding the torches does not wear a polos, nor is her name inscribed.

In the picture of a wedding procession on the Nicosthenic pyxis in Athens (Pl. 14, *WP III* 65) Athena is shown standing at the right side of the horses facing a seated man. Athena's presence is highly unusual in wedding scenes but, according to Lyons, she is "the focus of attention on a number of pyxides".[185] In my opinion the goddess was painted as a separate image on the side of this pyxis,[186] in connection with the painting on the lid, where women are shown holding a mirror and are engaged in typical housewife tasks such as spinning and attending children.[187] Between the women wool baskets and a pyxis of the same type as the one on which the scene is painted are depicted. As mentioned before,[188] Athena was the patron of spinning and weaving.

The deer, panther, and billy-goat also belong to divine context. According to Sonia Klinger, the deer is associated especially with the role of Artemis " in woman's journey toward sexual maturation". Furthermore, deer may "serve as metaphors for young women approaching sexual maturity".[189] Originally the deer was an attribute only of the goddess, but since Artemis is often depicted in the company of her brother Apollo, the deer became associated with him too and could be represented even when Artemis was not present.[190] In an earlier article Klinger[191] notes that deer "are included in the scenes to identify the chariot

[184] See note 168.

[185] Lyons (2009) 171. Also according to Lyons 171: the spinners on the lid could be interpreted as Aphrodite among her retinue of Charites and Horai.

[186] See notes 158 and 169.

[187] Williams (1983b) 94.

[188] See section 4.2.4.

[189] Klinger (2009) 100. See also section 5.0.

[190] Jurriaans-Helle (1986b).

[191] Klinger (2002) 30 and 31; *idem* 37: "deer ... as a paradigm of marriage."

scenes as wedding travels." They are attributes of Apollo and Artemis, and "they represent the deities' symbolic functions in the transformation of young men and women into sexually mature adults." The panther is most closely related to Dionysus but also seen in the company of Artemis and Apollo.[192] The billy-goat on *WP III* 64 may be related to Dionysus and to Hermes, who are both depicted on the vase.

The dog standing near Hermes on one vase, and combined with a deer on another vase, is more puzzling (*WP III* 16, *WP III* 60), as dogs were associated with life in the city.[193] However, in *variant WP III* a deliberate ambiguity between the divine and the real world has been created by the presence of gods as well as of objects from real life. The combination of animals from the divine and mortal realms fits into this model.

Deliberate ambiguity may also be the reason for the tendency to leave Dionysus out of the picture: he is always recognisable as a god, and his presence makes the context of any image mythological. In the same way, one of the causes for the growing popularity of Apollo may be that his identity has to be derived from context – is the kitharode in the procession a mortal or divine? – which adds to the ambiguity of the depictions. That the women standing between the gods are in most cases not instantly recognisable as goddesses may be due to the same intention. The fact that packages are less often depicted over time, while torches are present on almost all vases painted in the last two decades of the century, may be due to the desire to make an image ambiguous: packages are never carried by women identified as goddesses, while torches were considered appropriate for mortal women as well as for goddesses.

4.4.3. Changing the composition

In *variant WP III* the most important *typical element*, the bridal couple standing in the chariot, remained the same as in *variants WP I* and *WP II*. The emphasis is thus firmly on the journey they are making rather than on the departure or the arrival because the groom is almost always shown standing in the chariot. Only on a few late vases is he depicted mounting the chariot, perhaps under the influence of the related composition of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. A man seated on a chair at the heads of the horses, receiving the procession, is found only once (*WP III* 44), which is less often than in *variant WP II*.

[192] Jurriaans-Helle (1996) 26.

[193] See notes 125 and 172.

Anonymous men are found only on the earliest vases of this group. When the painters started to depict more gods, the anonymous men were probably replaced by, or changed into, gods by giving them attributes. In the third quarter of the 6th century BCE the vase-painters preferred to include Hermes and Dionysus, who are easily recognised. In the last quarter of the century Apollo took the place of one of the two gods, most often of Dionysus, whose popularity seems to have been decreasing. This change may be because Apollo's popularity was growing in Athens thanks to the efforts of Pisistratus, but, as said before, in my opinion the painters also chose to include Apollo in order to increase the ambiguity of the picture.[194]

Finally, *WP III* 31 confirms that the easiest way to change the meaning of a picture was to add name-inscriptions.[195] Representations of wedding processions have often been identified in publications as the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, thanks to the well-labelled imagery of the Sophilos dinos and the François krater, in spite of the evidence that on those vases a different moment in the wedding ritual and many additional protagonists are depicted. In fact, by adding an extra *element* – the name-inscriptions Admetus and Alcestis – to the *typical composition*, the painter of *WP III* 31 specified the meaning without changing anything else in the standard composition. However, in my opinion, in none of the other vase-paintings is a special wedding meant, but rather the general idea of a wedding, in which the mortal bridal couple was compared to gods and heroes.[196] In their discussion of *WP III* 08 Oakley and Sinos contend that "This fusion of mortal and divine levels exalts the bride and groom by associating them with gods, and uplifts the mortal ceremony as a whole by comparing it to a divine wedding. The dissolution of the boundary separating the sphere of mortals from the divine in this vase painting accomplishes the same heightening of the mortal wedding seen in Greek wedding songs, which compare the bride and groom to gods and heroes".[197]

4.4.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

In *variant WP III* most representations of the wedding procession were painted on large vases, such as the belly-amphora, the neck-amphora, and the hydria. Just as in *variant WP II*

[194] See section 4.4.2.

[195] See also: Helen and Menelaus (?) (*WG* 04), Peleus and Thetis (*WG* 01, *WG* 05, *WP I* 14, *WP IV* 05), Heracles and Hebe (*WP IV* 08), Admetus and Alcestis (*WP III* 31).

[196] Jurriaans-Helle (1996) 27; *idem* (1999) 207.

[197] Oakley and Sinos (1993) 29.

the belly-amphora seems to have been more popular as the vase shape in the third quarter of the sixth century BCE, while the hydria became more popular in the last quarter of the century. In this last quarter of the century *variant WP III* is also found painted on the bodies of column-kraters, a calyx-krater, and on the neck of a volute-krater. These vases offered enough space for the rather complex composition and might also have been used during the rituals. This also applies to the smaller three lebetes, the dinos, the loutrophoros and the Nikosthenic pyxis. The two oenochoai represent a new shape painted with this *subtype*: the vase is not very suitable as the surface for a complicated composition, because it is rather small. Finally, there is one lekythos (*WP III* 64); this shape is also not ideal for large and complicated compositions such as wedding processions, although other lekythoi are decorated with chariot scenes with Dionysus, a goddess, a hoplite, or a man mounting a chariot.[198] Many vases in this group are – just as in *variant WP II* – attributed to painters near Group E, such as the Towry Whyte Painter and the Painter of London B 174 in the third quarter of the century, and painters near the Lysippides Painter, the Antimenes Painter, and the Leagros Group in the last quarter. Furthermore, there are five vases by the Euphiletos Painter or someone near him, and a few vases attributed to the Priam Painter and the Rycroft Painter. The two rather early vases with Apollo (and Poseidon) are attributed to the Amasis Painter and someone painting in his manner.

On the neck-amphora painted in the manner of Exekias (Pl. 13, *WP II* 11 = *WP III* 10) and the lebes gamikos in Athens a wedding procession is painted on both sides (*WP III* 29 = *WP IV* 15). On the lebetes *WP III* 36 and *WP III* 68, the Nicosthenic pyxis (Pl. 14, *WP III* 65) and the loutrophoros *WP III* 67,[199] the wedding procession continues onto the other side of the vase. On the neck-amphora with a procession of three chariots painted around both sides of the vase, elements from real life and the mythological world intermingle (*WP III* 30 = *AP IIc* 07). The struggle of Peleus and Thetis preceding their marriage is depicted on the stand made to support lebes *WP III* 68.[200] On the stand of lebes *WP III* 36 women are shown engaged in typical housewife activities. A comparable scene is painted on the lid of pyxis *WP III* 65, which may be connected with the depiction of Athena on the body.[201] It

[198] See Chapters 3 and 5.

[199] On the fragmentary loutrophoros from Marathon (see note 149), the wedding procession is also continued on the other side of the vase. On the neck a woman with a package is depicted.

[200] The Judgment of Paris is painted on the back of lebes *WP II* 27 and on its stand. For the combination of related scenes on pottery shapes see notes 45, 89, and 143.

[201] See section 4.4.2.

seems that on vase shapes that were especially designed for use in wedding rituals such as the lebetes, or were appropriate wedding gifts, such as the pyxis and the tripod-exaleiptron, there is often a connection between the paintings on the various panels and parts of the vases.[202]

On 23 vases of this group a mythological scene is painted in another section. Heracles is the most popular subject, but Theseus is also found.[203] On the shoulder of hydria *WP III 02* Achilles is depicted with Troilus and Polyxena, a story connected to the shape of the vase. The paintings on the other vases of *variant WP III* all belong to the world of men: hoplites leaving or fighting, horsemen, chariots, and sports. The focus in the battle scenes is on heroism: there are no tragic scenes, such as the death of Priam or the rape of Cassandra. The bringing home of the dead warrior on the belly-amphora in Melbourne (*WP III* 09) (a vase that is also unusual in other ways)[204] is the only example of a tragic event depicted on a wedding vase. On the back of column-krater *WP III* 40 a representation of *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' is depicted (*FM I* 01). As argued above, [205] the combination of fighting heroes, a wedding procession, and lions and boars on top of the lip of the vase, makes it tempting to think of the fight between Polynices and Tydeus parted by Adrastus, followed by the wedding of the heroes with the king's daughters.

4.5 *Variant WP IV* 'Wedded couple in chariot, with gods present' ca. 540–500 BCE (Table 19, Plate 15)

4.5.1 Description

During the second half of the 6th century BCE various *typical compositions* were used to represent wedding processions on Athenian black-figure vases. While the *typical element* of the bridal couple in the chariot with the woman making the bridal gesture with her mantle remained the same, the figures standing nearby and their attributes could vary. In the third quarter of the century representations with real-life details such as packages and torches but no gods present (*variant WP II*) were popular, while in the last quarter of the century there

[202] On tripod-exaleiptron *WP I* 01 (Section 4.2.1) the Birth of Athena is depicted, maybe pointing to a relationship between Athena and the duties of a housewife; the third painting, the Judgment of Paris, refers to feminine beauty. See also note 90.

[203] Dating from the end of the century there are two representations of a man fighting with a bull. On *WP III* 56 the hero has a club, so he may be identified as Heracles, although the *CVA* identifies him as Theseus because of his youth. On *WP III 53* the man has no attributes and may be either Heracles or Theseus.

[204] See notes 108, 129, and 154.

[205] See Chapter 2, section 2.2.1.3.

were more representations where not only these objects but also gods were included (*variant WP III*), which created an ambiguity about whether the mortal or divine realm was depicted.

However, in my database there are 63 representations of a wedding procession with gods standing nearby, but in which no packages or torches are depicted (*variant WP IV*). Almost all of the images are dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BCE. Apparently, by that time the composition of a chariot with a man holding the reins and a woman making the bridal gesture in combination with gods standing nearby, was enough to indicate that a wedding procession is represented and no additional objects were needed.

The woman in the chariot is wearing her mantle over her head and making the bridal gesture, although she is not always holding the mantle up beside her cheek. Three times, however, she is bareheaded (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 09).[206] The man is holding the reins and in most cases a goad; he is wearing a wreath four times (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 05, *WP IV* 09).[207] On seven vases, almost all attributed to the Rycroft Painter and the Priam Painter, he is shown mounting the chariot.[208]

On 57 vases Apollo is depicted,[209] in most cases standing facing to the right near the horses, playing the kithara; on *WP IV* 36 he is playing a lyre. On *WP IV* 06 he is looking back towards a woman, which is highly unusual.[210] On *WP IV* 07 is Apollo, wearing a wreath, shown leading the procession, while Hermes is standing to the right near the chariot, facing Athena who is identified by her aegis and spear.[211]

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[206] *WP IV* 09 (with hoplite and old man standing nearby), *WP IV* 31 (with vines), *WP IV* 62 (with jumping boy).

[207] *WP IV* 01, *WP IV* 05, *WP IV* 07, *WP IV* 09. On a fragment in Catania, Museo Civico Castello Ursino (BA 22996), the groom is also wearing a wreath.

[208] *WP IV* 09, *WP IV* 31, *WP IV* 32, *WP IV* 33, *WP IV* 34, *WP IV* 36, *WP IV* 41. On *WP IV* 38 a foot is visible behind the chariot and, according to the description in the *CVA*, someone is standing there. In my opinion the foot may belong to the groom mounting the chariot. Furthermore, feet are also visible between the chariot and the horses, indicating that someone was shown standing there. In that case, the left side of the painting, including the bird, may be repainted. On two fragments from the Sanctuary of the Nymph in Athens which I did not include in my list the groom is also depicted mounting (Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa191, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 465, pl. 91; Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa245, near the Theseus Painter, 500–490 BCE, *idem* (1997) nr. 473, pl. 93).

[209] Apollo is also depicted on the fragment in Catania (BA 22996) (see note 207) and on a fragment in Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa191 (see note 208).

[210] In my database there are a few examples of Apollo standing near a chariot and looking backwards (*WOa* 18, *WOa* 19, *AP III* 15); however, there are probably more such representations on late lekythoi that are not part of my database, *e.g.,* chariot scene with a goddess mounting, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, G 105 (BA 305732). In the tondo of a lip cup by the Epitimos Painter or Lydos, Apollo with a bow is shown standing between lions and looking backwards, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, 69/61 (BA 4861).

[211] In the Beazley Archive Data Base this vase has number BA 5499, but BA 6876 seems to be the same vase. The composition resembles that on *WP II* 02, the name-vase of the Princeton Painter, but there the kitharode is bearded.

Hermes is found on 51 vases; on *WP IV* 39 he is not wearing winged boots.[212] Usually he stands at the heads of the horses, facing them, but sometimes he is depicted more to the left next to the horses. On 35 vases he is shown walking to the right and looking back towards the chariot, and on seven vases he is directed to right; eight times he is standing to left as if he is receiving the procession.[213] On *WP IV* 63 Hermes is kneeling under the heads of the horses, looking back towards the chariot.

Dionysus is found on 33 vases. On the earlier vases in the group he is almost always present, usually standing behind the chariot. In the last decades of the century, however, he is more often omitted and when he is present he is usually depicted in the centre of the picture, standing near the horses, to the right of Apollo. Very rarely he is shown standing at the heads of the horses (*WP IV* 19, *WP IV* 56).[214] On *WP IV* 12 he is seated facing the horses' heads, as if welcoming the procession.

On 24 vases all three gods are present.[215] Apollo and Hermes (without Dionysus) are depicted together on 22 vases,[216] and Apollo and Dionysus on seven vases.[217] Hermes and Dionysus together are found only twice. On a few vases there is only one god depicted: Dionysus once, Hermes three times (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 09), and Apollo (or a kitharode) four

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[212] See note 216. Hermes is also depicted on the fragment in Catania (see note 207), and three other fragments that I did not include in my list: two fragments of hydriai from the Sanctuary of the Nymph (Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa187, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 467, pl. 91; Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa394, *idem* (1997) nr. 469, pl. 92); the fragment of a krateriskos in Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, P241 (BA 6853): here the composition is similar to a wedding procession, but as the head of the supposed bride is missing and the identities of Dionysus and Hermes are doubtful (Apollo is not present), it is not certain that it is a wedding procession. On *WP IV* 32, *WP IV* 33, *WP IV* 34, *WP IV* 36 Hermes is clearly recognisable because of the elaborate wings on his boots, as the Rycroft Painter also depicted on more vases.

[213] Directed to left: *WP IV* 11, *WP IV* 21 (looking back to right), *WP IV* 34, *WP IV* 36, *WP IV* 47, *WP IV* 50, *WP IV* 55, *WP IV* 61. Directed to right: *WP IV* 07 (standing near the tails of the horses), *WP IV* 13, *WP IV* 16, *WP IV* 18, *WP IV* 26, *WP IV* 38, *WP IV* 40. On *WP IV* 49 the head of Hermes is not visible. On the fragment in Catania (see note 207), the head of Hermes facing to the left is visible at the head of the horses. However, since his legs are lost, it is impossible to know whether he is standing to the left or looking backwards to the left.

[214] On *WP IV* 19 Dionysus is standing to right facing a woman as a separate group. On *WP IV* 56 he is standing at the heads of the horses according to the text in the museum showcase. However, I could not see it myself.

[215] On *WP IV* 21 Apollo and Hermes are in their usual positions. Hidden behind the horses is a third standing figure, identified in the description in the *CVA* as Artemis, no doubt because a deer is standing nearby. I doubt that the goddess has been depicted here, as the feet are not white and the person seems to wear a wreath. Therefore it is possible that Dionysus has been depicted here and that the deer belongs to Apollo.

[216] On *WP IV* 39, a small hydria, Apollo is in his usual position. A Hermes-like figure, but without wings on his boots, is walking alongside the horses. Maybe the wings are missing because the painting is small and rather simple. But, as we have seen before, the identification of Apollo depends on the persons around him and if Hermes is not present in this picture, we may doubt whether Apollo is depicted rather than a mortal kitharode. Arguing in favour of Apollo, the kitharode is beardless and there are no *typical elements* referring to real life.

[217] Including *WP IV* 12 with Dionysus seated at the horses' heads, and *WP IV* 56 with the possible presence of Dionysus (see note 214).

times.[218] In this last case we may hesitate to decide whether the god or a mortal kitharode is depicted, but the kitharode is always beardless so I assume that the god is meant.[219] Two of these vases deserve more attention: on *WP IV* 29 a nude boy is standing to the right near the horses' heads. This *typical element* seems to be drawn from real life, but is also found in vase-painting where recognisable gods are present (*WP IV* 15, *WP IV* 62). Because there are no other daily-life *typical elements* such as packages or a dinos depicted, I added the vase to *variant WP IV*; however, since the kitharode is not accompanied by other gods, the depiction is ambiguous. The other vase is *WP IV* 01 (Pl. 15): while in all four depictions a woman is shown standing facing the kitharode, here a second woman is included who is standing behind him. The three figures form a composition similar to the Delian Triad of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, as depicted many times in Athenian black-figure vase-painting.[220] The kitharode, the woman following him, and the man standing in the chariot are wearing wreaths. Although in this picture there is no recognisable god or other indication of a divine context, the painting on the other side of the vase shows a chariot with Dionysus and a female driver, preceded by Hermes looking backwards (Pl. 15, *AP IId* 05); here, a man (wearing a wreath just as the persons on the obverse) and three women are standing near the horses facing the chariot. It is possible that on this vase a divine procession (with Hermes and Dionysus) was depicted on one side and on the other side a comparable scene from real life in a kind of *visual repetition*.[221] However, there is another possibility: the vase is attributed to an artist painting in the Manner of the Painter of the Vatican Mourner. Mackay, Harrison, and Masters[222] discuss additional vases by this painter and his circle where the scenes on both sides are connected with each other by a 'palinopt'.[223] Hermes is often painted looking back towards the chariot, but on this vase we might consider him as a palinopt, connecting the pictures on both sides of the vase, where a procession with two chariots divided across both sides of the vase has been painted. The fact that Apollo is missing in the divine setting, corroborates this interpretation.

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[218] Dionysus: *WP IV* 37. Hermes: *WP IV* 09, *WP IV* 38, *WP IV* 61; for *WP IV* 38: see note 208: maybe a figure (Apollo?) was originally shown standing near the horses. Apollo: *WP IV* 01, *WP IV* 29, *WP IV* 54, *WP IV* 58.
[218]

[219] See notes 118, 122, 134, 135, 144, 155, 166, and 174.

[220] See Jurriaans-Helle (1986b). The fact that one of the women has been turned to face the left makes that procession seem to stand still instead of moving forwards.

[221] Steiner (2007) 109–114.

[222] Mackay, Harrison, and Masters (1999) 130–135.

[223] Mackay, Harrison, and Masters (1999) 131. See Chapter 3, note 98; and Chapter 5, notes 52 and 63.

There are a few more vases on which Apollo is shown standing between two women as in the iconography of the Delian Triad.[224] On *WP IV* 13 and *WP IV* 14 the woman behind Apollo is identified as a goddess because she is wearing a polos. Poloi are also found on a few other vases, in all cases worn by a woman standing near Apollo (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 11, *WP IV* 42).[225] On almost all other vases in the group women are depicted standing near the chariot, but they are not clearly recognisable as goddesses – except for Athena on *WP IV* 07, and Athena and other goddesses identified by name-inscriptions on *WP IV* 05 (Pl. 15). On this hydria various gods and goddesses are identified by name-inscriptions. The bridal couple is named Peleus and Thetis, and their chariot is followed by Dionysus and Thyone. Apollo is shown walking alongside the horses, while Heracles (without his usual attributes such as the lion skin or club) and Athena (with helmet) are standing facing him. Hermes is walking alongside the horses looking backwards. The upper part of the right side of the picture is lost, but beneath the legs of the horses the name Aphrodite is visible, which suggests that the man and woman standing at the horses' heads are Ares and Aphrodite. Poseidon and Amphitrite were probably also standing at the right side, as the name of the goddess is preserved there. The presence of so many gods is very unusual[226] and recalls the earliest long wedding processions (*variant WG*). However, on those vases the wedding guests were driving to the house of Peleus, while on this vase Peleus and Thetis are driving themselves to their house.

Name-inscriptions also explain the painting on hydria *WP IV* 08 (Pl. 15). Unfortunately, of the names of the bridal couple only the letters HE and H are preserved, probably naming Heracles (again without his attributes) and Hebe. Dionysus is following the chariot and Apollo is walking alongside the chariot, both identified by their attributes and name-inscriptions. A woman is standing before Apollo, probably facing to the right but looking back towards the bridal couple; her name-inscription, if there was one, is not preserved. Hermes is leading the procession, his head turned to look backwards; the inscription above his head is not his name but a *kalos* inscription. It is noteworthy that on

[224] 'Delian triad': *WP IV* 01, *WP IV* 13, *WP IV* 16, *WP IV* 26, *WP IV* 27, *WP IV* 40. On *WP IV* 14 Apollo is standing between two women, but the woman at the right is turned away from him; the woman at the left is wearing a polos.

[225] Woman with polos: *WP IV* 11, *WP IV* 13, *WP IV* 14, *WP IV* 42.

[226] Apart from this vase and the early wedding processions with many gods (*variant WG*), Poseidon is painted on only two vases attributed to the Amasis Painter (*WP III* 13 and *WP III* 14), Athena possibly three times (*WP III* 03, *WP III* 65 (not as part of the wedding procession), *WP IV* 07), and Heracles once (*WP III* 64).

these two hydriai Heracles and the goddesses (except for Athena who wears a helmet) are not identified by attributes but only by name-inscriptions.

Men who may or may not be gods are depicted on a few vases.[227] On fragment *WP IV* 04 with Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus, a man and a woman are standing facing to the left at the heads of the horses, as if they are receiving the procession. On *WP IV* 09 (Pl. 15) a hoplite and an old man,[228] figures that are usually not depicted in wedding processions, are standing next to the horses. On two late lekythoi a man seems to have been added to the composition as a kind of pendant to a god at the other side of the scene: on *WP IV* 59 Apollo and Hermes are shown walking alongside the horses. Dionysus, identified only by a very simple drinking horn in his hand, is following the chariot. Preceding the chariot, a young man is walking to the right, looking backwards. On lekythos *WP IV* 61 Hermes is depicted in front of the horses and a man with a staff is standing behind the chariot. Vines near the horses suggest the presence of Dionysus, but neither the man following the chariot nor the man in the chariot can be identified as the god.

A boy near the horses' heads, is found on three vases. On the lebes gamikos *WP IV* 15 a boy wearing a short mantle is shown walking in front of the horses looking backwards, and on plate *WP IV* 62 a nude boy is jumping.[229] On both vases Hermes is present. *WP IV* 29, where only a kitharode is present, I discussed above. The boy may represent the *pais amphithales*, who played a role in mortal wedding rituals, but since there are no other daily-life elements I placed the vases in this *variant*. A person sitting on a chair, which is in my opinion also an *element* derived from daily life, is in this *variant* found only on *WP IV* 12; however, here the sitting man is identified as Dionysus by vines and a large kantharos.[230]

Animals are rarely represented in this *variant*. A deer is found on *WP IV* 21, probably belonging to Apollo.[231] On *WP IV* 38 a bird is flying to the right in the empty space above

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[227] *WP IV* 04, *WP IV* 09, *WP IV* 59, *WP IV* 61. On *WP IV* 48 (Princeton, University Art Museum, y1981–12), the head of the person near the horses is restored as that of a man, but the feet are white, so originally there was a woman painted (personal correspondence with Michael Padgett 19–9–2013).

[228] The head of the old man is a restoration, so maybe another figure was standing next to the hoplite.

[229] For jumping boys, see notes 156, 175, and 206.

[230] On a fragment of a hydria found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph (Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa187, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 467, pl. 91), a girl is seated in front of the horses. Hermes (see note 212) is standing next to her, but the composition is not clear and I left the fragment out of my lists.

[231] See note 215. For deer: see notes 189, 190, and 191. Deer are also found on some fragmentary hydriai from the Sanctuary of the Nymph that I left out of my lists: Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa409, 520–500 BCE, Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997) nr. 472, pl. 92; Athens, Acropolis Museum, 1957–Aa245, near the Theseus Painter, 500–490 BCE, *idem* nr. 473, pl. 93 (see note 208); Athens, Acropolis Museum,1957–Aa255, Sappho Painter, 500 BCE, *idem* nr. 474, pl. 93.

the backs of the horses, where Apollo is normally standing.[232] On *WP IV* 42 (Pl. 15) a branch with a little bird is depicted beneath the lowered head of one of the horses.

4.5.2 Analysis

On all vases of *variant WP IV* the chariot with the bridal couple is accompanied by gods. Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus have become *typical elements*, determining the divine context of the procession. However, the bride and groom are only twice identified by name-inscriptions as deities (Pl. 15, Peleus and Thetis on *WP IV* 05, Heracles and Hebe on *WP IV* 08). In the other paintings their identity is not indicated, which creates some ambiguity about whether real life or the mythological/heroic world is represented. In most cases, at least two of the gods mentioned above are depicted. Dionysus is on the early vases in this *variant* usually standing behind the chariot, but during the last decades of the century he is more often omitted, but when he is present he is shown standing near the horses to the right of Apollo; in these cases the bridal couple forms the closure at the left side of the picture and the space between the chariot and the heads of the horses is not only efficiently filled by the two gods, but Dionysus has also become the central focus of the picture. This is probably the reason that this composition was almost always chosen to decorate wine pitchers:[233] on only one oenochoe (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 42) is Dionysus shown following the chariot; in the same image a woman, identified by her polos as a goddess, is standing facing Apollo. Perhaps the combination of the two figures Apollo and (probably) Artemis was so strong an iconographic tradition that the painter chose to keep them together.

There are a few vase-paintings in which the depiction does not follow the *typical composition* of a wedding procession. On *WP IV* 31 the woman in the chariot is bareheaded and vines are painted around the couple. Since Dionysus is not depicted among the bystanders, we may wonder whether the man mounting the chariot is Dionysus and whether this is a representation of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', or a chariot scene with gods such as will be discussed in Chapter 5.[234]

On *WP IV* 37 Dionysus is the only figure present, standing near the horses, and the empty space is filled with vines. The god holds a large kantharos in his left hand. Since the bride is almost completely concealed by the figure of groom, it is not possible to see whether

[232] See note 208 on the possibility that the vase is repainted.

[233] *WP IV* 41, *WP IV* 43, *WP IV* 46, *WP IV* 47. See also *WP III* 33, *WP III* 34.

[234] See especially Chapter 5, section 5.15, *variant DIWO* (Dionysus and woman in chariot). However, in the few vases of this *variant* Dionysus is standing in the chariot and not mounting it.

she is bareheaded, but she is pulling her mantle forward from the shoulder. The presence of only one additional person recalls the vases of *variant WP II* where all of the *typical elements* that could identify the scene as a wedding procession are lacking, except for the man and woman standing in the chariot.[235] Therefore, it is possible that on this vase too, it is not the wedding itself represented, but rather a festive occasion in honour of Dionysus that was connected with a wedding ritual.[236] Such an event may also be depicted on *WP IV* 09 (Pl. 15), where the woman in the chariot is bareheaded and a hoplite and an old man are standing next to the horses, figures who are usually not represented in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' but are in the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.

On *WP IV* 07 Apollo is leading the procession, while Hermes is standing near the horses with Athena, who is rarely represented in wedding processions.[237] This fact, in combination with the unusual composition, makes us hesitate to say whether a wedding is depicted. The composition recalls *variant AP VII* of the Apotheosis of Heracles, where Heracles is the passenger and Athena with aegis and spear is standing next to the horses.[238] Because Heracles' Apotheosis coincided with his wedding to Hebe, the painter may have combined the *typical elements* and the *typical composition* of the two *subtypes*.

On *WP IV* 05 (Pl. 15) more gods, including Athena and Heracles, are depicted, and on *WP IV* 08 (Pl. 15) Heracles and Hebe are identified as the bridal couple. However, in both cases the *typical composition* includes the three customary gods in their usual positions and walking with the chariot to the right. On *WP IV* 05 the other gods are added to this standard composition and turned to face towards the left, as if they are receiving the procession.

In this *variant* there are no *typical elements* of daily life. However, a few times a boy, recalling the *pais amphithales*, is included standing near the heads of the horses, and on *WP IV* 12 Dionysus is depicted seated in front of the chariot, recalling the seated man found in other *variants*. The only animal represented (except for some birds) is the deer on *WP IV* 21, which must refer to the mythological world.

4.5.3 Changing the composition

The most important difference from the other *variants* of the wedding procession composition is that the presence of gods – although generally completely limited to Apollo,

[235] *WP II* 03, *WP II* 15 (Pl.13), *WP II* 16, *WP II* 17. See section 4.3.2, note 137.

[236] I will discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia in section 6.6.

[237] See and note 226, and sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.

[238] See section 5.11, *variant AP VII.* On *AP IIa* 03, *AP IIb* 01 and *AP VI* 12 Apollo is leading the procession.

Hermes, and Dionysus – in combination with the man and woman in the chariot, is enough to indicate a wedding procession. The fact that the bridal couple is in most cases not identified as mythological figures, makes the picture ambiguous.

The name-inscriptions on *WP IV* 05 and *WP IV* 08 (Pl. 15) show that the definitive way to change the mythological subject of a picture was to add name-inscriptions. On both vases Heracles has no attributes, but is identified by the inscription.[239] On *WP IV* 05 the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis is identified by the inscriptions, but the painter illustrated another moment in the rituals and different persons than on the early vases of *variant WG,* and added name-inscriptions to make clear that this specific wedding was meant.

4.5.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant WP IV of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' is found painted on 17 belly-amphorae and 19 hydriai. Since almost all of the vases are dated to the last quarter of the century, these numbers are consistent with the trend in other *variants*, that the hydria was becoming more popular. The image is also painted on two late kraters and one lebes gamikos,[240] as well as on 13 neck-amphorae, all dating to the last two decades of the century. Some of these shapes are small-scale, and during the same period the depiction is also found on other small shapes, such as the small hydria *WP IV* 39, oenochoai, and lekythoi. Probably at that time the larger and more expensive pottery was being decorated by red-figure vase-painters. The painters in this group are in general the same ones who painted the other *variants* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', including the Lysippides Painter and the Antimenes Painter and their circles, and also the Euphiletos Painter, the Priam Painter, and the Rycroft Painter. Although the Leagros Group does not seem to have painted this *variant*, the *variants* were in general not restricted to certain workshops.

On the other side of the lebes gamikos (*WP IV* 15) a wedding procession with a woman carrying torches is depicted (*WP III* 29). On *WP IV* 01 (Pl. 15) there is a chariot scene, and it is possible that the two chariot scenes were meant to be viewed together.[241] Most paintings on other sections of these vases have a mythological theme, which is consistent with the mythological content of *variant WP IV*. On *WP IV* 21 the struggle of

[239] In the same way the groom on *WP III* 31 is identified as Admetus. See note 195.

[240] There are no other lebetes and loutrophoroi in this group. This is probably because on this kind of wedding vases the paintings on the various sections of the vase were closely connected and seem to form a whole statement (see notes 200, 201, and 202). When women with packages, torches, or wreaths are depicted in other sections, I placed the vase in another list (*WP III* 36, *WP III* 67, *WP III* 68).

[241] See notes 222 and 223.

Peleus and Thetis was depicted, perhaps as a reference to the identity of the bridal couple. On 13 vases Heracles is represented and once Theseus and the Minotaur. A Dionysiac scene is painted on the other side of 17 vases, especially on amphorae and the calyx-krater (*WP IV* 36). On 17 vases hoplites leaving or fighting were depicted, twice with a chariot involved: a hoplitomachy with a chariot wheeling around (*WP IV* 18) and boys are harnessing a chariot (*WP IV* 26).

4.6 General conclusions

The central *typical element* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' is a chariot with a man and a woman standing in it and people standing nearby. In most cases the bride is pulling her mantle forward and holding it up by her cheek. During the 6th century BCE this *typical element* remained consistent, but by changing the context and some details the painters gave the composition new meanings. While in the first half of the century a row of chariots is depicted on large vases, around the middle of the century the composition was reduced in almost all cases to a single chariot. With the composition the meaning of the picture and the identity of the figures also changed: instead of divine wedding guests driving to the house of the newlyweds in the morning after the wedding night (*variant WG*), the bridal chariot is instead depicted with the groom bringing the bride to his house for the wedding night (*variants WP I–WP IV*).

In *variant WG* gods were standing in and near the chariots and there were no *typical elements* derived from real life. Apparently, it was not considered suitable for gods to carry wedding gifts, and torches were not needed as the procession was supposed to be taking place during the day. When the composition and the meaning changed around the middle of the century, objects derived from real life were added as *typical elements,* which – in combination with the chariot with a man and a woman pulling her mantle forward – made it clear that a wedding procession was depicted. The *typical element* most often depicted at first were the rectangular packages, which are in my opinion baskets possibly containing textiles. The women who carry these packages are nearly always shown moving to right as if they are walking in the same direction and alongside the chariot. In the last quarter of the century torches (which were carried in the real-life procession, as that took place after dark) become more popular as *typical elements* and the packages almost disappear. The women with the torches may also walk with the chariot, but more often they are standing facing to the left, as if they belong to the group receiving the newlyweds at the door of their new home. On some vases packages and torches are both shown, but since both are almost

exclusively carried in wedding processions and therefore sufficient in themselves to define the scene, painters usually depicted only one *typical element* in addition to the chariot. Wreaths are also found, but rarely as the only *typical element*, probably because they were also used at other festive occasions. Other elements derived from daily life are the old man seated at the heads of the horses and the child who sometimes precedes the chariot, who can probably be interpreted as the *pais amphithales*.[242]

In the second half of the century several *variants* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' are found. There are depictions in which gods are omitted and only anonymous people and *typical elements* derived from daily life are represented (*variant WP II*), but more often these *typical elements* are combined with gods, which creates ambiguity about whether the event takes place in the mortal or divine world (*variant WP III*). In the last quarter of the century the *typical composition* achieved its definitive form, and from that moment all *typical elements* derived from real life could be omitted, and the emphasis is on the presence of the gods again as the composition in itself with the chariot and some gods was apparently sufficient to identify the meaning of the picture (*variant WP IV*).

While in *variant WG* many gods were depicted, forming an elaborate narrative of who was present at the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, in later depictions at first only Dionysus and Hermes were represented, with the addition of Apollo in the last quarter of the century. The growing popularity of Apollo may be due to important contemporary events, including the Purification of Delos and the restoration of Apollo sanctuaries by Pisistratus.[243] The disappearance of the other gods from the wedding processions and the fact that Dionysus is the only god found in the new composition from its beginnings, may be explained by iconographical reasons (see section 4.2.3). In the long processions with many chariots, the most important gods are depicted driving in chariots. When the number of chariots was reduced to one, the gods standing in them were also left out. Only Dionysus, who was represented walking in the early representations, retained his position in the updated composition. That Dionysus is depicted is not only due to this compositional conservatism: the god may represent the wine and the festivities or be present as a god of fertility. A reason for the added presence of Apollo and Hermes may be that their mortal

[242] See notes 4, 76, and 119.

[243] See note 182.

counterparts took part in wedding processions in real life: there are some depictions of bearded kitharodes and heralds without winged boots.[244]

The three gods – Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus – found their permanent positions in the painted wedding processions during the last quarter of the century: Apollo, standing near the horses, is now almost always present, and Hermes appears on the majority of the vases leading the procession. Dionysus is shown following the chariot or standing near the horses. When Apollo is the only god present, there is sometimes doubt about whether the god or a mortal kitharode has been depicted, and this ambiguity may have been deliberately created by the vase-painters. This may be also a reason that Dionysus is depicted less often in this period, since he, easily recognisable as a god, would have immediately defined the scene as mythological.

The other persons in the procession are almost always women, occasionally characterised as goddesses by a *polos*. It is noteworthy that women wearing the polos are never shown carrying packages and only rarely – and never when they are identified as a specific goddess by name-inscription – torches.[245] Other gods are infrequently depicted; Artemis, Poseidon, Athena, and Heracles are present a few times.[246] There is only one elaborate composition (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 05) that recalls the earlier processions of *variant WG*, with many gods depicted, all identified by name-inscriptions. However, although just as in *variant WG* the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis is represented, the moment that is chosen is definitely that of the later *variants*: the bridal couple is standing in the chariot and not waiting at home to receive the guests. Other relics of the old representations include rare cases in which groups of three women are standing near the chariots (*WP I* 01, *WP I* 02, *WP I* 13, *WP II* 01, *WP III* 23); where a procession of several chariots was depicted divided over two sides of the vase (*WP III* 30 = *AP IIc* 07; Pl. 15, *WP IV* 01 = *AP IId* 05); or where a house was painted at the right side of the picture (*WP I* 05, *WP I* 06, *WP III* 55).

This brings us to consider the identity of the bridal couple. In many publications they have been identified as Peleus and Thetis. When on another section of the vase their struggle

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[244] Bearded kitharode: *WP II* 02, *WP II* 22, *WP II* 23, *WP III* 30. Hermes-like figure without winged boots: *WP I* 11, *WP III* 15, *WP IV* 39. Man leading the procession: *WP I* 07, *WP II* 02,*WP II* 07, *WP II* 08, *WP II* 10, *WP II* 11.

[245] *WP III* 37, *WP III* 49, *WP III* 59. On *WP III* 31 the woman with the torches is the only one without name-inscription or polos.,

[246] Artemis: *WP III* 03 31. Athena: *WP III* 03 (or high priestess?), *WP IV* 07. On *WP III* 65 she is not part of the procession. Poseidon: *WP III* 13, *WP III* 14. Heracles: *WP III* 64. On *WP IV* 08 Heracles is the groom. On *WP II* 19 Heracles is depicted but not part of the procession.

or the Judgment of Paris is depicted, the identification by association is easily made.[247] In these cases the subject of the picture is recognised not only by combining various elements within the painting, but also by the combination with a picture on another section of the vase. However, only on *WP I* 14 and *WP IV* 05 (Pl. 15) is this identification certain because of the name-inscriptions. On a few other vases name-inscriptions are added to identify the couple as Admetus and Alcestis (*WP III* 31) or Heracles and Hebe (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 08), making it clear that the simplest way to give figures an identity is by inscribing their names.

In most cases, however, there is no indication whom the bride and groom are or whether they are mortal or immortal, and in my opinion the painter did not have a specific bridal couple in mind. The change of the composition and therefore of the meaning around the middle of the century shows a change in the interest of the painters and their public, from complex narrative representation of a mythological episode, the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, to a more general depiction of an important event in the personal life of ordinary people, the transition from the unmarried into the married status. This transition was especially important for the groom, who would become the head of his family from now on. That seems to be expressed by the paintings on other sections of the vases, which are mostly connected with the life of men. There are a few exceptions: on a few special shapes, such as the tripod-exaleiptron (*WP I* 01) and the Nicosthenic pyxis (*WP III* 65), scenes related with the life of women are depicted, which may indicate that they were made as wedding gifts for the bride. Furthermore, on shapes designed to be used during the wedding ceremony, such as the lebes gamikos and the loutrophoros, there is a strong connection between the paintings on the various sections of the vase, which refer to wedding rituals or to Peleus and Thetis. However, on all other vases mythological scenes and depictions taken from the men's world, such as hoplites leaving and fighting, horsemen, and *komoi* are found. This may be explained by the fact that in Greece marriage was an agreement between men's families, and the combination on so many vases of depictions of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' with depictions on other sections of the *subtype* ´Hoplite leaving', shows two important aspects of a men's life and his duties to the polis and the *oikos*: serving in the army and producing legal heirs. In the representations of the fights, the emphasis is on heroism, not on the tragedy of the dead and, as Susanne Moraw[248] contends, in those of wedding processions, the emphasis is on the high status of the groom, his horses, and his fair bride.

[247] Struggle: *WP III* 68, *WP IV* 21. Judgment of Paris: *WP I* 01, *WP I* 13, *WP II* 27.

[248] Moraw (2005) 82–83.

For the bride the wedding literally meant a physical transition to a new house and family, and also a change in social status from girl to married wife. However, her legal position did not change: as Loyd Llewellyn-Jones says, "Even though a bride was decked out like a goddess, she still remained a silent passive object of male control.",[249] or in the words of Gloria Ferrari: the bride is "afforded conditionally by one man to another as the means of social reproduction."[250] In the iconography of the wedding procession her subordinate position is expressed by the order in which people mounted the chariot. Although in most cases the bride and groom are shown standing together in the chariot, in some vase-paintings the groom is depicted mounting the chariot in which she is passively waiting. The mounting person seems to be derived from the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', but there the driver waits in the chariot for the mounting of his passenger, who is in charge (even when they are equal in rank). In the wedding procession the order of mounting is reversed: the bride waits in the chariot for the man who will be in charge of her and bring her to his home.

In this context the gesture of pulling the mantle forward – which is in fact the same as in *variant WG* – gains a special meaning. While on the Sophilos dinos (Pl. 13, *WG* 01) the gesture is made by all of the married women in contrast with the unmarried ones, in the later representations it becomes the 'bridal gesture', characteristic of the bride and referring to the Anakalypteria, the second day of the wedding rituals. This is often associated with the moment the bride unveils herself for her husband, but according to Llewellyn-Jones there are several moments during this wedding day when the bride is veiled, unveiled, and veiled again, until she is finally unveiled by her husband in their sleeping room.[251] He states that the bride was veiled when she was brought to her new home and suggests that the bridal gesture is possibly a way "to represent a woman with her face veiled without actually depicting the veil."[252] For Gloria Ferrari, the mantle is metaphorically representing *aidos* (respect both given and received), and refers to the quality of the figure it covers.[253] In real life the mantle was a gift of the husband, and by accepting it and putting it on, the woman acknowledged him as her husband. With the bridal gesture she exposed her face to the

[249] Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 220.

[250] Ferrari (2002) 194. On marriage practises and especially legal aspects, see Ferrari (2002) 179–209.

[251] Llewellyn-Jones, (2003) 230–238. See notes 17, 18, 41, and 80.

[252] Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 107.

[253] Ferrari (1990) 199–200.

groom, shielding it at the same time from the other men.[254] In the vase-paintings under discussion the prominent place of the mantle pulled forward and framing the face of the bride shows its symbolic value.

There are a few vases where the woman in the chariot is bareheaded and not making the bridal gesture. In some cases there is no or just one bystander, and other *typical elements* (except for the chariot with the couple standing in it) are not present. In other cases there are other bystanders than usual, such as a hoplite.[255] This makes it probable that on these vases it is not a wedding procession that is represented. Vase-painters – or the men who commissioned them – could make variations and chose which and how many figures or *typical elements* to depict, but they stayed within certain boundaries, because the buyers had to understand the picture. When changes were made, such as the transformation of a procession of wedding guests into a party accompanying the bridal chariot, the new meaning was related to the original one and some attributes were added to make the new meaning clear. The same observation can be used to understand the vase-paintings with the bareheaded woman and the unusual compositions: they resemble the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' as well as some *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.[256] In my opinion by combining *typical elements* of these images (few bystanders, a man or hoplite standing nearby) with the *typical composition* of the wedding procession (the newlywed couple in the chariot, but omitting the bridal gesture), the painters made it clear that they were not depicting a wedding procession, but another event associated with it.[257]

Finally, these vase-paintings do not represent daily life practice. In the depictions of wedding processions, it is the presence of *typical elements* derived from daily life, as well as divine figures, that creates an ambiguity in which reality and mythological realm merge and the bride and groom are elevated as equals to the gods in the same way mortals could be compared to gods in poetry.[258] The chariot was the most important contribution to this ambiguity. Not used in Athenian daily life, the chariot is an element that refers to heroes and gods. Since the bridal couple is in most cases depicted standing in the chariot, and the groom is occasionally shown mounting it, the emphasis is on the journey the bridal couple is

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[254] See notes 17 and 18. Ferrari (1990) 190. Ferrari (2002) 189–190.

[255] *WP II* 15 (one woman), *WP II* 16 (one man), *WP II* 17 (one man), *WP II* 18 (men and dog), *WP IV* 09 (old man with hoplite), *WP IV* 31 (Apollo, Hermes, vines), *WP IV* 62 (Apollo, Hermes, jumping boy).

[256] *Variants MC*, *CH, CMH* and *CMM* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.

[257] I will discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia in section 6.6.

[258] See section 4.4.3, note 197.

making rather than on their actual departure or arrival. In my opinion the chariot is used to make the painting explicitly *not* a representation of daily life, but rather of the institution of marriage, the 'passage' from being unwed people to wedded ones, a transition which is, however, not yet complete. Therefore, bride and groom were depicted in an ideal context between two worlds,[259] passing from one social situation to the next.[260] The chariot is the *typical element* that points to this life transition.

At the end of the 6th century BCE the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' and its *variants* decreased in popularity. In red-figure vase-painting there is more interest in other aspects of the wedding and married life. Perhaps the democratic reforms of the later 6th century led to less interest in aristocratic rituals.[261]

[259] Jenkins (1983) 142.

[260] Van Gennep (1977) 3. The same may be valid for the couple in the depictions with the bareheaded woman.

[261] See sections 6.5 and 6.6.

Chapter 5

Subtype 'Apotheosis of Heracles and divine departures'

Text figure 6
Athena leads Heracles to Zeus, holding him by the wrist in the characteristic gesture for grooms leading their brides.
Cup signed by Phrynos as potter, 560–550 BCE.
London, British Museum B424 (BA 301068).

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter about 350 depictions of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile with people standing in and next to it' (hereafter: 'Chariot in profile') are discussed in which gods and goddesses are mounting, driving, or accompanying a chariot. Because about one third of the paintings represent Heracles and Athena, both identifiable by at least one attribute, standing in or near a chariot, I named the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles and divine departures' (hereafter: 'Apotheosis of Heracles').

Since the subject of this book is the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', the term *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' will refer only to depictions in which a chariot is present; scenes of the Apotheosis of Heracles on foot (*text figure 6*), in which no chariot is involved, are not included in my lists or will be discussed only briefly.[1] A few vase-paintings made between about 570 and 550 BCE that probably represent Heracles' Apotheosis but do not use the *typical composition* of later depictions will be discussed in section 5.1 (*variant AP I*, Table 20). My lists include 112 representations of the Apotheosis of Heracles, almost all dating to the second half of the 6th century BCE.[2] There are several *variants*, distinguished by details such as which figure is holding the reins and whether the other figure is standing in or near the chariot (*variants AP II-VII*). By analysing the various *typical compositions* I conclude that not all of the *variants* show the *departure* of Heracles to Olympus, but rather that in some cases his *arrival* is depicted (*variant AP IV*).

I will also discuss images in which Heracles is replaced by an anonymous, presumably mortal, man or Athena by an anonymous woman (*variants IIa-c, IIIa-b, IVa-b, Va-b, VIa-b, VIIa*), as well as images in which other gods are represented instead of Athena (*variants IId, VIIb*). The compositions of some of these *variants*, where one or two persons stand in the chariot, is related to the *subtypes* 'Hoplite leaving' and 'Wedding procession'.

Finally, I will discuss depictions of Athena mounting a chariot without Heracles present (*variant ATH*), which resembles *variants AP IV* and *AP V,* of female drivers (*variants WOa-c*), and of Dionysus[3] and other gods driving chariots (*variants DIO, DIWO,* and *GM*).

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[1] See section 5.1.1.

[2] See also Manakidou (1994) 202–210. Some vases are so fragmentary that there is too little information about the details to attribute them to a particular variant. For other vases I have only a description, which is in many cases insufficient. I give their references in a note in the beginning of the section to which they probably belong.

[3] Carpenter (1986) 98: "Attic painters sometimes use similar iconographic conventions in their depictions of Dionysos and of Heracles."; *idem* 107–111 on parallel chariot scenes.

The *variants* are described and information about the vases[4] and details important for understanding the *variants* are presented in Tables 20–34. In the text I refer to the vases as *AP I, AP II,* etc., followed by the number in the Tables**.**

Depictions of the Apotheosis of Heracles are discussed in many articles published since John Boardman first related them in 1972 to the story of the return of Pisistratus.[5] After Pisistratus seized power in Athens around 560 BCE, he was expelled but, according to Herodotus,[6] returned to Athens in a chariot driven by a tall, beautiful girl named Phye dressed up as Athena. His heralds declared that the goddess was escorting him back to the city, whereupon the citizens opened the gate and let him in. Later Pisistratus gave up his tyranny and left the city again, only to return after his victory near the sanctuary of Athena at Pallene in 547/546 BCE. From that moment onwards Pisistratus stayed in power until he died in about 528 BCE.

Ancient writers – and modern ones – do not agree on the chronology of the various periods of Pisistratus' tyrannies. Within this book, the question is only whether Pisistratus was inspired to create his divine procession by contemporary vase-paintings of Athena driving a chariot with a hero standing next to her, or whether the vase-painters created the image as they remembered the arrival of Pisistratus (who was *not* disguised as Heracles)

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[4] Information on the whereabouts of the vases, inventory number, shape, painter, date, provenance, references to the record number in the Internet Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BA followed by the number) and finally a short characterisation of the depiction(s) on other sections of the vase. For vases in the Beazley Archive literature is not cited because that can be found there. For vases not in the Beazley Archive a reference to the publication is given.

[5] Boardman (1972), further developed in Boardman (1975). Boardman (1978) concludes that Exekias shows anti-Pisistratus feelings in his choice of scenes. Glynn (1981) connects the depictions of Heracles and Nereus and Triton with Athens' growing power at sea under Pisistratus. However, Williams (1983c) 140 contends that "the Alcmeonids had much to do with the development of Heracles as a political symbol", while Moon (1983b) 101 considers Heracles as the champion of the middle class rather than of the tyranny. Later Boardman (1984) 246 contends that "Heracles and Athena as symbols of the power of Athens were exploited first by the Alkmaionids, then by Pisistratus and his sons". Cook (1987) opposes the "propagandist theory". Shapiro (1989a) 162 states that "If there is any truth to the proposition that Pisistratus wished to be identified with Heracles, then it was with Heracles the mortal hero, under Athena's protection, not with Heracles the god." Boardman (1991) 88–89 contends that it is not "political propaganda in the modern sense but it does reflect the aspirations and achievements of the *polis* and its leaders". Sinos (1993) 81 contends that "the scene of Athena escorting Heracles simply reproduces the old tradition that attributes to the goddess of Athens the role of escort or guide of select men." Boardman (2001) 203–208 returns to the theory but states that the potters' quarter was not used as a "tool of political propaganda" and that "Heracles was not a 'Peisistratid emblem' but, with Athena, an Athenian emblem." Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 91–96 agrees with Sinos and states that Pisistratus' entry with Phye turned to ritual activity to obtain the consent of the Athenian polity. Mackay (2010) 193–196 discusses the episode and various opinions about it. Stafford (2012) 164–167 gives a summary of objections against the hypothesis.

[6] See section 0.3.2. The history of Pisistratus is described in Herodotus, *Hist*. 1, 59–63 and in Ps. Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 13–14. See Shapiro (1989a) 1–17; Parker (2009). Different aspects of Pisistratus' tyranny are well discussed in Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.) (2000a). See the chapters in this book: Boersma (2000); Blok (2000); Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2000b); *idem* (2000c); Singor (2000); Slings (2000); Van der Vin (2000).

with Phye/Athena in their depictions of the Apotheosis. According to Herodotus' chronology, Pisistratus' event took place in 557 BCE (10 years *before* the battle at Pallene). Josine Blok makes the hypothetical, but attractive, suggestion to date Pisistratus' entrance into Athens with Phye *after* the battle at Pallene.[7] Although the exact date is uncertain, the Phye episode can be dated around 550 BCE. From 560 BCE on, at least a decade earlier, there are depictions of the Apotheosis of Heracles in which a chariot is involved (*variant AP I*), but *none* of these show Athena driving the chariot with Heracles standing next to her. Since most vase-paintings with Athena and Heracles together in the chariot date to the period 540–500 BCE, we can assume that the image was *not* the inspiration for Pisistratus' action. As regards the second possibility, that the vase-painters created the image after the entrance of Pisistratus, I will argue that from an iconographical point of view the new composition of the Apotheosis of Heracles in a chariot was on the one hand a continuation and development of earlier depictions of the hero's Apotheosis, and on the other hand an adaptation of the *typical composition* of other chariot scenes in which the chariot is a *typical element* indicating a transition to a new phase in life; as discussed elsewhere in this book, riding in a chariot also conveys this meaning in the *subtypes* 'Hoplite leaving' and 'Wedding procession'. Therefore, the new image of the Heracles' Apotheosis may have been influenced by Pisistratus' dramatic action, but it survived and became a popular *subtype* because its cultural meaning was in accord with the meaning of the original *typical composition*, while it is also possible that Pisistratus made the choice to enter in a chariot, because riding in a chariot was associated with a ritual transition to a new phase in life.

A third possibility is that the composition was influenced by a literary tradition, but, although there were some – now lost – epics about Heracles, there is no evidence that his Apotheosis is mentioned in any of them, although it is possible.[8] Apparently the version of the myth in which Heracles dies, is the oldest one. In Homer, Heracles is not considered a god, because even he died and his shade is in Hades;[9] the lines in the *Odyssey* that say that he (*autos* = himself) is living among the immortals with his new wife Hebe, are considered a late 6th-century addition, made at the time when the story of his Apotheosis was also a popular image on Athenian pottery.

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[7] Blok (2000) 39–48.

[8] Holt (1992). A *Geryoneis'* was written by Stesichorus, whose name is also mentioned in connection with the depictions of Heracles and Cycnus (Chapter 2, note 67) and the François krater (Chapter 4, notes 23 and 27). However, there is no indication that the Apotheosis was described in that poem.

[9] Homer, *Iliad* 18, 117–119. *Odyssey* 11, 601–602; 6th- century addition: *Odyssey* 11, 602–604.

According to Diodorus Siculus, the Athenians were the first to honour Heracles with sacrifices like a god.[10] According to Athenaeus,[11] young men who became *ephebes* (literally reaching their *hèbè*) and were beginning their military training not only cut their hair and shaved their beards for the first time, but also offered a cup of wine to Heracles and their friends.[12] This offering, called the Oenisteria, marked the transition into manhood and took place during the Apaturia, the festival for the *phratries*.[13] That the offering was made to Heracles, who was closely associated with Hebe, shows that he was connected with the attainment of maturity.[14] The deer that is found in several depictions of the Apotheosis may also point to this aspect of Heracles; however, it may refer instead to Artemis, to whom the young men offered their shaven hair. According to Sonia Klinger, deer were attributes of both Apollo and Artemis and "they represent the deities' symbolic functions in the transformation of young men and women into sexually mature adults."[15]

5.1. *Variant AP I* 'Apotheosis of Heracles, early depictions' 560–550 BCE (Table 20, Plate 16)

5.1.1 Description

In Athenian black-figure vase-painting there are early depictions of Heracles entering Olympus, but they show him on foot. On a Siana cup attributed to the Cassandra Painter in London[16] dated to 565 BCE, Heracles, preceded by Hermes and Athena and followed by Artemis and Ares, is walking to the left, towards Zeus and Hera sitting on thrones with a woman, probably Hebe, standing between them.[17] This composition is also found in a

[10] Diodorus Siculus 4,39,1. See also Isocrates 5.33. According to Pausanias, 1, 15,3 and 1, 32,4, the Marathonians were the first. Shapiro (1989a) 158. Boardman (1986) discusses the various versions of the death and afterlife of Heracles

[11] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XI, 494.

[12] Jourdain-Annequin (1989) 371–372.

[13] See section 3.8.2, note 132.

[14] Verbanck-Piérard (1995) 113.

[15] Klinger (2002) 30; 31. See also section 4.4.2, notes 189 and 191. Deer are found in *variants WP III* and *WP IV* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', and in most *variants* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles'. They are also found in *variant WOa-b* (13 times) and *variant DIO*. They are not found in *variant ATH*.

[16] London, British Museum, B379, Siana cup, Cassandra P., 565 BCE (BA 300525).

[17] A comparable scene seems to have been depicted on the lid of the lekanis by the C Painter, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akr. 2112a-b (BA 300497), dated to 570–565 BCE, on which also the Departure of Amphiaraus is depicted (*HL I* 01). See Lioutas (1987) 59, D17; Pl. 30,2. On the fragment Heracles followed by a woman carrying a wreath is walking to left behind Artemis (bow) and Athena (shield), which may point to his marriage with Hebe.

simpler form[18] and could even be reduced to the essential persons: Heracles, Athena, and Zeus (*text figure. 6*).[19] Although images of Heracles led by Athena before Zeus sitting on a throne continued to be painted,[20] there is also a *variant* in which the man (or the couple) towards whom Heracles is walking is not enthroned but standing.[21] The man is usually interpreted as Zeus, but when the man is identified by a trident as Poseidon,[22] one may doubt whether the arrival of Heracles on Olympus is depicted. Perhaps this is an early example of Heracles shown as a god with other gods, as he would be shown many times later in the century.[23] Hermes is present on almost all of the vases, while Dionysus and Poseidon are less frequently shown and Apollo only rarely.[24] It is noteworthy that in this scene Athena usually carries a round shield and that sometimes a dog is walking with the gods.

There are only a few vases dating to the first half of the 6th century BCE with a representation of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' where a chariot is involved, and on these vases the hero is not shown riding in it but walking alongside it in the company of some gods (*variant AP I*). I will discuss these vases separately, as the depictions do not yet have the *typical composition* of the *subtype*, although various *typical elements* are present.

On two hydriai attributed to the Archippe Group[25] and dated to around 560 BCE, the procession is moving to the left (*AP I* 01, *AP I* 02). Name-inscriptions leave no doubt about the persons depicted: in both cases Iolaus is standing in the chariot, holding the reins. On *AP I* 01 Heracles with his lion skin, club, and quiver is following the chariot, holding a wreath in his hand. Three goddesses, each carrying a wreath, stand facing to the right as if they are receiving the chariot: Athena is standing near the hindquarters of the horses, Hebe near the heads of the horses, and Hera behind Hebe. On *AP I* 02 (Pl. 16) Heracles with lion skin,

[18] See *e.g.,* London, British Museum, B166 (BA 14700), belly-amphora, Painter of Berlin 1686, 550–540 BCE. On one side Athena, Heracles, and Hermes are standing before an enthroned Zeus. On the other side of the vase Heracles is depicted between Athena and Poseidon, walking away but turning his head towards Zeus.

[19] London, British Museum, B424, cup, Phrynos potter, 560–550 BCE (BA 301068).

[20] It is also found on a lekythos by the Sappho Painter dated 500–490 BCE, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.162.30 (BA 305500).

[21] Basel, Antikenmuseum, BS 496, belly-amphora, Group E, ca. 540 BCE (BA 213); three belly-amphorae by the Amasis Painter, ca. 540 B.C: Berlin, St. Museen Antikensammlung, F 1688, belly-amphora (BA 310436); *idem* once, F 1689 (BA 310437); *idem* once, F 1691 (BA 310439).

[22] Paris, Musée du Louvre, F30, olpe, Amasis Painter, ca. 540 BCE (BA 310456).

[23] See for a discussion of representations and monuments: Boardman (1986). Carpenter (1986) 104–111. Verbanck-Piérard (1987); *idem* (1995) 118–120.

[24] In the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' Apollo is also rarely represented on the earlier vases, while his popularity grew in the last third of the century (see chapter 4).

[25] Von Bothmer (1969) 26, and Kluiver (2003) 17: the Archippe Group shows similarities with the Tyrrhenian Group but is not a part of it.

club, and bow is moving to the left in the centre of the composition on the other side of the horses. The chariot is followed by Artemis and Aphrodite, both carrying a wreath. At the left side of the scene Demeter is preceding the horses, following Hermes who is leading the procession to the left and turning his head towards the chariot. Athena is not present.

A comparable scene was painted on fragments of a Tyrrhenian amphora by the Kyllenios Painter[26] dating about 555–550 BCE (*AP I* 03): Heracles is following a left-facing chariot in which a woman is standing. Before her head the letters *alpha* and *theta*[27] are visible, so she is probably Athena, although she is not armed nor wearing a helmet. A woman holding a wreath and facing to the right is standing between the horses and the chariot, and another woman is following Heracles.

On a Siana cup attributed to Lydos (Pl. 16, *AP I* 04) and dated 560–550 BCE, Heracles, identified by his lion skin, is shown standing in a chariot, holding a bow and arrow. A charioteer, wearing a white chiton with *nebris* and a *petasus*, is holding the reins of four galloping winged horses. Athena with helmet, spear, and shield is walking alongside the horses.

5.1.2 Analysis

With only four depictions as evidence, it is not possible to draw firm conclusions about *typical elements* at this early date. However, Heracles can be recognised in all cases by his lion skin and three times by his club.

Athena has no fixed role, position, or appearance in the representation. On the cup by Lydos (Pl. 16, *AP I* 04) she is walking in full armour alongside the chariot, but on the other vases she is not identified by any attribute, only by an inscription (*AP I* 01, *AP I* 03). The charioteer is identified twice by name-inscriptions as Iolaus (*AP I* 01, *AP I* 02). On *AP I* 04 the charioteer is wearing a *nebris*.

It is noteworthy that most of the bystanders are goddesses identified by name-inscriptions on *AP I* 01 and *AP I* 02. Zeus is not depicted on these vases, nor are Apollo and Dionysus, and Hermes only once (Pl. 16, *AP I* 02), leading the procession.

[26] Paris, Louvre, CP 12069 (BA 44986). Kluiver (2003) 157, nr. 113.

[27] See Carpenter (1984) 48–50.

5.1.3 Changing the composition

It is interesting to see what choices vase-painters made to depict the new story of the Apotheosis of Heracles. They took the *typical composition* and some *typical elements* from other related scenes and adapted them to the new subject. Clearly, the fact that the public knew that Heracles' Apotheosis coincided with his marriage to Hebe, made it possible for the painters of *AP I* 01 and *AP I* 02 (Pl. 16) to use *typical elements* that are reminiscent of a wedding procession: the wreaths; the presence of Hera, Hebe, and other goddesses who play a role in wedding rituals such as Demeter, Artemis, and Aphrodite; and the absence of Zeus and other male gods, except for Hermes who leads the procession.[28] These vases were made in the same period in which the processions of the wedding guests on the François krater and the Sophilos dinos (Pl. 13, *WG* 01; *WG* 05) were transformed into the wedding procession in which a mortal bride was brought by the groom to her new house.[29] However, since in the case of Heracles it is the *groom* who is going to the house of his bride, Mt. Olympus, the painter had to make some changes to the *typical element* of the chariot with the bridal couple: Heracles is not driving the chariot himself (as the groom does), but – like the bride in normal wedding processions – is brought as a passenger by his usual charioteer Iolaus. As Iolaus will not accompany him to Olympus, he remains in the chariot when Heracles dismounts[30] to follow Hermes and Demeter on foot to his new home (Pl. 16, *AP I* 02), where Hera and Hebe are waiting for him (*AP I* 01). An interesting parallel for inverted wedding symbolism is the cup signed by the potter Phrynos (*text figure 6*) on which Athena is holding Heracles by the wrist, which is a characteristic gesture for grooms leading their brides.

The fact that Heracles is shown walking and not riding in the chariot may derive from earlier depictions of the Apotheosis that do not include a chariot.[31] It is noteworthy that on the vases of the Archippe Group and the Tyrrhenian amphora the procession is moving to the left. According to Heinz Luschey,[32] this direction is used for scenes of people returning home; it may be used here to indicate that Heracles is not only going to the house of his bride, but also coming home to the house of his father Zeus. As the meaning of the *typical*

[28] The fact that the only persons depicted on both vases are Heracles and Iolaus shows that there was no fixed iconography yet. The painters included the figures they thought appropriate to the scene.

[29] See section 4.2. This change can be seen well in the Tyrrhenian Group.

[30] It should be noted that Heracles is not looking back towards Iolaus nor making a gesture of impatience, as he sometimes does when Athena is his charioteer, as if he spurs her on to follow him (*variant AP IV*, section 5.6).

[31] See section 5.1.1

[32] Luschey (2002) 29–30. For left-directed bridal chariots on very early (non-Attic) vase-paintings, see Chapter 4, notes 7 and 54.

composition of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' had been changed, and was perhaps even for his contemporaries not comprehensible at first sight, the painter added name-inscriptions.

Lydos chose a different *typical composition* with a related meaning as the basis for his Apotheosis composition (Pl. 16, *AP I* 04): that of the Gigantomachy, in which Heracles is fighting as a god among the gods. In this image, which was especially popular between 560 and 540 BCE, Zeus is usually shown mounting as charioteer the chariot on which Heracles is standing with one leg on the pole as an archer, while Athena is running in full armour alongside the chariot.[33] Without doubt Athenians recognised the composition of the three gods and the chariot, but they must have also noticed the differences: the hero is standing quietly in the chariot, his bow not bent, and there are no adversaries. On both sides of the chariot people stand talking to each other, obviously not involved with the chariot or the hero.

Why vase-painters started to depict the Apotheosis with a chariot is impossible to say.[34] Maybe they wanted to emphasise another aspect of the story and to arouse – by using the *typical composition* or *typical elements* of a wedding procession with its connotation of entering a new phase in life or a Gigantomachy – in their public the associations with these stories. However, the emphasis is no longer on Heracles' reception on Olympus as a god, as it was in depictions where he is walking with Athena and other gods towards Zeus, but rather has shifted to his marriage and to his journey to Olympus.

5.1.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

All of the early vases are related to the Tyrrhenian Group. The amphora was painted by the Kyllenios Painter. The two hydriai are attributed to the Archippe Group, and the Siana cup was painted by Lydos.

On the other side of the Siana cup (*AP I* 04) there is a representation of the *type scene* 'Fighting men parted' (*FM I* 01). On *AP I* 02 a frieze with animals is depicted on the shoulder, while on *AP I* 01 there is no shoulder frieze, because the image on the belly continues onto the shoulder. For *AP I* 03 there are no fragments preserved of the other side of the vase.

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[33] Jurriaans-Helle (2009) 187–193. There are fragments by Lydos (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akr. 1.607) (BA 310147) with a representation of a Gigantomachy with Athena running alongside the chariot of Zeus and Heracles.

[34] See section 5.0. Although there is no unanimity about the date of Pisistratus' stratagem, it seems to have happened at a later date than these vases were made.

5.2. *Variant AP II*: 'Athena and Heracles standing in chariot, Athena holding reins' 540–500 BCE (Table 21, Plate 16)

5.2.1 Description

In the second half of the 6th century BCE, depictions of the Apotheosis of Heracles with a chariot became popular, and in all cases Heracles and Athena are present, standing in or near the chariot. My database includes 13 more or less complete vases and a few fragmentary ones[35] with Heracles and Athena both standing in the chariot, while Athena is holding the reins (*Variant AP II)*.[36]

Heracles is standing in the chariot on the left side of Athena and is almost always identifiable by his club carried over his shoulder or held in front of him.[37] Five times he is wearing the lion skin.[38] Since his body is partly blocked by Athena, only the head of the lion is visible, and his quiver is never depicted.

Athena can be recognised by her helmet and in almost all cases by the *aegis*.[39] She never carries a round shield, which would be inconvenient, as she is holding the reins with

[35] On the calyx-krater Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, AP 1044 (*AP II* 04, BA 310401) the chariot and the persons in it are missing. Only the name-inscription for Heracles and a spear probably held by Athena as a goad are preserved. I assume that both figures are shown standing in the chariot, because of the presence of Poseidon and because of the hoplitomachy on the other side of the vase, both of which occur only in this group. It is not probable that the marriage of Heracles and Hebe is depicted, because of the spear, and because on vases with wedding processions Poseidon is rarely present (*WP III* 13, *WP III* 14, *WP IV* 05) except for the large processions with wedding guests (*variant WG*). On a fragment of a belly-amphora in Cyrene, Archaeological Museum, 23.1 (BA 28378) only Heracles (with club), Athena (with helmet) standing in the chariot, and Apollo (kithara) walking alongside the horses are visible. On a fragment of a column-krater in Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, A18–2550 (BA 20132) Heracles (club), Athena (aegis) and a man walking alongside the horses are visible. On a fragmentary belly-amphora in Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum, 86 AE 103 (BA 32057) Athena is standing in a chariot, accompanied by Dionysus, Apollo, a woman, and Hermes. It is not possible to identify the person standing next to Athena in the chariot. On a fragment in the Archaeological Museum of Cyrene (BA 28171) attributed to Exekias, Athena is visible, standing in a chariot with someone standing near her and someone following the chariot, but it is not possible to identify them.

[36] There are also some representations of which I have only a description, according to which Heracles and Athena are standing in a chariot. As experience has proved that descriptions are often not accurate in details, I left those outside this study, but their references are: New York Market, Christie's, belly-amphora, Lysippides Painter, 525 BCE (BA 9022317); Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 674, neck-amphora, near Painter of Munich 1519, 525 BCE (BA 302954); Paris, Coll. Baron E.de Rothschild, hydria, near Priam Painter, 520 BCE (BA 301809).

[37] Over shoulder: *AP II* 05, *AP II* 06, *AP II* 07, *AP II* 08, *AP II* 09, *AP II* 12. In front of him: *AP II* 02, *AP II* 03, *AP II* 10, *AP II* 11. According to the description he is carrying a club on *AP II* 13, but it is not visible on the photo. On *AP II* 01 he is not carrying a club. He is also depicted beardless on this vase, but as he is wearing a lion skin he can be recognised as Heracles.

[38] On *AP II* 03 the head of Heracles is lost. According to the description, he is wearing a lion skin on *AP II* 13 but on the photo it is not possible to discern.

[39] On *AP II* 03 the head of Athena is lost. On the photo of *AP II* 13 it is not possible to discern whether she is wearing a helmet and an aegis and holding a spear.

both hands. In most cases she is holding a long stick, and in five cases it is clearly drawn as a spear and not as a pointed goad.[40]

In nearly all cases Apollo is present standing beside the horses; only on *AP II* 03 and *AP II* 06 (Pl. 16) is he missing. On *AP II* 12 a deer is standing near him. On *AP II* 02 the kitharode is bearded, and since on this vase a hoplite and a dog also accompany the chariot we may hesitate to conclude whether the god is depicted or a mortal kitharode. However, Athena, Heracles, and Poseidon are clearly recognisable, which places the scene in a mythological context. Once Artemis with *polos* and name-inscription is shown standing facing Apollo (*AP II* 04). Twice she stands next to him, in one case identified by her polos and quiver.[41]

Hermes is present nine times, usually walking at the head of the procession looking backwards or turned to face the procession as if he is receiving it. Once he is shown kneeling under the heads of the horses (Pl. 16, *AP II* 10); another time he is not in his usual place but following Apollo.[42]

Dionysus is found on seven vases, all dated to the last third of the century. Usually he stands with Apollo near the horses, but there are small differences: he may follow Apollo, precede him and look back at him, or stand facing him. Twice Dionysus is shown following the chariot.[43]

Poseidon is depicted twice: on *AP II* 02 he is following Apollo, and on *AP II* 04 he is preceding Apollo and looking back towards him.

A few times other persons are present, who cannot be identified as gods. On *AP II 01* an old man holding branches is standing at the horses' heads, receiving the chariot; and on three other vases a woman does this.[44] On *AP II* 03, a fragmentary belly-amphora attributed to the Swing Painter, there are no identifiable gods depicted, but a woman, a man, and a hoplite are standing to the left near the horses, while the horses are preceded by a man with

[40] Spear: *AP II* 01, *AP II* 04, *AP II* 05, *AP II* 06, *AP II* 07.

[41] Artemis standing next to Apollo with polos and quiver: *AP II* 05. According to the description of *AP II* 13 a woman is standing next to Apollo, almost totally blocked by him. It is not possible to see her in the photo, but a woman in that position is probably Artemis.

[42] Head of procession, looking back: *AP II* 04, *AP II* 06, *AP II* 08, *AP II* 11, *AP II* 12; turned to chariot as if receiving: *AP II* 05, *AP II* 07, *AP II* 10 (kneeling); walking behind Apollo: *AP II* 01.

[43] Near chariot, following Apollo, looking back to the chariot: *AP II* 05, *AP II* 07; standing in front of Apollo looking back, *AP II* 09, *AP II* 11; standing facing Apollo *AP II* 08; following the chariot *AP II* 06, *AP II* 12. On *AP II* 05 Dionysus is not represented; however since the left side of the painting is missing, it is possible that he was depicted following the chariot.

[44] Old man: *AP II* 01; woman: *AP II* 04, *AP II* 09 and *AP II* 11.

greaves, a spear, and possibly a quiver; a woman stands facing this man. A hoplite accompanied by a dog leads the procession on *AP II* 02, and two hoplites and a woman, all turned to the left, are seen on *AP II* 06 (Pl. 16); on both vases identifiable gods are also depicted.

5.2.2 Analysis

In all depictions of *variant AP II* Athena is holding the reins. This is exceptional: there are other examples of goddesses driving a chariot in vase-paintings, but in the cases where a god and a goddess are both standing in a chariot, the god almost always handles the reins.[45] In representations of marriages between a mortal man and a goddess (Peleus and Thetis, Heracles and Hebe), it is the man who drives the chariot. The only consistent exceptions are the *variants* of the Apotheosis of Heracles where Athena is driving the chariot and Heracles is the passenger.

The chariot is usually accompanied by gods. Only on *AP II* 03, the belly-amphora by the Swing Painter, are there no identifiable gods. On all of the other vases in the group at least two gods or goddesses are present, and five times Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus are depicted in the same positions they appear in *subtype* 'Wedding procession'. Poseidon is represented on two early vases, perhaps a reminiscence of his occasional presence in depictions of the Apotheosis of Heracles on foot.

On some vases the gods mingle with hoplites, women, or an old man, which may be due to the fact that there was not yet a fixed *typical composition* for the Apotheosis. Hence, persons who were integral parts of related scenes (such as the *subtypes* 'Hoplite leaving' and 'Wedding procession') were inserted.

5.2.3 Changing the composition

Continuing the wedding-like representations discussed in section 5.1 (*AP I* 01; Pl. 16, *AP I* 02), the vase-painters used as the basis for this *variant* the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' with the bridal chariot.[46] This *typical composition* was chosen as appropriate because the Apotheosis coincided with Heracles' wedding to Hebe, and the gods who are often shown in wedding processions fit well into this updated variation of the

[45] See section 5.3.1 for some depictions of female drivers with gods or anonymous men as passengers (*variants AP IIc* and *AP IId*). On the Sophilos dinos and the François krater Athena is the only goddess driving a chariot, but her passengers are respectively Artemis and Leto; see section 4.1.1 (*WG* 01 and *WG* 05).

[46] See Chapter 4.

composition. However, the composition was changed in important ways by the painters. In mortal wedding processions, the bride stands as a passenger in the chariot as she is brought to her new home by the groom. In the case of Heracles, it is the groom who is brought to the house of the bride. Instead of depicting the man holding the reins – as is usual in wedding processions and also in cases where a mortal man and a goddess ride together in a chariot – Heracles is represented as the passenger, while Athena takes the position of the groom and holds the reins.[47] The choice to represent Athena – and not Iolaus as in the earliest depictions (*AP I* 01; Pl. 16, *AP I* 02) – may have been done to make it clear that this is not an ordinary occasion, but that the gods themselves are escorting Heracles to his new home. Athena may also hold the reins to avoid the impression that Heracles and Athena are the bridal couple. It is noteworthy that Hebe is never present. Apparently the emphasis is more on Heracles' journey to Olympus than on the wedding.

5.2.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant AP II is found on large vases with decoration panels suitable for an elaborate representation, such as belly-amphorae, neck-amphorae, hydriai, and kraters. The scene appears one time on an oenochoe. The earliest depiction of this *variant* is the one with no gods at all by the Swing Painter (*AP II* 03). The composition with an armed man, a hoplite, and women recalls the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. Other belly-amphorae were painted by the Bucci Painter, the Priam Painter, and the Leagros Group. The two hydriai and the calyx-krater were painted in the Manner of the Lysippides Painter.[48]

Only two mythological scenes are found on other sections of the vases. On the front of the lip of belly-amphora *AP II* 10 Heracles is shown fighting the Nemean Lion.[49] On the other side of *AP II* 04 the fight over the body of Patroklos is depicted. A Dionysiac scene was painted on three belly-amphorae. Generic scenes of hoplites fighting, leaving, or playing a board game are found on most of the other vases.

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[47] On the cup signed by Phrynos (London, British Museum, B424, BA 301068, *text figure 6*), Athena holds Heracles by the wrist in the gesture typical for the groom leading his bride.

[48] Mackay (1999b). Mackay (2010) 354–357. Calyx-crater: near the Mastos Painter and Manner of Lysippides Painter.

[49] This shortage of Heracles depictions may be due to the fact that the Antimenes Painter and the Euphiletos Painter are not represented in this group.

5.3. *Variants AP IIa-d*: '*Variant AP II* with one or two anonymous persons in chariot, woman holding reins'

540–500 BCE (Table 22, Plates 16–17)

5.3.1 Description

There are several vases in the database on which *variant AP II* is depicted, but where Athena, or Heracles, or both, are replaced by an anonymous person. Six times Athena, identified by aegis or helmet, is driving a chariot with a bearded man standing next to her without any attribute to identify him (*variant AP IIa*). Three of these are belly-amphorae, dated 540–530 BCE, during the period when the *typical composition* of the Apotheosis with the chariot was being formed and had not yet achieved its definitive form.

On *AP IIa* 02 and *AP IIa* 03 the woman driving the chariot is wearing a helmet and may be identified as Athena. On an amphora by the Swing Painter (Pl. 16, *AP IIa* 01) she is wearing an aegis; on this vase, the man standing next to her in the chariot is almost completely blocked by her and cannot be identified.

On *AP IIa* 01 and *AP IIa* 02 no gods stand next to the chariot, only a hoplite, women, and men. On *AP IIa* 02 a boy in a mantle is standing facing to the left under the heads of the horses. This recalls departure scene iconography. The image on the vase attributed to the Princeton Painter (*AP IIa* 03), with a hoplite and a woman holding her mantle up beside her cheek standing to the left near the horses, while another figure is walking to the right and looking back, is reminiscent of a departure. However, the vase also includes gods who give the image an unmistakable mythological context: Dionysus is following the chariot, and Hermes is leading the procession, looking back towards Apollo, who is walking in front of the horses.[50]

Two other vases with an unidentifiable bearded hero and Athena, in both cases carrying a spear and recognisable by her helmet and once by the aegis, were painted in the last decades of the century (Pl. 16, *AP IIa* 04; *AP IIa* 05), when the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' had attained its fixed form: Apollo is standing in his usual place near the horses, with a woman standing next to him and Hermes leading the procession. On *AP IIa* 05 Apollo is half hidden by the horses, while Dionysus is standing at the heads of the horses as if he is receiving the procession, an unusual position for this god;[51]

[50] On the name-vase of the Princeton Painter (*WP II* 02) a kitharode and a herald are walking before the chariot, but there the kitharode is bearded and the herald is not wearing winged boots.

[51] Dionysus standing at the heads of the horses is also a few times found in *subtype* 'Wedding procession' (*WP III* 31, *WP IV* 19, *WP IV* 56). On *WP IV* 12 he is sitting at the horses' heads.

a boy is following the chariot. On *AP IIa* 04 a woman is standing in front of Hermes. On a late neck-amphora (*AP IIa* 06) there are no bystanders; someone seems to be standing in the chariot next to Athena, but the figure is completely concealed by her.

There are three vases in the database on which Heracles, identified by his lion skin (Pl. 17, *AP IIb* 01) or club (*AP IIb* 02, *AP IIb* 03), is depicted standing in a chariot driven by a woman without attributes but accompanied by gods (*variant AP IIb*). On *AP IIb* 02 Dionysus and Hermes are standing near the horses. A woman is standing at the heads of the horses to the left, as if she is receiving the procession; she seems to hold a spear or staff in her hand. A woman is also receiving the chariot on *AP IIb* 03. The chariot is preceded by Hermes, looking backwards, but a second Hermes-like figure, wearing a long garment, is standing behind the chariot looking back towards a point outside the picture. Since Dionysus is not present on this side of the vase, it is possible that this 'palinopt'[52] figure serves to connect the depiction with that on the other side, where Dionysus is shown with satyrs and maenads. Poseidon is standing near the horses looking back towards Apollo; he is identified by a fish and probably a trident (of which the top is missing). Poseidon is found in other Apotheosis scenes – also on foot – but mostly in early depictions. On hydria *AP IIb* 01 (Pl. 17) Poseidon is also present, again with a fish in his hand, standing near the horses and turned to the left. Behind him a woman is standing to the right. Apollo is not in his usual position near the horses but precedes the chariot, a rare detail that is also found on *AP IIa* 03. Maybe the painter was following a rather early composition.

In my database there are 12 vases with a representation of a chariot with a woman driving and a man standing next to her, neither identified by attributes (*variant AP IIc*).[53] On *AP IIc* 01a-b (Pl. 17) the image (with different bystanders) is found on both sides of the vase. The man in the chariot is usually bearded,[54] but on *AP IIc* 12 he is beardless. On *AP IIc* 06 the man in the chariot is clearly a hoplite. The woman may hold a goad, but never a spear.

On most vases gods accompany the chariot, but on *AP IIc* 03, *AP IIc* 05, and *AP IIc* 06 no gods are depicted. A beardless kitharode is represented on seven vases.[55] Since on *AP*

[52] See Chapter 3, section 3.6.1, note 98; Chapter 4, section 4.5.1, notes 221, 222, and 223.

[53] On a fragment of a hydria in Munich, St. Antikensammlungen, o.N., 530 BCE (BA 21047) only the couple in the chariot is visible.

[54] On *AP IIc* 11 it is difficult to see but he seems to have a beard.

[55] I left out of my list the fragments of a belly-amphora in Erlangen, Antikensammlung Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, I732,28, Leagros Group, 510 BCE; there a wreathed kitharode is visible standing near a chariot with a woman holding the reins and a male passenger. The kitharode may be identified as Apollo because before the horses Hermes is depicted.

IIc 01a (Pl. 17) and *AP IIc* 02 no (other) recognisable gods are present, he may be a mortal musician. On the other vases the kitharode may be Apollo because Hermes is also present (Pl. 17, *AP IIc* 04). Hermes is depicted on four vases, usually leading the procession, but on *AP IIc* 10 he is walking behind Apollo looking back towards the chariot. Dionysus is depicted standing near the horses four times, twice together with Apollo and Hermes (*AP IIc* 08, *AP IIc* 09). Dionysus is the only god depicted on olpe *AP IIc* 12, probably because of the function of the vase. A special case is *AP IIc* 07, where three chariots are depicted.[56] One is a bridal chariot with the groom holding the reins (*WP III* 30), but the other two chariots have female drivers, presumably goddesses. Hermes is walking between the two chariots, while Dionysus is accompanying one of them and Apollo the other, and women with torches are standing nearby. A nude jumping boy is depicted, preceding the bridal chariot but closer to one of the divine chariots.

On nine vases one or two women are present.[57] In almost all cases they face to the left. On *AP IIc* 12 one of the women is facing to the right toward Dionysus, and on *AP IIc* 03 two women and two men are walking with the chariot. An old man following the chariot is present on three vases, in all cases also gods are present.[58] An old man standing near the horses is shown on *AP IIc* 01b (not on the same side as the kitharode) and on *AP IIc* 06; on both vases there are no recognisable gods present. On *AP IIc* 06 two hoplites are standing nearby, while the man in the chariot is also depicted as a hoplite. On *AP IIc* 05 a hoplite is walking alongside the horses looking back towards the chariot. On *AP IIc* 01a the woman standing facing the chariot is wearing a wreath, and on *AP IIc* 02 the man in the chariot; on *AP IIc* 08 all of the figures except the man in the chariot are wearing wreaths. On *AP IIc* 01a (Pl. 17) a boy in a mantle is walking in front of the chariot. On *AP IIc* 04 (Pl. 17) a dog is jumping up against the horses.[59]

I included ten vases in this group on which a woman is shown driving a chariot with an identifiable god standing next to her (*variant AP IId*). As mentioned before, this pairing is

[56] See section 4.4.1. A beardless kitharode is standing near one of the chariots with a female driver, and a second, bearded, kitharode is depicted near the bridal chariot (*WP III* 30). For bearded kitharodes, see Chapter 4, note 174.

[57] Two women: *AP IIc* 02, *AP IIc* 03, *AP IIc* 05, *AP IIc* 12.

[58] Old man with gods: *AP IIc* 04, *AP IIc* 08, *AP IIc* 10. Without gods: *AP IIc* 01b, *AP IIc* 06; hoplite: *AP IIc* 05.

[59] A dog jumping against the horses is also found on two vases attributed to the Swing Painter with two men standing in the chariot (Chapter 3, *CMM* 18, *CMM* 21).

highly unusual.[60] Two times the passenger is Poseidon, once holding a trident and once a fish. On *AP IId* 01 he is holding a trident and the chariot is accompanied by Hermes and a woman (Pl. 17). On *AP IId* 02 he is holding a fish, a woman is standing on this side of the horses holding a kithara, and a deer is standing near the horses. On *AP IId* 03 and *AP IId* 04 Zeus stands next to the female driver, holding a lightning bolt in his hand.[61] On *AP IId* 03 Athena with spear, helmet, and aegis and Hermes are standing near the horses looking backwards; a woman is standing to the left at the horses' heads. On fragment *AP IId* 04 the upper part of the couple in the chariot is lost, but the man is holding an object in his hand that can be identified as a thunderbolt and the female driver is holding a spear, so in this case the female driver may be Athena; Apollo is standing near the horses and another man, standing at the horses' heads looking backwards, may be identified as Hermes.

On six vases Dionysus, holding a kantharos, drinking horn, or branch, is standing next to the woman in the chariot.[62] On *AP IId* 08 the woman is mounting the chariot; on all the other vases of *variants AP IIa-d* she is standing in it. On three of these vases with Dionysus Apollo is shown standing near the horses; twice a woman is standing facing him. Hermes is present on four vases, standing at the horses' heads; on *AP IId* 06 he is facing to the right, on *AP IId* 05 (Pl. 15)*, AP IId* 08 and *AP IId* 09 (Pl. 17) he is looking backwards. On *AP IId* 08 a panther is depicted beneath the heads of the horses, and on *AP IId* 09 (Pl. 17) a deer under the horses' bellies. Two vases have a purely Dionysiac depiction: on *AP IId* 07 Dionysus is holding a kantharos, and a satyr with a kithara is standing near the horses in the position where Apollo is usually standing. Another satyr is concealed behind the heads of the horses, and three maenads are dancing around. On *AP IId* 10 a woman with a kithara is standing near the horses and a satyr is walking in front of the horses. On *AP IId 05* (Pl. 15) three women are facing to the left next to the horses; between them, in the place of Apollo, a

[60] See section 5.2.2, note 45. See Manakidou (1994) 128–135. The goddesses are not veiled like brides and not identified by attributes, except for *AP IId* 04; their identification depends on the identity of the gods standing next to them.

[61] On the François krater (*WG 05*) Hera is standing at the right side of Zeus, in the place of the charioteer, while Zeus is holding the reins. A different representation of a couple in a chariot is found on neck-amphora London, British Museum, 1928,5–17, 540–530 BCE (BA 11793). The horses are running, and two women and Hermes are running alongside them, while at the heads of the horses a person in a long garment is running and apparently looking back. In the *CVA* the scene is called 'Marriage of Zeus and Hera'. However, as the woman is driving and the man is not holding a lightning bolt or other attribute, I do not understand why it is identified like this. Because the horses are running, I left this vase out of my list.

[62] On a neck-amphora in Hamburg, Collection Lichtenhahn, Painter of Cambridge 51(?), 520–510 BCE (BA 6968) the horses are running and a woman and Hermes are running alongside the chariot. Since the horses are running, I left this vase out of my list. There are also vases with Dionysus and a woman standing in a chariot, but where Dionysus is holding the reins. See section 5.15, *variant DIWO*.

wreathed man is standing to the right looking backwards. Hermes is leading the procession. On the other side of this vase a bridal chariot is depicted (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 01), accompanied by Apollo. Maybe the two scenes are intended to be read together as a single procession, connected by Hermes looking back.[63]

5.3.2 Analysis

In the period when these vases were made, the *typical composition* of v*ariant AP IIa*, with Athena driving the chariot for an anonymous man, was probably recognised as, or at least associated with, an apotheosis. The only difference between *AP IIa* 01 and *AP II* 03, both attributed to the Swing Painter, is that on *AP II* 03 the man in the chariot is identified as Heracles by his club, and maybe we should also recognise Heracles' Apotheosis on *AP IIa* 01 because of the *typical composition*. However, it is possible that – just as in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' – the ambiguity was created intentionally and the mortal man in the chariot is in this way equated with the gods.[64]

The *typical composition* of *variant AP IIb* with Heracles and a female driver standing in the chariot amidst gods, twice including Poseidon – whose presence in the scene goes back to the earliest depictions of the Apotheosis – must also have recalled the Apotheosis of Heracles. Since in other depictions Athena is usually driving the chariot, most viewers would have recognised her in the attribute-less woman in the chariot. Hebe is another possibility for the woman's identification, but, as said previously, when a goddess and a male person – god or mortal – are shown standing together in a chariot, the male person usually holds the reins, *except* in the Apotheosis of Heracles.[65] In accordance with the mythological meaning of the scene, no figures from daily-life are found in this *variant*.

In *variant AP IIc*, with both persons in the chariot unidentified, the presence of gods and the fact that the woman is holding the reins indicate that a heroic or mythological scene is depicted.[66] In most cases, however, women, men, old men, and hoplites also stand nearby, and once a boy at the heads of the horses. Twice the only bystander is a kitharode, and we may doubt whether Apollo or a mortal is represented, because there are no other identifiable

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[63] See note 52.

[64] See section 4.4.3, note 197 on wedding songs that compare the bridal couple to gods and heroes; Oakley and Sinos (1993) 29. The same may be said about the Odes of Pindar, in which the mortal and mythological worlds are intertwined.

[65] See sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.1.

[66] The representations of *variant AP IIc* with gods accompanying the chariot resemble *variant AP IId*, but since the passenger is not recognisable as a god, I have chosen to add them to this group.

gods present (Pl. 17, *AP IIc* 01a; *AP IIc* 02). Three times there are no recognisable gods standing near the chariot (Pl. 17, *AP IIc* 01b; *AP IIc* 05, *AP IIc* 06). It seems as if here too ambiguity is intentional and that the *typical composition* of the Apotheosis is used to associate the anonymous mortal man with the gods.

In *variant AP IId*, with a recognisable god standing in the chariot, there are no figures that belong to the real world, like old men or hoplites, so there is no doubt that the divine world is represented.

The composition of these *variants* may have been inspired by the description in epic literature of goddesses driving their chariots. The sequence of mounting the chariot is not visible on almost all vases of this *variant*, because both persons are depicted standing in the chariot, but these female drivers are apparently not brides. They may represent the wives of Poseidon and Zeus, Amphitrite and Hera, while the woman on *AP IId* 04 may be Athena because of the spear. One would expect that the goddesses have the same status as the charioteers bringing the hoplites to the battle: the charioteer and the passenger are both heroes (just as in this case both are gods), but the passenger is of superior status to the charioteer. The woman on *AP IId* 08 is the only example of a mounting charioteer in this group; this means that she is in charge, just like the groom in *subtype* 'Wedding position' and Athena in *variant AP III*. Maybe her mounting posture is due to the presence of Apollo and Hermes, who were often associated with wedding processions and often present in *variant AP III*, where the driver mounts last.

5.3.3 Changing the composition

In *variants AP IIa–c* clearly recognisable figures such as Athena and Heracles were replaced by attribute-less, anonymous persons. However, the *typical composition* of a female driver and a male passenger must have been associated with an Apotheosis. By combining gods with hoplites, old men, and women, the vase-painters created in *variants AP IIa* and *AP IIc* an ambiguity in which the mythological world and real life merge. In these *variants* the composition recalls *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', particularly, the *variants CMM* and *CMH* (in the cases where the man in the chariot is unarmed) and *variant CH* (as in *AP IIc* 06 with a hoplite standing in the chariot).[67] By choosing to depict a female driver, a *typical element* of

[67] See Chapter 3, sections 3.9, 3.10, 3.11. See section 3.8.2: these vases are standing in the tradition of the Horse-head amphorae which are connected by Ingeborg Scheibler with the Apaturia.

the Apotheosis, the vase-painter associated the mortal man to Heracles going to his divine life with Hebe in Olympus.[68]

The vase by Exekias (Pl. 17, *AP IIc* 01a-b) deserves our attention, because on both sides a chariot with a female driver and a male passenger are depicted.[69] As the vase is the largest of Exekias' extant neck-amphorae,[70] we may expect that the representation and its details were chosen with care and that the fact that the couple is not identified by any attribute was not a question of sloppiness or careless painting. The vase is often discussed,[71] and various interpretations have been advanced, but so far none is really convincing. When we look at the two images from a compositional point of view, we recognise *elements* from different *typical compositions*. On one side of the vase a woman and an old man are standing to the left near the horses. This composition recalls a hoplite departure from home, but in that case the female driver is not at all common. On the other side a kitharode is walking to the right alongside the horses. A woman is standing behind him, turned towards the left. The chariot is preceded by a boy in a mantle. At first glance the arrangement – a couple in a chariot accompanied by a kitharode and a boy who could be the *pais amphithales* – recalls a wedding procession, but as the woman is driving, this is not likely. As said before, the fact that a woman is holding the reins means that she is a goddess, but even in marriages between a mortal man and a goddess, the man drives the chariot.[72] The only exception is the Apotheosis of Heracles, so the *typical composition* of both of Exekias's vase-paintings will have recalled an apotheosis. However, can it be identified as the Apotheosis of Heracles, when neither person has any identifying attribute? A club is small and easy to paint in addition, so when a painter as capable as Exekias, painting a rather large, valuable, and remarkable vase, omits it, he must have done so intentionally, in order to create ambiguity. Clearly Exekias wanted to indicate that the pictures do not represent a real-life event and to *remind* the viewer of the Apotheosis, but at the same time make it clear that it is *not* Heracles who is represented.

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[68] See section 5.0.

[69] See for a discussion on this picture: Mackay (2010) 89 -93.

[70] Mackay (2010) 94.

[71] Mackay (2010) 88–97 gives a overview of the various interpretations and the phenomenon of the female drivers. She assumes (p. 91) "that the context was somehow identifiable to the viewer (because it was well-known if not unique), or that the specific occasion was immaterial, with the generic context being the point at issue." Mackay (p. 90) offers an attractive theory that here the Basilinna has been depicted in her Sacred marriage with Dionysus represented by a statue. As a statue cannot hold the reins, the painter gave them to the only other person in the chariot.

[72] See section 5.2.2.

An interesting question is whether the pictures on both sides of the neck-amphora should be considered together: is the departure of someone depicted on one side, while on the other side his return is shown, with the suggestion of an apotheosis? Or are we looking at a continuous procession of two chariots, in which the *typical compositions* of the *subtypes* 'Apotheosis of Heracles', 'Hoplite leaving', and 'Wedding processions' are brought together?[73] As Mackay says, this puzzle was easy to understand to the contemporaneous Athenians.[74] We, however, can analyse the various elements but unfortunately not always reconstruct the exact message they convey.

The *typical composition* of *variant AP IId*, with Apollo and Hermes accompanying the chariot, recalls the *subtype* 'Wedding procession'. The mounting charioteer on *AP IId* 08 – although female in this case – is in accordance with this interpretation. It is noteworthy that in *AP IId* 03, and also in the two Dionysiac scenes (*AP IId* 07 and *AP IId* 10) where Apollo is not depicted, a kithara is painted in the standard position, held once by a satyr and twice by a woman. In all cases the divine passenger is unmistakably identified by an attribute. The painters used the *typical composition* of the Apotheosis of Heracles, but changed the meaning by adding a specific *typical element*.

5.3.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variants *AP IIa-d* are all found on large vases, such as belly-amphorae, neck-amphorae, hydriai, and column-kraters. It is found once on the neck of a volute-krater, and at the end of the century it was painted on a small olpe. The vases were painted by early painters such as the Princeton Painter, Exekias, and the Swing Painter, but also by late painters including the Euphiletos Painter, the Priam Painter, the Leagros Group, and the Edinburgh Painter.

On other sections of the vases mythological scenes are depicted only seven times. The representation of Hermes with five nymphs on *AP IIa* 05 has the *typical composition* of the Judgment of Paris and shows again how painters could use existing compositions for scenes of other myths. On *AP IIc* 06 a wedding procession with gods is depicted (*WP III* 19). On *AP IIc* 07 the two chariots are apparently part of a wedding procession (*WP III* 30) that runs around the vase. Nine times a Dionysiac scene is found, most often on vases where on

[73] According to Steiner (2007) 20–21, "these two chariots appear to be part of a single procession ... . The repetitions are cohesive, unifying the two sides, suggesting a single event ... ." She does not give an interpretation.

[74] Mackay (2010) 94: "These are questions that Exekias' contemporaries would probably not have needed to ask." In section 6.6 I will discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia festival.

the other side Dionysus is the passenger in the chariot. On the other vases various scenes of hoplites leaving, fighting, or playing a board game are found.

5.4. *Variant AP III*: 'Athena mounting and holding reins, Heracles standing in chariot'

530–500 BCE (Table 23, Plates 17–18)

5.4.1 Description

Around 530 BCE a *variant* of the *typical composition* of Athena and Heracles standing in a chariot becomes popular: Athena is shown mounting the chariot in which Heracles is already standing (*variant AP III*).[75] In my database there are 25 depictions of this variant.[76] The advantage of this change is that Athena – since she is still standing with one foot on the ground – no longer completely covers the figure Heracles, especially his head. Nevertheless, the crest of Athena's helmet still towers above Heracles, sometimes reaching into the ornamental border. Although there is more of Heracles visible than in *variant AP II*, he is depicted only six times with his lion skin. In almost all cases he can be recognised by his club, carried over his shoulder or held in front of him.[77] A quiver is never depicted, because his back is always hidden by the figure of Athena.

Athena is identifiable by her helmet and, in almost all cases, by her aegis. Once she carries a round shield.[78] She is usually holding the reins with both hands, but three times with her left hand only.[79] She is carrying a long stick in most cases, but it is often difficult to discern whether it is a spear or a goad.[80]

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[75] In *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' the *typical element* of the *hoplite* mounting (as passenger) is found from about 570 BCE. In the last third of the century the mounting *driver* is found in *subtypes* 'Hoplite leaving' and 'Wedding procession'.

[76] I added *AP III* 13, in spite of its fragmentary state, to this group, because the end of the club of Heracles seems to be visible near the head of Apollo. Furthermore, the vase is attributed to the Long Nose Painter or the Madrid Painter, both of whom are only represented in this *variant* and in *variant AP IV* (Table 25), both with recognisable figures of Heracles.

[77] Club over shoulder: *AP III* 02, *AP III* 04, *AP III* 06, *AP III* 08, *AP III* 09, *AP III* 10, *AP III* 11, *AP III* 12, *AP III* 14, *AP III* 15, *AP III* 17, *AP III* 18, *AP III* 19, *AP III* 20, *AP III* 21, *AP III* 22, *AP III* 25. Club in front of him: *AP III* 03, *AP III* 05, *AP III* 07, *AP III* 13, *AP III* 23, *AP III* 24. No club: *AP III* 01, *AP III* 16.

[78] No aegis: *AP III* 10, *AP III* 16. No aegis visible on fragmentary *AP III* 14. No aegis visible on photo: *AP III* 15. On *AP III* 01Athena is carrying a round shield. The depiction is awkward, as the shield is between her and Heracles. It is also not clear how the reins are held and I doubt whether the depiction is totally genuine.

[79] One hand: *AP III* 02, *AP III* 09, *AP III* 20. See note 91 and section 5.13: *variant ATH*, Athena mounting a chariot.

[80] Spear visible: *AP III* 01, *AP III* 02, *AP III* 03, *AP III* 07, *AP III* 10, *AP III* 11, *AP III* 12, *AP III* 18, *AP III* 22, *AP III* 23, *AP III* 25.

Apollo is present in almost all representations, playing the kithara in his usual place near the horses.[81] Once he is looking back towards the chariot (*AP III* 15). Nine times a woman is standing facing him; twice she is wearing a polos and can be recognised as Artemis (Pl. 18, *AP III* 08).[82] Sometimes a woman is following Apollo; in the cases where a woman is also standing facing him, the composition of the Delian Triad (Apollo, Artemis, and their mother Leto) is formed (Pl. 18, *AP III* 08).[83] A deer is depicted on five vases, standing near Apollo or a woman at the heads of the horses, who may be therefore identified as Artemis. In other cases the deer is simply standing at the heads of the horses.[84]

Hermes is present on nearly all of the vases, mostly in his usual position at the heads of the horses (Pl. 17, *AP III* 05). Three times his position is moved a little bit to the left, but even then he is clearly leading the procession.[85] Twelve times he is walking to the right leading the procession, usually looking backwards. Ten times, however, he is turned to the left (as if he is receiving the procession), eight times standing (Pl. 18, *AP III* 08) and two times sitting. This emphasises the fact that the chariot is standing still, which is also clear because Athena is mounting it.[86]

Dionysus is depicted on 14 vases, in almost all cases standing near the horses next to Apollo.[87] On 11 vases Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus all accompany the chariot; and in the other cases two of these gods are present, except for hydria *AP III* 02 on which Dionysus is the only god depicted.

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[81] The kitharode is in every case beardless and accompanied by other recognisable gods. On *AP III* 17 the figure of Apollo proved to be for a great part a modern restoration, which is presently taken away. However, the place of the figure facing Hermes, is usually reserved for the god.

[82] Woman facing Apollo: *AP III* 07, *AP III* 16, *AP III* 18, *AP III* 19, *AP III* 21. Artemis with polos: *AP III* 04, *AP III* 08. On *AP III* 09 and *AP III* 22 the woman facing Apollo is in fact standing next to Dionysus, so maybe she must not be associated with Apollo but rather with Dionysus.

[83] *AP III* 01, *AP III* 12; Triad: *AP III* 08, *AP III* 18. Goddess standing behind Apollo turned to the chariot: *AP III* 20. Goddess standing next to Apollo: *AP III* 09.

[84] Deer near Apollo: *AP III* 25. Near woman at heads of the horses: *AP III* 10 and *AP III* 19. Near heads of the horses: *AP III* 07, *AP III* 17.

[85]Hermes standing near horses: *AP III* 10, *AP III* 15, *AP III* 17.

[86] Hermes turned to left: *AP III* 01, *AP III* 04, *AP III* 08, *AP III* 09, *AP III* 17, *AP III* 19, *AP III* 20. Sitting: *AP III* 21 (on a block), *AP III* 25 (on a stool). Walking to right looking back: *AP III* 03, *AP III* 05, *AP III* 07, *AP III* 10, *AP III* 12, *AP III* 15, *AP III* 18, *AP III* 23, *AP III* 24. Walking to right: *AP III* 13, *AP III* 14, *AP III* 22. On *AP III* 11 Hermes is standing to left at the horses' heads and looking back away from the scene.

[87] On *AP III* 02 he is the only god depicted and standing near the horses. Dionysus standing at the right of Apollo: *AP III* 03, *AP III* 06, *AP III* 11, *AP III* 12, *AP III* 13, *AP III* 16, *AP III* 20, *AP III* 23, *AP III* 24; on *AP III* 09 and *AP III* 22 a woman is standing next to him. Dionysus standing behind Apollo: *AP III* 05 (looking back to the chariot), *AP III* 25 (turned to the chariot). On fragment *AP III* 14 it is not certain that the figure near the horses is Dionysus.

The paintings include some figures who are not immediately recognisable as gods. A man with a club standing behind the chariot is usually identified as Iolaus (*AP III* 04; Pl. 17, *AP III* 05). On *AP III* 06 a hoplite is standing at the heads of the horses, turned to the left. In addition to the woman who can be interpreted as Artemis since she is wearing a polos and standing near Apollo (Pl. 18*, AP III* 08) or is accompanied by a deer, there are a few cases where a woman stands at the heads of the horses, turned towards the procession. Once a woman is standing behind Apollo and facing the chariot, and once a woman is sitting at the heads of the horses.[88] On a hydria by the Priam Painter (*AP III* 16) a woman carrying a dinos on her head is leading the procession, a detail derived from the standard iconography of a wedding procession.[89]

5.4.2 Analysis

Variant AP III shows many resemblances to *variant AP II*, as it has the same exceptional composition of Athena holding the reins with Heracles as her passenger.[90] A few times Athena holds the reins in one hand. Since this gesture is almost exclusively hers,[91] it is probably derived from her usual posture holding a spear in her right hand. The chariot is in all cases accompanied by gods. In about half of the cases Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus are all present, and in the other cases at least two of the three. On *AP III* 02 only Dionysus is depicted. Poseidon is never represented in this group, maybe because the vases of this *variant* date slightly later than those of *variant AP II*.

On a few vases other figures are standing nearby: on *AP III* 04 and *AP III* 05 (Pl. 17) Iolaus is probably depicted, who, although he is mortal, belongs to the mythological world. However, the woman with the dinos on *AP III* 16 and the hoplite on *AP III* 06 seem to have been borrowed from the *subtypes* 'Wedding procession' and 'Hoplite leaving'.

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[88] Woman standing at heads of horses: *AP III* 01, *AP III* 02, *AP III* 14. Woman sitting at heads of horses: *AP III* 15. Woman standing behind Apollo turned to left: *AP III* 20. On *AP IV* 11 the woman standing at the horses' heads is identified by name-inscription as Leto.

[89] See section 4.3.2. On *WP II* 27 a woman carrying a dinos and leading the procession is depicted.

[90] See section 5.2.2.

[91] In Gigantomachies Zeus is sometimes depicted holding the reins with one hand and his lightning bolt with the other. Maybe this posture is chosen to make him easy recognisable because it is a usual posture of Zeus. See section 3.5.1 for the mounting hoplite *(variant HL V*) who is holding the reins with his right hand because he is carrying his shield with his left hand. On *AP VI* 17 (section 5.9.1) Heracles is holding the reins with one hand, maybe under influence of the depictions of Athena in that posture in other *variants* of the Apotheosis and *variant ATH*. However, on the 7th-century amphora with Heracles and a woman (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 354; see section 4.0, note 7; Von Bothmer and Mertens (1979) 123–124, nr. 72) Heracles is also shown mounting the chariot holding the reins in one hand. Dionysus is holding the reins in one hand on *DIO* 03, *DIO* 10 and *DIO* 28. Apollo is holding the reins in one hand on *GM* 04.

On five vases a deer stands near the horses. In some cases it seems to belong to Apollo or Artemis, but there are also a few vases on which there seems to be no connection with any of the bystanders. Maybe the deer is there to suggest the presence of Artemis, or it may have been also represented because of its connotation with reaching maturity.[92]

5.4.3 Changing the composition

In *variant AP III* Athena is shown with one foot on the ground and the other in the chariot. For the composition this posture has the advantage that her figure does not tower above the other figures. We may hesitate to decide whether she is mounting or dismounting, and therefore whether a departure or an arrival is depicted. There are some indications that a departure is represented. Twice Iolaus is depicted standing behind the chariot, recognising that he will stay behind on earth when Heracles is brought to Olympus. The woman with the dinos and the hoplite also seem to belong to the mortal world that Heracles is leaving behind. In any case, the posture of Athena indicates that the chariot is standing still. The emphasis is not on the journey itself (as in *variant AP II*) but on the imminent departure.

Furthermore, the fact that Athena is mounting last gives an indication about the hierarchy of the figures. As we have noted previously,[93] the person who mounts the chariot last is of highest status. In images of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', the charioteer is waiting in the chariot for the hoplite to mount; in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', the bride is waiting in the chariot for her husband who will handle the reins. *Variant AP III* follows the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', which indicates that Athena is higher in social status and that she will bring Heracles to his new home on Olympus.

5.4.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The representation *variant AP III*, 'Athena mounting and holding reins, Heracles standing in chariot' is found in the last third of the 6th century BCE on large vases, such as hydriai, belly-amphorae, and neck-amphorae. Once the scene is depicted on an olpe. This *variant* started slightly later than *variant AP II*, 'Athena and Heracles standing in chariot', but they coexisted for some years. Some painters used both compositions, such as vase-painters working in the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, the Leagros Group (to which also the Chiusi Painter belongs), and the Priam Painter. Of some later vase-painters, such as painters

[92] See section 5.0.

[93] Sections 3.12 and 4.6.

of the Antimenes Group and the Euphiletos Painter, only vases with this *variant* are preserved; there are, however, some depictions of *variant AP IIc* attributed to this last painter.

There is a difference with the vases with *variant AP II* when we look at the images on other sections of the vases. On 12 vases with *variant AP III* a mythological scene is depicted: Heracles is painted ten times, and there are two representations of gods around Apollo. In addition there are five Dionysiac scenes.[94] The increased representation of Heracles may be related to the greater number of hydriai in this group: seven times the image was painted on the shoulder of a hydria. It may also be due to the fact that in this group the Antimenes Painter and the Long Nose Painter are represented, who in general had a preference for depictions of the hero. On seven vases scenes from the men's world are depicted: chariot scenes, hoplites fighting, and playing a board game.

5.5. *Variants AP IIIa-b*: '*Variant AP III* with one or two anonymous persons in chariot, woman mounting and holding reins'
525–510 BCE (Table 24, Plate 18)

5.5.1 Description

There are two vases with a depiction of Athena mounting a chariot in which an otherwise unidentifiable bearded man is standing *(variant AP IIIa)*. Both vases date to the last quarter of the 6th century BCE, which agrees with the dating of *variant AP III*. On both vases Athena can be recognised by her helmet and aegis. The man on hydria *AP IIIa* 02 is carrying a sword and a spear. In both cases Apollo stands near the horses. On *AP IIIa* 01 (Pl. 18) Dionysus is following the chariot, a woman is standing near Apollo, and Hermes is leading the procession. On *AP IIIa* 02 Dionysus is the only other person, standing next to Apollo and looking back towards him.

In my database there are no representations of a chariot with a female driver mounting and Heracles standing in it, and only one representation of a female driver mounting while an anonymous bearded man is standing in the chariot *(variant AP IIIb)*. On this hydria (Pl. 18, *AP IIIb* 01) Apollo is depicted in his usual place near the horses, preceded by Hermes who is looking backwards. A woman is standing at the heads of the horses turned to the left.

[94] Apollo: *AP III* 07, *AP III* 23. Dionysiac: *AP III* 10, *AP III* 11, *AP III* 19, *AP III* 21, *AP III* 24.

5.5.2 Analysis

The *typical composition* of *variant AP IIIa* reminds the viewer immediately of the Apotheosis of Heracles. But it is possible that by making the reference not explicit and by leaving out the attributes, the painter deliberately made the image ambiguous, leaving open the possibility that the man in the chariot represents a mortal, who was in this way associated with the gods.[95] In the case of *AP IIIb* 01 the depiction is closely related to *variant AP IIc*.[96]

5.5.3 Changing the composition

Just as in *variant AP III*, the *typical composition* of these vase-paintings derives from the *subtype* 'Wedding procession'. The mounting driver indicates that the chariot is standing still and that the female driver, because she is mounting last, is higher in status than her passenger. By combining gods and mortals ambiguity about which world is depicted is created.

5.5.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

There are two hydriai and a calyx-krater in this group. Hydria *AP IIIb* 01 (Pl. 18) is attributed to a painter related to the Lysippides Painter, and krater *AP IIIa* 01 (Pl. 18) to a painter akin to the Antimenes Painter, who painted some vases of *variant AP III*.

On the other side of the krater *AP IIIa* 01 a Dionysiac scene was painted, which is connected with the function of the vase. On the shoulder of the hydria *AP IIIa* 02 hoplites playing a board game, with Athena in the centre, are depicted. On the shoulder of hydria *AP IIIb* 01Dionysus mounting his chariot is represented (*DIO* 01).

5.6. *Variant AP IV*: 'Athena with one foot in chariot and holding reins, Heracles walking *with* chariot'
540–500 BCE (Table 25, Plates 18–19)

5.6.1 Description

There are also vase-paintings on which Athena is standing with one foot on the ground and the other in the chariot,[97] but Heracles is *not* standing in the chariot. On 29 vases Heracles is

[95] See sections 4.4.3 and 5.3.2.

[96] See section 5.3.

[97] On the photo of *AP IV* 16 it is not visible whether Athena is standing with one foot on the ground. I assume that she is, because in all cases where Heracles is looking back to her, she is shown like that. On two fragmentary pinakes from the Acropolis (*AP IV* 02, *AP IV* 03) only the hand of the driver is visible. Since

walking alongside the chariot in the same direction.[98] In almost all cases he can be recognised by the lion skin and the club, carried over his shoulder or held before his breast. A few times his quiver is visible, and twice he is carrying a bow (*AP IV* 02; Pl. 19, *AP IV* 12). Seven times he has a sword.[99] On *AP IV* 12 he is beardless. On 24 vases he is looking back towards Athena; his gestures vary: sometimes he is folding both of his hands in front of his chest and turning his torso *en face*, in the posture characteristic of Hermes leading a procession. On 12 vases, all dating to the last two decades of the 6th century, he raises his left hand in the direction he is moving, a gesture that brings some action into the representation (Pl. 18, *AP IV* 08).[100] On five vases Heracles is *not* looking back (Pl. 18, *AP IV* 10; Pl. 19, *AP IV* 12); three times he raises his hand as if he is greeting persons in front of him – whether they are actually depicted or not (Pl. 18, *AP IV* 10).[101] On *AP IV* 03 the columns of a building are visible in the background.

Athena is almost always identifiable by her helmet and aegis. In about half of the paintings she holds a spear (with an clearly depicted point) in her hand, using it as a goad, which is different from the representations discussed earlier, where the spear point is less often depicted. Usually she holds the reins with both hands, but in nine cases only in one hand[102], which gives an appearance of movement and recalls her standard posture. On *AP IV* 01 (Pl. 18) her foot does not rest on the ground but hovers above it. On *AP IV* 21 she holds a wreath in her free hand.

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apparently the reins are hold with only one hand, I assume Athena is the driver (see section 5.4.2, note 91). However, on *AP IV* 02 Heracles is carrying a bow, and there is a possibility that another scene is depicted.

[98] There are some fragments with an incomplete representation. Heracles is standing near the horses, but it is not possible to decide to which *variant* they belong: Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora, P 24545, lekythos frg., Phanyllis Group A, 500 BCE (BA 340615); Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akr.1.2566 a and b, pinax frg., 510–500 BCE (BA 32214); Cyrene, Archaeological Museum, 416.9, amf. frg., 525 BCE (BA 28412); Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut Georg-August-Universität, K 251, hydria frg., Manner of Lysippides P., 530–520 BCE (BA 9032526); Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut Georg-August-Universität, K 252, hydria frg., Manner of Lysippides P., 530–520 BCE (BA 9032527); Paris, Musée du Louvre, CP10395, cup, 510–500 BCE (BA 12261). I left outside this study some vases of which only a short description and no (good) picture are available: Austin, Blanton Museum of Art, T196D, lekythos, 500 BCE (BA 31903); Paris Market, lekythos, Diosphos P., 500 BCE (BA 390365); Tampa, Museum of Art, 1986.38, column-krater fragment, Lysippides P., 525 BCE (BA 16559). Of a lekythos by the Diosphos Painter (BA 390352) a 19th-century drawing is available. However, the composition is unusual and I doubt whether the drawing is correct.

[99] Sword: *AP IV* 05, *AP IV* 06, *AP IV* 10, *AP IV* 11, *AP IV* 19, *AP IV* 22, *AP IV* 23.

[100] Looking back, left hand raised: *AP IV* 02 (with bow), *AP IV* 06, *AP IV* 07, *AP IV* 08, *AP IV* 09, *AP IV* 11, *AP IV* 14, *AP IV* 15, *AP IV* 19, *AP IV* 23, *AP IV* 24, *AP IV* 25.

[101] Heracles not looking back: *AP IV* 10, *AP IV* 12, *AP IV* 20, *AP IV* 26, *AP IV* 27. Raising right hand: *AP IV* 10, *AP IV* 20; raising left hand *AP IV* 27. On *AP IV* 12 he is holding his bow in his left hand.

[102] Reins in one hand: *AP IV* 02, *AP IV* 03, *AP IV* 06, *AP IV* 07, *AP IV* 18, *AP IV* 21, *AP IV* 22, *AP IV* 24, *AP IV* 26.

On most representations other persons accompany the chariot. Hermes is present 23 times, leading the procession. Mostly he is shown looking back, or standing to the left at the heads of the horses, as if he is receiving the procession. Twice he is shown sitting on a block.[103]

Apollo is depicted nine times, in his usual place near the horses. On *AP IV* 17 and *AP IV* 21 he stands behind Heracles, who has been moved closer to the head of the procession. On *AP IV* 17 Apollo is looking back towards the chariot.

Dionysus is present only six times. On *AP IV* 01 (Pl. 18) he is following the chariot. On the other vases he is standing near the horses. On *AP IV* 24, a column-krater, vines are depicted between the figures.

Poseidon is represented twice. On *AP IV* 01, the belly-amphora by Exekias, he is walking alongside the horses looking backwards, recognisable by his trident. On a lekythos by the Diosphos Painter (*AP IV* 28) he is following the chariot carrying a fish.

There are also other persons depicted. On *AP IV* 26 a woman, who may be identified as Artemis, is standing very close to Apollo.[104] On five other vases a woman is standing near the horses.[105] On *AP IV* 11 the woman who stands at the heads of the horses as if she is receiving the procession, is identified as Leto by a name-inscription. On *AP IV* 25 a deer is standing to the left near the horses; it may belong to the woman standing at the heads of the horses, who may in that case be Artemis. On five other vases a woman is standing at the head of the horses.[106]

Men are less often depicted. On *AP IV* 08 (Pl. 18) a man is walking alongside the horses, and on *AP IV* 09 a man is sitting at the head of the horses. A hoplite is following the chariot on a lekythos attributed to the Diosphos Painter (*AP IV* 29).[107]

On *AP IV* 14 a billy-goat is standing to left near the horses. There are no bystanders in this scene, but on the other side of the vase Dionysus is depicted. On *AP IV* 15 a lizard is

[103] Hermes to right: *AP IV* 22, *AP IV* 24. Looking back: *AP IV* 01, *AP IV* 04, *AP IV* 08, *AP IV* 09, *AP IV* 10, *AP IV* 12, *AP IV* 16, *AP IV* 20, *AP IV* 26. Standing to left at the heads of the horses: *AP IV* 05, *AP IV* 06, *AP IV* 15, *AP IV* 17, *AP IV* 21, *AP IV* 23. Sitting on block: *AP IV* 13, *AP IV* 27. On *AP IV* 02 Hermes is directed to left, but his legs are not preserved. On *AP IV* 07 and *AP IV* 18 Hermes is directed to right, but his head is covered by horses. Position not known to me: *AP IV* 28 (not on photo). Only god: *AP IV* 02, *AP IV* 04, *AP IV* 15; with man: *AP IV* 08, *AP IV* 09.

[104] Cf. *AP II* 05, *AP II* 13 and *AP III* 09.

[105] Woman near horses: *AP IV* 01, *AP IV* 06, *AP IV* 07, *AP IV* 12, *AP IV* 19, *AP IV* 26 (next to Apollo).

[106] Woman to left at horses' heads: *AP IV* 01, *AP IV* 07, *AP IV* 11 (Leto), *AP IV* 20, *AP IV* 22, *AP IV* 25 (deer), *AP IV* 27

[107] On *AP IV* 23 a figure is following the chariot. Because of the fragmentary state of the vase, it is not visible whether he is Dionysus, Poseidon or an anonymous man.

painted between the legs of the horses. On *AP IV* 29 a lion or panther is walking in front of the horses.

5.6.2 Analysis

In *variant AP IV* 'Athena with one foot in chariot and holding reins, Heracles walking *with* chariot', only on the belly-amphora by Exekias (Pl. 18, *AP IV* 01) are Apollo, Hermes, Dionysus, Poseidon, and two women represented all together. On most of the other vases one or two recognisable gods accompany the chariot, but on five vases there are no recognisable gods at all. However, on three of these vases an animal is added that is the usual companion of a god or not expected in a daily-life setting: a billy-goat, a deer, and a lion. The lizard on *AP IV* 15 recalls the lizards on the Amphiaraus krater and on *HL I* 04 and *HL III* 9a, but it will not be meant as an omen of disaster in this case.[108]

Only twice is an anonymous man present and once a hoplite (*AP IV* 29). Iolaus is not depicted in this group, although the hoplite is shown following the chariot, just as Iolaus does on *AP II* 04 and *AP III* 05. Women are present on 12 vases. On *AP IV* 11 the woman standing at the heads of the horses is named Leto by an inscription.

The reason that only a few gods accompany the chariot may be practical: with Heracles walking alongside the chariot, there is less space for the other figures that are usually depicted there and the painters had to make choices. However, while Apollo is nearly always present on the vases of the wedding-like variants, such as *variants AP II* and *AP III*, in these representations the painters prefer to include Hermes, emphasising the journey. The lively and active attitudes of Heracles and Athena suggest motion and the hero is not represented as passive anymore. Maybe the memory of the quarrel of Heracles and Apollo over the tripod of Delphi led to the choice for Hermes instead of Apollo.[109]

5.6.3 Changing the composition

The most important change in the composition of *variant AP IV* is that Heracles is standing not in the chariot but on the ground. This change seems small, but it has important

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[108] No recognisable gods standing by: *AP IV* 03, *AP IV* 14 (goat), *AP IV* 19 (woman), *AP IV* 25 (woman, doe), *AP IV* 29 (hoplite, lion). For lizards: see Chapter 3, note 30.

[109] There are a few vase-paintings in which the *typical composition* is used for Heracles stealing the Tripod of Delphi: with Athena as charioteer: Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Coll. Spinelli, 164183 (SP2079), lekythos, Edinburgh P., 500 BCE (BA 306699); Paris, Musée du Louvre, F221, neck-amphora, 510 BCE (BA 10774). With Dionysus as charioteer: Tokyo, Eisei-Bunko Museum, 2382, lekythos, Marathon P., 490–480 BCE (BA 28205); on Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 12273, lekythos, Marathon P., 490 BCE (BA 43647) only a tripod and no Heracles is painted near the horses.

consequences for the meaning of the image. In *variants AP II* and *AP III* the composition is derived from the *subtype* 'Wedding procession': Heracles has mounted the chariot first and is waiting for Athena as his charioteer, just as the bride does in wedding processions. In *variant AP IV* Athena is standing in the chariot with one foot, while Heracles is standing or walking near the horses. This resembles the composition of *variant HL IV* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.[110] However, Heracles is not walking *towards* the chariot as the hoplite who is the intended passenger usually does,[111] but is instead walking *in the same direction* as if he is part of the procession.

As far as we can tell, Exekias was the first to paint this new composition (Pl. 18, *AP IV* 01). Because he kept Heracles in the same pose (his upper body and head occupy the same space as when he would be standing in the chariot, but his feet are on the ground), there is space to depict Apollo, Hermes, Dionysus, Poseidon, and two women. As I proposed before,[112] Exekias used the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', to create a new *variant* of the Apotheosis: the chariot at the moment of its *arrival* in Olympus, with Heracles in an active role, already dismounted and on his way into Olympus, turning back toward Athena with his arms held in front of his chest in the posture characteristic of Hermes leading a procession. Athena is therefore not mounting the chariot but dismounting; her other foot, still hovering above the ground, may be interpreted in this case as going down.

In her discussion of this vase, Mackay points out the fact that "Exekias' compositional schema is, as usual, based primarily on a pre-existing black-figure paradigm: the version of the warrior's chariot departure in which the charioteer stands in the chariot or mounts it, holding the reins, while the warrior who will depart in it stands back of the pole, most often to right but sometimes to left or occasionally turning his head to left while walking to right."[113] In my opinion, Exekias also used three other pre-existing compositional models for his depiction of the arrival in Olympus: Heracles brought in a procession on foot by Athena and Hermes to the Olympians, or standing between them (in which paintings

[110] Chapter 3, section 3.4.

[111] See sections 3.3.2 and 3.4.2. Depictions of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' with hoplites and archers walking in the same direction as the chariot, I interpreted as warriors going into battle, also because there are no women and old men depicted.

[112] Jurriaans-Helle (1997) 294–295. See Mackay (2010) 188–190. See also Simon, e.a. (1975) 115–116, who interpret the composition of *AP IV* 21 as an arrival, and Manakidou (1994) 207, n. 28, who does not agree.

[113] Mackay (2010) 188. In Chapter 3, sections 3.3.1 and 3.4.1, I argued that hoplites standing near the chariot are mostly depicted to left, since that is easier to depict because their shields are covering a large part of their bodies.

Poseidon is also often present);[114] Heracles walking with a chariot driven by Iolaus to Olympus (*variant AP I*); and Heracles riding in a chariot driven by Athena (*variants AP II* and *AP III*). While in the two last *variants* the *typical composition* of a wedding procession was used, Exekias chose for his version one of the existing *typical compositions* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', thus avoiding any misinterpretation of Heracles' relationship with the goddess and emphasising him as the fighter-hero.[115] It is possible that Exekias' use of this *typical composition* also incidentally caused Athena's spear to be often clearly depicted in this *variant*. At the end of the century the Diosphos Painter painted a hoplite following the chariot, possibly no longer recognising the moment as an arrival but rather as a departure for battle (*AP IV* 29).

Finally, although one would expect more gods to be present to greet Heracles on the occasion of his arrival in Olympus than at his departure from Oeta (the location of his death),[116] the reason that most vases with *variant AP IV* show only one or two gods accompanying the chariot may be because it was derived from the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', where usually no gods at all are present. On the other hand, in *variants AP II* and *AP III* (which I interpret as the departure for Olympus) three recognisable gods are often depicted, since these *variants* were derived from the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', in which the same gods belong to the *typical composition*.

An interesting conclusion is that while the *typical element* of a person standing with one foot in the chariot and the other on the ground may in most contexts indicate a *departure* with someone *mounting* a chariot, its meaning in the *typical composition* of *variant AP IV* is changed to an *arrival* and *dismounting*. So painters could use a *typical element* and give it another (even opposite) meaning by changing the context. Maybe Exekias tried to make it clear that Athena was dismounting by painting her foot not touching the ground but still in the air coming on the way down.

Later Exekias' composition was adopted by other painters who even painted Heracles gesticulating as though he is exhorting the goddess to follow him. Although on some of these vases Heracles is still depicted next to the chariot box (*AP IV* 07, *AP IV* 11), in most cases his position is moved farther to the right, taking the place of Apollo or Dionysus near the horses, thus causing the space problem mentioned above and requiring the painters to

[114] See section 5.1.1.

[115] Mackay (2010) 188–190.

[116] Mackay (2010) 189 states that an arrival is more logical because there is no reason for all the Olympians to congregate at Oeta for the start of the journey.

make additional choices. The five vases on which Heracles is not looking backwards have so many similarities with the other vases that I believe that these too represent the hero's arrival at Olympus with Athena dismounting. However, since Heracles is not looking back, the painters abandoned the idea of the hero urging Athena to follow him and changed his gesture into one of greeting the gods waiting to receive him.

5.6.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

This picture is found usually on large vases, such as belly-amphorae, neck-amphorae, hydriai, and a column-krater, most of which were made in the last two decades of the 6th century. The late date is also the reason that the image is found more often on hydriai than on belly-amphorae and that it is found on smaller shapes, such as oenochoai and lekythoi. Twice it is even depicted on pinakes found on the Athenian Acropolis. The earliest known representation of this *typical composition* known is on the belly-amphora attributed to Exekias (Pl. 18, *AP IV* 01) dated 540–530 BCE. The composition is found on vases by painters who also painted other *variants* of the scene, like the Lysippides Painter and his circle, the Antimenes Painter and painters related to him, the Leagros Group, and the Priam Painter; only the Euphiletos Painter is missing.

On seven of the vases there is a mythological scene on another section, three times with Heracles. Twice a Dionysiac scene is depicted. On the other vases, scenes from the world of men are shown: hoplites fighting, leaving, and playing a board game; horsemen; an *apobates* race; and a horse race. On the belly-amphora by Exekias (*AP IV* 01), a departure with a chariot is depicted on the other side (*MC* 22).[117]

5.7. *Variant AP V*: 'Athena with one foot in chariot and holding reins, Heracles walking *towards* chariot'
530–500 BCE (Table 26, Plate 19)

5.7.1 Description

On 18 vases in the database there is a representation of Athena holding the reins, while Heracles is standing nearby turned towards the chariot.[118] On 17 of these vases Athena stands with one foot on the ground and the other in the chariot; only once (Pl. 19, *AP V* 01)

[117] See discussion in Mackay (2010) 192–197.

[118] On a fragment in Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco Villa Giulia, 79553–554, 530–520 BCE (BA 9025775) Athena is mounting the chariot while Heracles is standing nearby to the left. However, only the feet and legs of the various figures are preserved.

is she standing in the chariot. All of the vases date to the last quarter of the 6th century. Most often the chariot is shown facing to the right, but twice it is facing to the left (Pl. 19, *AP V* 12; *AP V* 13).

Heracles can be identified in almost all cases by the lion skin and the club, usually carried over his shoulder. In almost half of the cases he is also carrying a quiver and four times a bow (three times in combination with a quiver). Eight times a sword is visible. On *AP V* 13 he seems to be beardless. Five times he raises his free hand as if he is greeting Athena.[119] Sixteen times he is standing near the horses. On two vases he is depicted in an unusual place: on a late lekythos (*AP V* 17) a man with a bow and a club is following the chariot. As on other vases in this group it is Iolaus (with a club) who is represented on this position, it is possible that there was some confusion. On the shoulder of a hydria (*AP V* 06) Heracles is approaching the chariot from the right side at the heads of the horses.

Athena is recognisable by her helmet and aegis in almost all cases. Four times she is holding the reins with one hand.[120] She holds a spear 12 times. On *AP V* 12 (Pl. 19) she is carrying a round shield, which is highly unusual in Apotheosis scenes with a chariot but is found in Apotheosis scenes on foot.[121] A reason for this may be that in this case the chariot is facing to the left, and this reveals her left side. The painter was obviously conscious of the fact that he was painting the *other* side of the procession, for he also chose to depict Heracles not on the far side of the horses but on the viewer's side. However, as will be noted below, he probably made a mistake with Hermes.

In most of the scenes other gods and figures are present. Only on *AP V* 18 is the chariot with Athena and Heracles used as a standard-motif painted between two other motifs that have no connection with the story. Hermes is present on 16 vases, usually depicted at the heads of the horses. Nine times he is leading the procession, and three times he is turned towards the horses (Pl. 19, *AP V* 01, *AP V* 04).[122] On two vases attributed to the Painter of Vatican G43 Hermes is depicted near the horses, walking towards the chariot and making a greeting gesture. On *AP V* 05 he is following Heracles, who doubles the same gesture, and

[119] Club held in front of him: *AP V* 07, *AP V* 17. Sword visible: *AP V* 01, *AP V* 03, *AP V* 04, *AP V* 06, *AP V* 09, *AP V* 10, *AP V* 11, *AP V* 17. Raising hand: *AP V* 05, *AP V* 08, *AP V* 09, *AP V* 12, *AP V* 13.

[120] Reins in one hand: *AP V* 03, *AP V* 12, *AP V* 13, *AP V* 15.

[121] See section 5.1.1.

[122] Leading the procession *AP V* 03, *AP V* 09; looking back: *AP V* 02, *AP V* 07, *AP V* 08, *AP V* 10, *AP V* 11, *AP V* 14, *AP V* 15; standing turned to the horses: *AP V* 01, *AP V* 04, *AP V* 13 (directed to right, as chariot is going to left). Walking to left, greeting: *AP V* 05, *AP V* 06. Position not known to me: *AP V* 16. For *AP V* 12 see text.

on *AP V* 06 he seems to have switched places with Heracles, who is standing at the heads of the horses.

On *AP V* 12 (Pl. 19) Hermes is depicted in his usual position at the heads of the horses, but as in this representation the chariot is facing to the left, Hermes is standing on the left side of the picture. I mentioned above that in this painting Heracles is shown on this side of the horses as if the procession is seen from the other side. However, if the picture were completely mirrored, Hermes (who is standing at the heads of the horses) should have been depicted either turned to the right facing the chariot, or walking to the left and looking backwards to right. The painter, however, painted him as usual, walking to the right and looking back to the left, with the result that he is not turning his head towards the chariot but looking away from it.

Apollo is depicted six times, in all cases standing in his standard place near the horses.

Dionysus is present eight times: twice he follows the chariot (*AP V* 06, *AP V* 11); in the other cases he stands near the horses.

Four times all three gods – Hermes, Apollo, and Dionysus -- are depicted (Pl. 19, *AP V* 01), and five times two of the gods. Seven times Hermes is the only god present, and once Apollo. In the last case the presence of Athena and a deer is enough to identify the figure of a kitharode as the god.

A man with a club, usually identified as Iolaus, is twice shown following the chariot (Pl. 19, *AP V* 01; *AP V* 02).[123] The same figure is seen on *AP III* 04 and *AP III* 05 (Pl. 17). An old man is standing near the horses on *AP V* 12 (Pl. 19).

On six vases a woman is shown standing at the heads of the horses. On *AP V* 06 a second woman holding a wreath follows the chariot. On *AP V* 04 (Pl. 19) the woman at the heads of the horses is wearing a polos, and on *AP V* 17 a deer is depicted facing her, which may indicate that in both cases Artemis is intended.[124] According to the description, a deer is also depicted on *AP V* 16. On *AP V* 13 a dog is standing against the 'wall' formed by the decorative border of the panel.

[123] The man with club and bow on *AP V* 17 should be identified as Heracles as otherwise the hero is not depicted.

[124] Woman at the heads of the horses: *AP V* 05, *AP V* 06, *AP V* 11, *AP V* 14, *AP V* 17. Woman following chariot: *AP V* 06.

5.7.2 Analysis

On all of the vases identifiable gods are present. Only four times Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus are all present; most of the time there is only one god depicted. The reason may be the lack of space, since on most vases Heracles is also standing near the horses. However, painters chose most often to depict Hermes, as they did also in the representations of *variant AP IV*, possibly to emphasise the journey to Olympus. An alternative reason may be that the composition resembles *variant HL IV* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', where gods are never present; the old man shown on *AP V* 12 (Pl. 19) may also be derived from that *variant*. There are no other figures from real life present in any of the images. The only other mortal man represented is Iolaus, who is also a figure of myth (Pl. 19, *AP V* 01; *AP V* 02).

5.7.3 Changing the composition

Although the differences are small, there are some features in the *typical composition* of *variant AP V* that distinguish it from *variant AP IV* and that explain why I interpret it as a *departure* and not as an *arrival*: Heracles walking *towards* the chariot definitely gives the impression that he is going to mount; Iolaus (who is also found in *variant AP III*) belongs in a departure scene on earth rather than in an arrival scene at Olympus; the old man (and maybe the dog) is a figure from real life derived from the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. Also it is significant that Athena is once depicted standing in and not mounting the chariot (Pl. 19, *AP V* 01); it is a small detail, but it is only found in departure scenes and not in depictions of the arrival (*variant AP IV*). Finally, although there are only four vases with three gods represented in this *variant*, that is relatively more than in *variant AP IV*, where there is only one such vase. This last observation seems contradictory with a scene situated on earth.[125] However, *variant AP III,* which also represents a departure, is derived from the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', where more gods are usually present, while *variant AP IV*, which in my opinion represents the arrival at Olympus, is derived from *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', where gods are not present. Apparently, when the vase-painters created a new *variant* of the departure scene – although it was this time derived also from the *typical composition* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving ' – they inserted as many as possible of the gods that they were accustomed to depict in a departure to Olympus.

However, although *variant AP III* and *variant AP V* both represent the departure from Oeta, there is an important difference between them. As explained above, the order in which

[125] See section 5.6.3, note 116.

people mount is important in chariot scenes: in the *typical composition* of *variant AP III*, the order is the same as in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', where the bride as passenger mounted first and the groom as charioteer is shown mounting later. The *typical composition* of *variant AP V* is the same as in *variant HL IV* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', where the hoplite is approaching the chariot and the charioteer is waiting in it. In both *subtypes* 'Wedding procession' and 'Hoplite leaving', the person mounting last is the one in charge, the person with higher status. By choosing the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', the painters clearly imply that Heracles is not brought passively to his new home like a bride. The power has shifted: Heracles is acting as the person in charge who makes the decisions; Athena is acting as his charioteer. In the Homeric epic tradition the charioteer is usually a trusted friend, but not the hero in charge. In this way the composition is connected with representations of the arrival of Heracles in Olympus (*variant AP IV*). There too, the hero is the one who shows initiative. We can only speculate about the reason for this change. Maybe it is connected to the growing power and self-awareness of Athens in the last decades of the 6th century BCE.

5.7.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The *variant AP V* 'Athena with one foot in chariot and holding reins, Heracles walking *towards* chariot' is found painted mostly on large vases such as hydriai, belly-amphorae, and neck-amphorae. It is found on the shoulder of a single hydria, and once on a kalpis, both the only examples in this *subtype*. There are also depictions on lekythoi, a loutrophoros, and a late cup. Six vases are attributed to the Lysippides Painter and his Manner, including two by the Painter of Vatican G43, and three to the Antimenes Painter and his Circle. One hydria was painted by the Priam Painter.

Six times a mythological scene is depicted in another section of the vase, three of them with Heracles. On *AP V* 10 Apollo and goddesses are depicted, and it is interesting that on this vase Apollo is not present in the Apotheosis scene on the obverse. On two vases there is a Dionysiac scene. On the loutrophoros *AP V* 16 the Judgement of Paris was painted, an apt subject for a wedding vase. On the other vases, scenes with hoplites and chariots were depicted.

5.8. *Variants AP IVa-b and Va-b*: '*Variant AP IV* and *variant AP V* with one or two anonymous persons'

530–500 BCE (Table 27, Plate 37)

5.8.1 Description

There are no depictions in my database that show Athena mounting a chariot and an anonymous man walking with it. There are, however, two vases on which Heracles is standing to the right near the horses, while a man (not an anonymous woman) is standing with one foot in the chariot (*variant AP IVa*). On a bilingual belly-amphora attributed to Psiax (Pl. 19, *AP IVa* 01) the charioteer is identified by a name-inscription as Iolaus. He is wearing a helmet and holds a sword. Heracles with his usual attributes and a sword is also identified by a name-inscription. He is standing to the right near the chariot, raising his left hand as if he is greeting Hermes (also identified by a name-inscription), who is standing at the heads of the horses to the left. On *AP IVa* 02 Heracles with lion skin, club, and quiver is walking alongside the horses to the right, looking backwards and raising his left arm. A man in the long garment characteristic of a charioteer is holding the reins. A dog is standing under the horses, and a nude boy is walking to the right at the heads of the horses.

There are three depictions of *variant AP IVb* with a woman holding the reins and an unidentified man walking with the chariot and looking backwards. Twice the man is a hoplite; on *AP IVb* 02 a woman is standing at the heads of the horses, on *AP IVb* 03 a Scythian archer is walking in front of the hoplite and the chariot is accompanied by another man and an indeterminate figure. On *AP IVb* 01 the man is unarmed, and a woman and an old man are standing nearby.

There is only one depiction of Athena mounting, recognisable by her helmet and spear; she holds the reins with one hand, while a hoplite is standing to the left near the horses on his way to mount the chariot (*AP Va* 01, Pl. 19).[126] A second hoplite stands at the heads of the horses and a woman is standing near the horses to left. There is also only one depiction of a woman mounting the chariot, with a young man holding a spear walking towards it and another young man preceding the chariot (*AP Vb* 01).

5.8.2 Analysis

The *typical composition* of the vase-paintings in this group is the Apotheosis of Heracles, but by replacing Athena with an anonymous man or woman and Heracles by a hoplite or an

[126] This composition is related with *variant ATH,* Athena as charioteer with gods attending. However, I chose to discuss the vase here because of the relation with *variant AP IV*b where also hoplites are present.

unarmed man, the reference becomes ambiguous. There is a connection with the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', *variants HL III* and *HL IV*. This is supported by the fact that in almost all cases no gods or mythological figures stand nearby but the bystanders are instead hoplites, women, old men, and once a boy. The depiction on *AP IVa* 01 (Pl. 19) is the only one in which all of the figures belong to the mythological world.

5.8.3 Changing the composition

With so few examples it is not possible to draw firm conclusions, but the depictions on these vases show how vase-painters could adapt and combine existing *typical compositions* to make a new image. On *AP IVa* 01 (Pl. 19) and *AP IVa* 02 Athena is replaced by a male driver, once identified as Iolaus. Without the goddess, the association with an apotheosis is weak. However, the *typical composition* of *AP IVa* 01 recalls the early depictions of the Apotheosis on the two hydriai attributed to the Archippe Group (*AP I* 01; Pl. 16, *AP I* 02), where Heracles is brought to Olympus by Iolaus and is also walking alongside the chariot. On the other hand, following my conclusion that *variant AP IV* depicts the arrival at Olympus where Iolaus is *not* present, his presence here (and the absence of Athena) may indicate that an encounter of Heracles with Hermes at another time and place is shown. On *AP IVa* 02 the presence of the boy and the dog, as well as the garment of the charioteer, suggest a scene of daily life.

The *typical composition* of *AP Va* 01 (Pl. 19) and *AP Vb* 01 recalls *variant AP V*, which I interpret as the departure of Heracles for Olympus, which took place on earth. Athena as charioteer for an anonymous man is found only on *AP Va* 01. Apparently a mortal could be represented as leaving with Athena for Olympus (*variant AP Va,* but also *the variants AP IIa* and *AP IIIa).* However, only Heracles is depicted arriving at Olympus with Athena (*variant AP IV*), because in the vase-paintings with the *typical composition* of an arrival but where an anonymous man has taken the place of Heracles (*variant AP IVb*), Athena is replaced by an anonymous woman and only the composition suggests the Apotheosis. In this context the depictions on the two hydriai (*AP IVb* 01, *AP IVb* 02) deserve attention, as they were painted earlier and with more care than the other vases (with the exception of *AP IVa* 01). They are the only vases in the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' with a sport scene on another section of the vase.[127] Is it possible that the painter wanted to

[127] On a belly-amphora with a depiction *of variant VIa,* attributed to the Circle of the Swing P., 525 BCE (New York, Coll. Leon Levy, 370; seen by author in 2005; see note 144) boxers are depicted on the other side of the

express or emphasise the immortal fame that athletes could obtain by their efforts, and that he intentionally chose a chariot scene with the *typical composition* of Heracles' Apotheosis in which the hero – who was also patron of athletes – was not conveyed passively to the Olympus but showed initiative and walked actively towards his own immortality?

5.8.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The depictions are found on hydriai, a belly-amphora, a neck-amphora, and a column-krater, and further (?) on a tripod-exaleiptron. The belly-amphora is attributed to Psiax. All of the vases were painted in the last decades of the 6th century BCE.

The depictions on other sections of the vases of *variant AP IVa*, where Heracles is depicted, are mythological: Dionysus reclining on a *klinè* (in red-figure technique) and Heracles fighting with the Nemean Lion. The scenes on the other vases all belong to the world of men. On the other legs of the tripod-exaleiptron in Athens (*AP IVb* 03) an Amazonomachy and a Dionysiac scene are depicted; on the hydriai, boxers and wrestlers; and on the other two vases, hoplites and horsemen.

5.9. *Variant AP VI*: 'Heracles driving chariot, Athena standing near the horses' 540–500 BCE (Table 28, Plate 20)

5.9.1 Description

In the *variants* discussed above Athena holds the reins and Heracles stands in or near the chariot, but there are also 17 representations in the database where their roles are reversed and Heracles is shown driving the chariot.[128]

In every example Heracles is identified by the lion skin; he is also shown with a quiver 11 times, in part because there is more space in this composition. Only five times does he hold a club, which is sensible because he is also holding the reins, and five times he

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vase. I have no photograph of the vase. There are some depictions of chariot races on shoulder panels of hydriai, but they seem more often to be used as standard-motifs.

[128] On *AP VII* 01 Heracles is shown driving the chariot, but a man is standing next to him. Because of the similarity to the other depictions I added this vase to Table 30. There are also some fragmentary vases and vases of which I have only a short description or a bad photograph: Heracles seems to stand in a chariot on two fragmentary pinakes found on the Acropolis (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Akr. 1.2592 (BA 14862); *idem* Akr, 1.2572 (BA 32210), but the fragmentary condition does not allow certainty about the composition. On a fragment of a hydria in Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 94.346 (BA 8289) Athena holding a spear and a shield is standing near the horses facing Apollo; here, too, the composition is not clear. I have no depiction of the following vases: Tarquinia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, RC 6976, neck-amphora (BA 320197): Heracles in chariot accompanied by Athena and Hermes; Padula, Museo Archeologico Certosa San Lorenzo, belly-amphora (BA 9024205): Heracles mounting chariot accompanied by Athena, Hermes, Dionysus, and young man; New York Market, Christie's, hydria (BA 9002284), London Market, Christie's, lekythos (BA 20442): Heracles mounting chariot accompanied by Athena, Hermes, and a woman.

has a sword.[129] On *AP VI* 17 Heracles holds the reins with one hand and the club in the other; this is unusual because holding the reins with one hand is usually done only by Athena.[130] The pose is probably influenced by the scene on the other side of the cup, where Athena is depicted in the same pose (*ATH* 29). On 15 of the 17 vases Heracles is shown mounting the chariot; only twice (*AP VI* 04, *AP VI* 05) is he already standing in it – and in both of these cases he wears a long garment with the lion skin over his head;[131] on *AP VI* 04 Athena is standing next to him in the chariot, the only example of this composition.[132]

Except for the image on *AP VI* 04 Athena is always shown standing near the horses, usually facing to the right, looking back towards Heracles, and raising a hand as if she is urging him onward.[133] The goddess is identified by her spear, helmet, and aegis. On *AP VI* 09 (Pl. 20), where Athena is depicted standing on this side of the horses, she is turned to the left and carries a round shield. On the earliest vase of this group, a belly-amphora attributed to the Towry Whyte Painter, dating 540–530 BCE (Pl. 20, *AP VI* 01), the woman standing near the horses is holding a spear but not identified as Athena by other attributes. Because this is not unusual in this rather early period and because Athena is clearly identified on the other vases with Heracles mounting the chariot, I included the vase in this group.[134]

Hermes is depicted on 11 of the vases, usually walking to the right and looking back towards the chariot.[135] Apollo is included five times, mostly at his usual place near the horses, but on *AP VI* 12 (Pl. 20) he is at the heads of the horses, leading the procession, a

[129] Heracles is carrying a sword on *AP VI* 07, *AP VI* 08, *AP VI* 10, *AP VI* 12, *AP VI* 13.

[130] See notes 91 and 187, and section 5.13.1

[131] *AP IV* 04, *AP VI* 05 (BA 6224 = BA 10075). Cf. *variant HL IV* where the mounting charioteer is wearing mostly a short chiton, while in other *variants,* where he is depicted standing in the chariot, he is dressed in a long garment or mantle.

[132] *AP VI* 04; in the description in the catalogue (London, Sotheby's, 6/7-5-1982, nr. 430) the person with helmet and spear standing in the chariot on the left of Heracles is identified as Ares. However, there are a few small snakes visible, which must belong to the aegis of Athena.

[133] Athena standing to right, looking back to left: *AP VI* 03, *AP VI* 06 (raised hand not visible), *AP VI* 08, *AP VI* 10, *AP VI* 11, *AP VI* 12, *AP VI* 13, *AP VI* 15, *AP VI* 16, *AP VI* 17; standing to left, looking back to right to Hermes: *AP VI* 02, *AP VI* 05, *AP VI* 14; standing to left: *AP VI* 07, *AP VI* 09 (this side of horses) and the woman on *AP VI* 01. On the cup and lekythos *AP VI* 16 and *AP VI* 17 no spears are visible due to the careless drawing.

[134] The same composition is found on a hydria attributed to the Affecter (*HL IV* 01). However, there the mounting man is wearing a short chiton and winged boots, while a hoplite is sitting at the horses' heads.

[135] Hermes leading procession, looking back: *AP VI* 08, *AP VI* 16; near horses looking back: *AP VI* 02, *AP VI* 04, *AP VI* 05, *AP VI* 06, *AP VI* 14; standing to left near horses: *AP VI* 03; standing to left at heads of the horses: *AP VI* 07, *AP VI* 13. On *AP VI* 15 Hermes is not visible on the picture and not mentioned in the description; however, because Heracles is twice mentioned, I presume the second time is a writing error for Hermes. According to the descriptions Hermes is also shown on some of the vases mentioned in note 128, of which I have no depiction.

feature that is also found on vases by the Princeton Painter.[136] Dionysus is shown standing near the horses on three vases.[137] Only once are all three gods depicted (*AP VI* 07); eight times only one god is present, most often Hermes. On four vases no god accompanies the hero's chariot except for Athena.

On one vase a man with a club, who may be identified as Iolaus, is shown following the chariot (Pl. 20, *AP VI* 12). On two vases a man and a woman stand at the heads of the horses (*AP VI* 02, *AP VI* 03). On *AP VI* 01 (Pl. 20) an old man is seated on a stool at the heads of the horses. Once a hoplite accompanies the chariot (*AP VI* 06). On *AP VI* 05, one of the two vases where Heracles is standing in the chariot, a nude boy is standing to the left at the heads of the horses.

On eight vases one or two women are accompanying the chariot, usually standing at the heads of the horses and turned towards the left. On *AP VI* 10 a woman is sitting at the heads of the horses facing to the right but looking back towards the chariot. Twice a woman is shown following the chariot.[138]

On two vases a deer accompanies the chariot. On *AP VI* 14 it may belong to the woman standing at the heads of the horses (who may be Artemis), but on *AP VI* 09 (Pl. 20) only Heracles and Athena are present.

5.9.2 Analysis

On most vases of *variant AP VI* 'Heracles driving chariot, Athena standing near the horses', identifiable gods (in addition to Athena) are present. Eight times only a single god is depicted, usually Hermes, probably chosen to stress that the scene illustrates Heracles' journey to Olympus. Four times two gods are present, and once Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus (*AP VI* 07). The choice of which gods, and how many, to include in the scene was limited by lack of space, since Athena also stands near the chariot. However, on most of the vases additional figures are depicted, such as Iolaus, but also women, men, a hoplite, and a boy who seem to be derived from daily-life contexts. On four vases there are no gods (other than Athena or the woman with the spear) present; on one of them (Pl. 20, *AP VI* 09) a deer

[136] Apollo leading procession: *WP II* 02, *WP IV* 07, *AP VI* 12.

[137] Dionysus near horses standing to left: *AP VI* 08, *AP VI* 07; standing to right, looking back: *AP VI* 12. According to the description Dionysus is depicted on one of the fragments mentioned in note 128.

[138] Woman standing at heads of the horses: turned to left: *AP VI* 02, *AP VI* 03, *AP VI* 04, *AP VI* 11, *AP VI* 14 (with deer); to right: *AP VI* 06; woman following chariot: *AP VI* 02, *AP VI* 13; standing near horses to left: *AP VI* 04, *AP VI* 13. According to the descriptions a woman or a man are depicted on some of the vases mentioned in note 128.

is depicted; on cup *AP VI* 17 the composition seems to be used as a standard-motif, placed between two horsemen who have no obvious relationship with the mythological scene.

5.9.3 Changing the composition

The *typical composition* of *variant AP VI* with Heracles driving his own chariot seems, iconographically, to have been derived from *variants AP IV* and *AP V* (depending on the direction that Athena faces in *variant AP VI*), with the positions of Heracles and Athena reversed. However, the concept of the hero driving his own chariot to Olympus is new. The *typical composition* is closely related to that of *variant HL V* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving',[139] where the hoplite is driving the chariot himself. The composition is illogical since an armed hoplite is not able to drive a chariot, but it was used to illustrate the hoplite's departure because it is a simple composition that emphasises the military aspect of the event. The fact that in *variant AP VI* Athena usually holds a spear and once a round shield, may also be due to the association with a martial event. The *typical composition* may have been chosen as the basis for the new composition because of its simplicity: Heracles now holds the reins himself (possible because in most cases the painters omitted his club), and there is no doubt that he is in charge. Athena's gesture urging Heracles to move forward gives the scene energy and shows the approval of the goddess. The deer refers to the divine world, but it has also a connotation with reaching maturity and it may be a reference to Heracles' transition to a new phase in life as a god.[140]

The composition of *AP VI* 04, with Heracles driving the chariot and Athena as his passenger, is unusual and, as far as I know, unique. Here their usual roles are reversed, with the result that the picture has the *typical composition* of *subtype* 'Wedding procession'. That this composition is never found again is probably in order to avoid the impression that Heracles and Athena are a bridal couple, in which the groom is in charge of the bride.[141]

5.9.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The image is found mostly on large vases such as hydriai, belly-amphorae, neck-amphorae, and column-kraters, but also on two lekythoi and a cup. Most of the vase-painters are the same ones who painted other *variants*: the Antimenes Painter and his group (including the

[139] See section 3.5.

[140] See section 5.0.

[141] See section 5.2.3, note 47.

Group of Würzburg 199), the Lysippides Painter, the Mastos Painter, the Leagros Group, and the Priam Painter. One hydria is attributed to the Edinburgh Painter. The Towry Whyte Painter, who painted the vase on which Athena is not identified, is related to Group E.

On other sections of the vases a mythological scene is depicted seven times, three of which feature Heracles, and once a Dionysiac scene. The other representations are related to the life of men: hoplites leaving or fighting on foot and in a chariot, a chariot race, and a symposium.

5.10. *Variant AP VIa-b*: '*Variant AP VI* with one or two anonymous persons' 530–480 BCE (Table 29, Plates 20–21)

5.10.1 Description

The *typical composition* of *variant AP VI* but with Athena standing next to a chariot onto which an unidentified man is mounting is found on 23 vases (*variant AP VIa*).[142] On a cup once in Berlin (Pl. 21, *AP VIa* 23a-b) the same scene is depicted on both sides with small variations: on one side Athena is holding her helmet in her hand, on the other side a small boy is depicted beneath the heads of the horses.[143] On three vases an anonymous women is standing near the horses instead of Athena (*variant AP VIb*).[144] On column-krater *AP VIb* 03 a woman is standing to the left near the horses between Dionysus and Hermes, but as far I can see, she is not dressed like Athena; since the space between the gods is filled with vines,

[142] On a very late lekythos in the Benaki Museum in Athens (seen in 2012), a hoplite is holding the reins of the chariot. Athena with helmet and a round shield is standing near the chariot to the right. Heracles is walking near the horses to the right with lion skin and club, raising his left arm as if he is greeting Hermes, who is standing at the heads of the horses, walking to the right and looking back. Although the composition resembles that of the Apotheosis, the facts that Athena and the charioteer are armed and that Athena and Heracles are walking with the chariot, recall rather a departure to battle or the Gigantomachy.

[143] *AP VIa* 23a-b. Berlin, St. Museen Antikensammlung once, F 2049 (BA 302909). Drawing in Gerhard (1840–1858) Taf. 51.

[144] There are some fragmentary vases where a man or a hoplite is mounting a chariot and Athena or other gods are present, but where the *variant* cannot be distinguished: Apollo, woman with flower: Dublin, University College Classical Museum, 471 (V4065), neck-amphora fragment, 515–510 BCE (BA 9031198). Hoplite driving and Athena: Paris, Musée du Louvre, Camp 10662, hydria fragment, Swing Painter, 520 BCE (BA 351010); Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et Histoire, R 322 ter, neck-amphora fragment, 510–500 BCE (BA 12135) (very abraded). Of some vases I have only a short description: Berlin, St. Museen Antikensammlung once, F 1903, hydria (BA 9018049); New York, Coll. Leon Levy, 370, belly-amphora, Swing Painter Circle, 525 BCE (seen in 2005) (see note 127); New York Market, Royal Athena Galleries, belly-amphora, 520 BCE, *Art of the Ancient World* IV (1985) nr. 44. Finally it should be said that there are numerous late lekythoi on which an Athena-like figure is attending a chariot with figures standing in and next to it. Since the lekythoi are mostly dated after 500 BCE and not of good quality, I left them out of my lists. Two examples of rather good quality are Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et Histoire, A 1329, 500 BCE (BA 12147); Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum, 1924.8, 475–460 BCE (BA 31615).

the scene seems more Dionysiac. On *AP VIb* 02 a deer is standing next to the woman.[145] On *AP VIb* 01 a winged woman is running alongside the horses that seem to be walking with a slow pace.[146] Almost all of the vases date to the last three decades of the 6th century.

On 18 vases of *variant AP VIa-b* the man is shown standing in the chariot, holding the reins in both hands; on eight vases he is mounting the chariot.[147] Eight times he is depicted beardless. When he is standing in the chariot, he usually wears a long mantle or the white garment characteristic of a charioteer.[148] When he is shown mounting the chariot, he usually wears a short chiton (Pl. 20, *AP VIa* 11), except for *AP VIa* 23a-b (Pl. 21) and *AP VIb* 03, where he wears a long garment. On *AP VIa* 20 he is wearing a cuirass; on *AP VIa* 16 (Pl. 20), where the man is named by inscription Iolaus, he is depicted with a cuirass, a helmet, and a sword. On a late neck-amphora dating to 480 BCE (*AP VIa* 22) the letters EON are visible, which according to the *CVA* may be completed to read Alkmeon, the name of the son of Amphiaraus, but may also identify any member of the family of the Alcmaeonids.

In all of these images Athena is standing near the horses, identified by her helmet, spear, and aegis; once she is depicted on this side of the chariot (*AP VIa* 19). She usually stands facing to the right and looking back towards the man in the chariot, but five times she is looking to the right; three times she is standing to the left looking back towards the right.[149] In most cases she is lifting her free hand; depending on the direction Athena faces, she seems to be urging the man in the chariot or greeting the gods standing in front of her. On *AP VIa* 03 (Pl. 20) she is holding a round shield, which is unusual, but in this case easier to paint as she is standing to the left and looking to the right. On *AP VIa* 12 a shield is standing on the ground.[150] On 11 vases Athena is the only recognisable god present.

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[145] I wonder whether the vase is restored. Left of the head of the woman the end of the plume of a helmet seems to be depicted. A deer in the company of Athena is also found on *AP VI* 09, *AP VI* 14 and *AP VIa* 11.

[146] On *AP VIb* 01 the same depiction is found on both sides. There is only a picture of one of the sides available. For other vases with a winged woman next to the horses, see *AP VIIb* 01*, ATH* 31, *DIO* 48 and *DIO* 49.

[147] Mounting: *AP VIa* 02, *AP VIa* 03, *AP VIa* 11, *AP VIa* 12, *AP VIa* 13, *AP VIa* 14, *AP VIa* 23a-b, *AP VIb 03*.

[148] See note 131. White garment: *AP VIa* 05, *AP VIa* 10, *AP VIa* 18, *AP VIa* 22 (Alkmeon).

[149] Standing to right, looking back: *AP VIa* 02, *AP VIa* 08, *AP VIa* 10, *AP VIa* 11, *AP VIa* 12, *AP VIa* 13, *AP VIa* 14, *AP VIa* 16, *AP VIa* 17, *AP VIa* 18, *AP VIa* 19, *AP VIa* 20, *AP VIa* 21, *AP VIa* 22, *AP VIa* 23a-b. Standing to right: *AP VIa* 01, *AP VIa* 06, *AP VIa* 07, *AP VIa* 09, *AP VIa* 15. Standing to left, looking back: *AP VIa* 03, *AP VIa* 04, *AP VIa* 05. The woman on *AP VIb* 02 is standing to right, looking back. On *AP VIb* 03 she is standing to left.

[150] Athena to left with a shield is also found on *AP V* 12 and *AP VI* 09, both attributed to the Priam Painter. A shield on the ground is depicted on *AP VII* 06 attributed to the Leagros Group.

Hermes accompanies the chariot on 14 vases, walking to the right next to the horses and looking back, or standing at the heads of the horses.[151] Ten times he is the only god other than Athena who is depicted (Pl. 20, *AP VIa* 11; Pl. 21, *AP VIa* 23a-b). Apollo is twice also present, standing near the horses with his kithara. Dionysus is represented on four vases, three times standing near the horses, but on *AP VIa* 01 he is following the chariot; this is the only vase on which all three gods and Athena are present. On *AP VIb* 03 Athena and Apollo are not depicted, but Hermes, Dionysus, and Poseidon accompany the chariot.

Six times a nude little boy is walking in front, at the heads of the horses (Pl. 20, *AP VIa* 16; Pl. 21, *AP VIa* 23b).[152] Three times a man is sitting at the heads of the horses (Pl. 20, *AP VIa* 03); once he is identified by a *kerykeion* as a herald.[153] On eight vases a woman is present, usually standing at the heads of the horses and turned to the left; on *AP VIa* 04 she is facing to the left and looking backwards away from the chariot. Twice a woman is shown following the chariot.[154] On *AP VIa* 06 the woman standing at the heads of the horses is raising her arms, as is common in the depiction of a wedding procession. Unfortunately the vase is fragmentary, and it is not possible to see whether she is holding something in her hands.

Three times a deer is accompanying the chariot (Pl. 20, *AP VIa* 11; *AP VIa* 14, *AP VIb* 02) and twice a dog (*AP VIa* 13, *AP VIa* 22).[155] On *AP VIa* 09 a Siren is sitting on one of the decorative palmettes facing the horses.

5.10.2 Analysis

The *typical composition* of *variant AP VIa* is very similar to that of *variant AP VI*, where the man in the chariot is clearly identified as Heracles. This resemblance may be the reason for adding the name-inscription to identify Iolaus on *AP VIa* 16 (Pl. 20). In most cases the composition is simple, with – apart from Athena – none or only one other god

[151] Hermes walking near horses looking back: *AP VIa* 01, *AP VIa* 02, *AP VIa* 04, *AP VIa* 07, *AP VIa* 09, *AP VIa* 23a-b; standing near horses to left *AP VIa* 20. At the heads of the horses looking back: *AP VIa* 11, *AP VIa* 15, *AP VIb 02*; at the heads standing to left: *AP VIa* 17. On *AP VIa* 10 a man with a *kerykeion* is sitting at the heads of the horses, but he is not wearing winged boots. On chariot *AP VIa* 06 a man is standing behind the chariot; possibly it is Hermes since on the related krater *AP VIa* 05 Hermes is standing there.

[152] Little boy: *AP VIa* 05, *AP VIa* 06, *AP VIa* 07, *AP VIa* 08, *AP VIa* 16, *AP VIa* 23b.

[153] Sitting man: *AP VIa* 02, *AP VIa* 03. Herald: *AP VIa* 10, see note 151.

[154] Woman at the heads of the horses to left: *AP VIa* 01, *AP VIa* 05, *AP VIa* 06 (raising arms), *AP VIa* 12, *AP VIa* 13. Standing to left, looking to right: *AP VIa* 04.Woman following chariot: *AP VIa* 15, *AP VIb 03*. On *AP VIb* 03 the figure standing at the right side is probably also a woman. Man with staff near horses: *AP VIa* 15; following chariot: *AP VIb* 03.

[155] The animal on *AP VIa* 13 is for a great part lost and restored as a dog.

(usually Hermes) accompanying the chariot, although there are often also mortal women and men present. There is no depiction of an old man in this group. The boy preceding the chariot seems to be derived from a daily-life context, and by combining gods and mortals, ambiguity about which world is depicted is created. The dogs belong to the real world; the deer, however, are an indication of the divine world.

The *typical composition* of *variant AP VIb* 02 resembles that of *variant AP VIa* and as mentioned above (note 145) it is possible that the woman is Athena. The other vases have a different composition. On *AP VIb* 03 a Dionysiac scene seems to depicted because of the vines filling the space between the gods. If the winged woman on *AP VIb* 01 is interpreted as Nikè, it is possible that the winner in a chariot race is depicted.

5.10.3 Changing the composition

Although most representations of *variant AP VIa* are simple, they evoke associations, not only with the Apotheosis of Heracles, but also with the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.[156] The *typical composition* of a man standing in the chariot with men and women standing nearby recalls *variant MC* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', where a usually bearded man, who is not wearing armour, is standing in or mounting onto the chariot, accompanied by no one, or by a few people, usually women or men (seldom an old man); boys may stand near the horses' heads, usually when the driver is standing in the chariot. In *variant AP VIa* the boys are also found almost exclusively in depictions in which the driver is already standing in the chariot. It is also noteworthy that in *variant AP VI* the only boy is found in a depiction where Heracles is standing in (and not mounting) the chariot (*AP VI* 05). Apparently, a boy usually precedes a chariot that is participating in a procession.

5.10.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant AP Via-b is found on large vases such as belly-amphorae, neck-amphorae, hydriai, and column-kraters. It is found one time on both sides of a cup. Although the group is too small to draw firm conclusions, it is noteworthy that while in other groups there is a tendency for hydriai to become more popular in the last third of the century, for this *variant* there are only a few hydriai, which is also a similarity with *variant MC*. All of the vases date to the last three decades of the 6th century BCE; neck-amphora *AP VIa* 22 is dated to the first quarter of the 5th century; I added it to my list because it resembles the other vases in the

[156] I will discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia in section 6.6.

group. The vases are attributed to the same painters as *variant AP VI*, including painters around the Lysippides Painter and the Antimenes Painter, the Priam Painter, the Leagros Group, and the Edinburgh Painter.

On other sections of the vases there are a few mythological depictions,[157] but ten times a Dionysiac scene is found. The other representations are derived from the world of men: chariots, hoplites, and horsemen fighting or leaving.

5.11. *Variant AP VII*: 'Heracles in chariot with charioteer, Athena standing nearby' 530–500 BCE (Table 30, Plate 21)

5.11.1 Description

In the *variants* discussed above, Athena acts as charioteer for Heracles or he drives the chariot himself.[158] There are also depictions in the database where Heracles stands in the chariot next to a charioteer who holds the reins, while Athena stands near the horses. Since the group is small, I added to this group the few vases on which Heracles is approaching a chariot or mounting it, and a vase on which Heracles is holding the reins himself.[159] All of the vases date to the last three decades of the 6th century BCE.

The charioteer is depicted as a bearded man five times; three times he is beardless.[160] He is usually shown standing in the chariot, wearing a long mantle or garment, as he is also on *AP VII* 08, the only vase on which he is shown mounting the chariot.[161] On *AP VII* 01 he is wearing a cuirass. On *AP VII* 05 and *AP VII* 06 (Pl. 21) the charioteer is identified as Iolaus by name-inscription. In both cases he is wearing a helmet; on *AP VII* 05 it is pushed back on the crown of his head. On *AP VII* 06 Iolaus is also holding a club; however, in this depiction Heracles is not standing in the usual position for the passenger at the left side of the charioteer, but at the right side. Heracles is holding a spear, which is found in many vase-paintings as charioteers can use it as a goad. Apparently, since Heracles and Iolaus have

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[157] On *AP VIa* 19 the composition of a man sitting between two women seems to be derived from the Birth of Athena. However, there are no attributes or other indications that that scene is meant.

[158] On *AP IVa* 01 Iolaus is driving the chariot and on *AP IVa* 02 an anonymous man. Since Athena is missing in these images, I consider them to be derivations of *variant AP IV*, although perhaps representing a different event.

[159] *AP VII* 01. I chose to add this vase to this list (and not to *variant AP VI*) because the composition resembles that of the vases in this group.

[160] Beardless: *AP VII* 05 (Iolaus), *AP VII* 07, *AP VII* 08. Bearded: *AP VII* 01, *AP VII* 02, *AP VII* 03, *AP VII* 04, *AP VII* 10. On *AP VII* 06 the helmeted head of Iolaus is covered by Heracles. The charioteer on *AP VII* 09 is not visible on the photo and the detail is not mentioned in the description.

[161] Garment of chaioteer not preserved on *AP VII* 05 and *AP VII* 07; not visible on the photo of *AP VII* 09.

switched places, the painter was somewhat confused about who is holding which weapon. The same composition, with Heracles standing at the right side of the charioteer is also found on *AP VII* 01; however, this time he is holding the reins himself, while the club whose tip is visible at the left top of the drawing is probably held by his passenger. Both vase-paintings are unique representations.

Heracles is identified by the lion skin and the club, in most cases by only one of these, since his body is covered by the charioteer. In the cases where he is more visible because he is approaching the chariot, Heracles has both attributes: on *AP VII* 04 (Pl. 21) Heracles is standing behind the chariot in which the charioteer is waiting, and on *AP VII* 02 Heracles is shown walking near the horses towards the chariot, which is facing to the left. However, there are additional chariots included in this frieze on the neck of a volute-krater and Athena is shown walking towards a different chariot. The depiction seems to be a variant on the standard-motifs of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' often painted in this kind of frieze.

Athena is in all cases identified by spear, helmet, and aegis. On *AP VII* 06 (Pl. 21), the vase on which Heracles is holding a spear, a round shield rests on the ground against Athena's legs.[162] On four vases the goddess is standing to the right and turning back to face Heracles, in three cases raising her left hand in the same pose as Heracles in *variant AP IV,* where he is urging Athena to follow him.[163] In other cases she is standing to the left, once looking back to the right.[164] Three times she is holding her helmet in her hand.[165] On *AP VII* 10 she is standing on this side of the horses.

Hermes is present six times, leading the procession or sitting or standing facing to the left at the heads of the horses. Apollo is present three times at his usual position near the

[162] A shield on the ground is also found on *AP VIa* 12 by the Priam Painter.

[163] Standing to the right looking back: *AP VII* 01; raising left hand: *AP VII* 03, *AP VII* 04, *AP VII* 06.

[164] Standing to left: *AP VII* 05, *AP VII* 10. On *AP VII* 09 her feet seem to stand to the right, but as her posture with the helmet in her hand is the same as on *AP VII* 10 it is possible that she is standing to the left. Standing to the left, looking back to the right: *AP VII* 08. On *AP VII* 02 she is walking to the left probably to her own chariot but also in the direction of Heracles (who is standing at another chariot), raising her arm as if to exhort him. On fragment *AP VII* 07 only her head is preserved, which is turned to the right.

[165] Helmet in hand: *AP VII* 08, *AP VII* 09, *AP VII* 10.

horses; on *AP VII* 10 he holds a lyre.[166] Dionysus is depicted only twice, standing near the horses.[167]

On *AP VII* 08 a woman is standing at the heads of the horses accompanied by a deer, which may identify her as Artemis. A boy in a mantle stands facing to the left at the heads of the horses on *AP VII* 10.

5.11.2 Analysis

On all of the vases painted with *variant AP VII*, Heracles and Athena are clearly identified by their attributes, and at least one other god or a mythological figure such as Iolaus is present (except on the fragmentary *AP VII* 07). Five times there is only one god present in addition to Athena, although there seems to be enough space for additional figures, especially because on these vases Hermes is always depicted at the heads of the horses, which makes the compositions rather simple.

Although the mythological context is made clear, a few details seem to be derived from the real world: on *AP VII* 10 Apollo is playing on a lyre, which is a more common instrument than the kithara, and on the same vases a boy is standing at the horses' heads. Both details are found in depictions of daily-life processions.[168] On the same vase (and on both *AP VII* 08 and *AP VII* 09) Athena is holding her helmet in her hand. This has the advantage that the plume does not encroach into the decorative border around the panel, but it also recalls the carrying of armour found in several *variants* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.[169] However, in this case the helmet is certainly meant to be that of the goddess herself, because she is depicted bareheaded.

5.11.3 Changing the composition

The *typical composition* resembles that on the cup by Lydos (*AP I* 04), although there the horses are winged and galloping. I argued above[170] that this was in origin based on the *typical composition* of the Gigantomachy, with Athena running alongside the chariot of

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[166] Leading: *AP VII* 01, *AP VII* 03; standing to the left: *AP VII* 06; sitting: *AP VII* 04, *AP VII* 09. On *AP VII* 02 he is standing between the chariots of Athena and Heracles. Apollo: *AP VII* 03, *AP VII* 04, *AP VII* 10.

[167] Dionysus: *AP VII* 01 and *AP VII* 08. The charioteer on *AP VII* 03 is in the *CVA* identified as possibly Dionysus, because of the wreath he is wearing. It is not possible to say whether more figures were present on *AP VII* 05 and *AP VII* 07 because of the fragmentary state.

[168] See Chapter 3, note 123. Böhr (2009) 120.

[169] See section 3.2.1, note 49.

[170] See section 5.1.3. On hydria *AP VII* 08 a Gigantomachy is depicted on the shoulder.

Heracles and Zeus. The presence of weapons (the spear in Heracles' hand, the helmet in Athena's hand, her spear on all vases, and her round shield) may be due to this connection, but the absence of the bow that Heracles usually carries in Gigantomachy scenes indicates that that battle is not represented. Because in *variant AP VII* the horses are not shown running and all figures are depicted in calm postures, it resembles also *variants CH* and *CMM* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.[171]

Heracles and the charioteer are usually shown standing together in the chariot, so the emphasis of the composition is on Heracles' journey to Olympus; in these cases it is not clear who mounted the chariot last and is therefore of higher status. On *AP VII* 05 and *AP VII* 06 the charioteer is named Iolaus, and on *AP VII* 02 and *AP VII* 04 Heracles is approaching the chariot in which the charioteer is waiting, so one would expect that Heracles is in these cases in charge. However, on *AP VII* 08 the charioteer is mounting last, creating the same composition as in *variant AP III* where Athena is mounting the chariot in which Heracles is already standing.

5.11.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

Variant AP VII is found on large vases, such as hydriai, belly-amphorae, a neck-amphora, and a column-krater, as well as on the neck of a volute-krater and on a fragmentary pinax from the Acropolis. All of the vases are dated to the last 30 years of the 6th century BCE. The vases are painted in the manner of the Antimenes Painter or attributed to the Euphiletos Painter and the Leagros Group. The pinax is attributed to a painter who recalls Paseas.

On the other sections of the vases a mythological scene is depicted three times – twice Heracles and the Nemean Lion and once a Gigantomachy – and two times a Dionysiac scene. The other depictions are derived from the world of men: horsemen, a hoplite leaving home, and a *komos*.

5.12. *Variant AP VIIa-b*: 'Variant *AP VII* with two men standing in chariot, Athena and other gods standing nearby'
540–500 BCE (Table 31, Plate 21)

5.12.1 Description

There are six representations with the same *typical composition* as *variant AP VII*, a man and a charioteer standing in the chariot, with Athena and other gods standing nearby, but where

[171] See sections 3.9 and 3.11.

none of the men in the chariot is identified as Heracles (*variant AP VIIa*).[172] There are also four representations with gods, where Athena is not present (*variant AP VIIb*). All of the vases date to 540–500 BCE.

The charioteer in *variant AP VIIa* is a beardless young man wearing a long mantle. On two vases of *variant AP VIIb* the charioteer is bearded; once he wears the long garment characteristic of a charioteer. In both groups the charioteer is depicted one time mounting the chariot while the other man is already standing in it (Pl. 21, *AP VIIb* 04).[173] The passenger is usually a bearded man; only on *AP VIIa* 05 is he a youth. On *AP VIIa* 06 he is a hoplite.

In *variant AP VIIa* Athena, identified by spear, helmet, and aegis, is mostly shown standing near the horses facing to the right and looking back towards the men in the chariot.[174] Twice she is the only god depicted; on *AP VIIa* 04 (Pl. 21) she is standing on this side of the horses; on *AP VIIa* 06 a hoplite is standing at the heads of the horses.

In *variant AP VIIa* Hermes, sitting at the heads of the horses, is once the only other god depicted. Two times Dionysus standing near the horses is the only other god, but in both cases a woman is shown standing to the left at the heads of the horses. Once both Hermes and Dionysus accompany Athena.[175]

On *AP VIIa* 03 a deer is standing next to the woman at the horses' heads, looking up at her and probably identifying her as Artemis. On *AP VIIa* 04 (Pl. 21) on which Athena is the only god depicted, a deer is standing near the horses.[176]

In one example of *variant AP VIIb* Dionysus is the only god depicted (*AP VIIb* 02); he is shown standing near the horses, while a man is sitting at the horses' heads and another is standing near the chariot. On *AP VIIb* 03 Hermes and Apollo walk alongside the horses. On *AP VIIb* 04 (Pl. 21) not only Apollo and Hermes but also two women and an old man are standing nearby. The passenger standing in the chariot is holding a wreath. On *AP VIIb* 01 a winged woman is walking alongside the chariot in which two men are standing.

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[172] On a few depictions of several *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', Hermes is accompanying the chariot. I discussed those paintings in Chapter 3, as I assumed that Hermes was added only to emphasise that a journey is represented, and not to indicate that a mythological scene is depicted.

[173] Bearded driver: *AP VIIb* 02, *AP VIIb* 04. Long garment: *AP VIIb* 02. Mounting: *AP VIIa* 03*, AP VIIb* 04.

[174] Standing to left, looking to right: *AP VIIa* 01. I have no picture of neck-amphora Boulogne, Musée Communale, 418, recalls Acheloos P. or Leagros Gr., 525 BCE (BA 302172). According to the description both sides of the vase resemble strongly *AP VIIa* 04.

[175] Hermes sitting: *AP VIIa* 05. Hermes and Dionysus: *AP VIIa* 01. Dionysus and woman: *AP VIIa* 02, *AP VIIa* 03.

[176] On the vase in Boulogne (note 174) a deer is present.

5.12.2 Analysis

In all depictions of *variant VIIa-b* clearly recognisable gods are present, but the men in the chariot are never identified as mythological figures. The depictions of *variant AP VIIa* with Athena standing near the horses resemble *variant AP VII,* although without the presence of Heracles the association with the composition of the Gigantomachy is lost. In this group there are no anonymous men nor boys standing nearby, but on *AP VIIa* 06, where the passenger is a hoplite, another hoplite is standing at the horses' heads.

On the vases with *variant AP VIIb* there is no association with the Apotheosis. On three vases gods are present, but on two of these men, women and an old man are also present, which creates ambiguity about which world is depicted. The winged woman on *AP VIIb* 01 is unusual, but there is a parallel on *AP VIb* 01.[177] If these women are interpreted as Nikai, it is possible that winners in a chariot race are represented.

5.12.3 Changing the composition

The vases where Athena is present (*variant AP VIIa*) seem to be anonymous versions of *variant AP VII,* or – since the passenger and the charioteer are painted so close together that they almost seem one figure – an extension of the *variant AP VIa.* Since two men – usually unarmed, although on *AP VIIa* 06 the passenger is a hoplite – are standing in the chariot, the composition also resembles depictions of *variants CH, CMH,* and *CMM* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.[178] However, on *AP VIIa* 03 the charioteer is mounting while the other man is already standing in it, which is the usual order in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession'.

More can be said about the depictions of *variant AP VIIb* with other gods present. The representations in which men and women are standing nearby recall the *variants CMM* and *CMH.* However, since Athena is missing, there is also a resemblance to some *variants* of *subtype* 'Wedding procession', where Athena is rarely depicted. On *AP VIIb* 03 the presence of Hermes and Apollo walking alongside the horses recalls *variant WP IV*, and on *AP VIIb* 02 and *AP VIIb* 04 (Pl. 21) there is – just as in *variant WP III* – no clear division between the human and the divine worlds.[179] On *AP VIIb* 04 not only Hermes and Apollo accompany the chariot, but also two women and an old man; furthermore, the charioteer is mounting last as the groom does, and the passenger is holding a wreath. However, the person with the wreath

[177] A winged woman is also found on *ATH* 31, *DIO* 48, *DIO* 49. See note 146.

[178] See sections 3.9, 3.10 and 3.11.

[179] See sections 4.4.2 and 4.5.2.

is not a woman but a man. We do not know what event the painter wanted to depict: it may be a victorious athlete brought home with his wreath, but because the painter used the *typical composition* of a wedding procession, I proposed another meaning in 1998:[180] "Of special importance here is the fact that the driver is not waiting for his passenger in the chariot, like in the hoplite scenes, but that the passenger is already in the chariot and the driver mounts last. ... Do we, therefore, see here an elder man bringing his younger friend, whom he has educated in a *erastes-eromenos* relationship, to his new destination in society just like a bride? The friend is no longer an ephebe, because he is bearded. So, maybe we are allowed to interpret the other representations as young men being brought to the Apaturia festival for their admission in the *fratriai*."[181] Now that I have studied more of these representations, I am still convinced that this composition depicts a procession in which a man is brought to a new phase in his life.[182] The ambiguous depiction of Dionysus who was the patron of youth[183] between two anonymous men on *AP VIIb* 02 may refer to a procession or festival such as the Oenisteria where a wine offering was brought by the ephebes to Heracles.[184]

The vases in this group have a *typical composition* that resemble the s*ubtypes* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' (*variant AP VIIa*) and 'Wedding processions' (*variant AP VIIb*), indicating that the passenger is being brought to a 'new life'. Even when there is no longer any association with the mythological context of the original composition, the scene with a chariot might have been enough to convey this idea.

5.12.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The depiction is found on large vases, such as hydriai and neck-amphorae, all made during the last 40 years of the 6th century BCE. The earliest vase in the group is attributed to Group E. There are vases attributed to the Antimenes Painter and the Eye Siren Group, the Euphiletos Painter, and especially the Leagros Group.

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[180] See Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 207.

[181] 'The other representations' to which I refer in this citation, are *AP VIIa 02* and *CMH* 03, where the young man is acting as charioteer. Both vases I connect again with the Apaturia in this study. It is possible that the passenger on *AP VIIb* 04 is represented bearded to indicate that he is a young man who is going to shave his beard for the first time.

[182] In section 6.6 I will discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia festival.

[183] Scheibler, I. (1987) 99–101; 118 states that Dionysus was the patron of youth.

[184] See sections 5.0 and 6.6.

In other sections of the vases there are three mythological scenes, including Achilles and Polyxena on the shoulder of a hydria, and a Dionysiac scene. On the other vases hoplites leaving, fighting men separated, and a hoplite bringing home a dead warrior were painted.

5.13. *Variant ATH*: 'Athena mounting chariot, other gods standing nearby' 530–500 BCE (Table 32, Plate 21–22)

5.13.1 Description

In addition to the depictions of the Apotheosis of Heracles on which Athena is mounting a chariot while Heracles and usually some other gods are standing nearby (*variants AP II-VII*), there is a group of 31 vase-paintings with a similar composition but without Heracles (*variant ATH*).[185] All of the vases date to the last third of the 6th century BCE.

Athena is depicted standing in the chariot on *ATH* 13; on the other vases she is mounting the chariot. She is always wearing a helmet and on 21 vases an aegis. As far as can be seen, she holds a spear on 15 vases. In the other cases she usually holds a goad. I added *ATH* 09 to the list although the mounting woman is wearing a short tunic and carrying a Boeotian shield on her back; one may hesitate to identify Athena here or an Amazon.[186] However, Apollo and Hermes are depicted standing nearby, who make more sense with Athena than with an Amazon. In most cases Athena is holding the reins with both hands, but 11 times she holds them with one hand (Pl. 21, *ATH* 04), which is a characteristic posture of her.[187]

On all of the vases the chariot is accompanied by one or more gods. Apollo is depicted on 20 vases, always standing near the horses. Hermes is shown 18 times, usually at the heads of the horses.[188] Dionysus is present on 16 vases, mostly standing near the horses,

[185] See Manakidou (1994) 136–141. I have no photo of neck-amphora New York Market, Christie's, Catalogue 7-12-2000, no. 435, Manner of Lysippides P., 520 BCE (BA 24295) with Athena mounting a chariot and Dionysus standing nearby. On a fragment of a hydria attributed to the Manner of Psiax, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Camp 10674, 525–520 BCE (BA 12194), Athena is mounting or driving a chariot and Apollo and Dionysus are standing nearby but the composition is not clear. There are also some lekythoi with a depiction of Athena mounting, which I left out of my list because they are too late, *e.g.*, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, RO II 20, Marathon Painter, 500–490 BCE (BA 1229). The *typical element* of Athena mounting a chariot is also found on some vases where the depiction acquires a different meaning because of the addition of Heracles carrying the Tripod of Delphi. See note 109.

[186] Maybe the short tunic was painted under the influence of depictions of mounting men, who in general are also wearing short tunics (*variants HL IV* and *AP VIa*). However, Athena is usually depicted mounting in a long garment.

[187] See note 91, and section 5.9.1.

[188] Hermes standing at the heads of the horses to right looking back: *ATH* 04, *ATH* 06, *ATH* 09, *ATH* 20, *ATH* 21, *ATH* 22; directed to right: *ATH* 05, *ATH* 11, *ATH* 19; standing to left: *ATH* 02, *ATH* 03, *ATH* 07 (long garment), *ATH* 08. According to the description the figure at the right of *ATH* 23 is Hermes; however his head

but three times he follows the chariot and once he sits behind the chariot.[189] Twice Poseidon is represented, once following the chariot (*ATH* 01) and once standing next to the chariot behind Apollo (Pl. 22, *ATH* 07).

On a single vase all four gods accompany the chariot (Pl. 22, *ATH* 07), and five times Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus. Nine times Apollo and Hermes are present, three times Apollo and Dionysus, and once Hermes and Dionysus. On three oenochoai, the olpe, and the cup Dionysus is the only god depicted. On a late oenochoe a winged woman is walking alongside the chariot (*ATH* 31).[190]

On a lekythos that is the name vase of the Edinburgh Painter (Pl. 22, *ATH* 28) a woman with a helmet and spear is mounting the chariot, but a second Athena-like figure is standing at the horses' heads holding a spear and a wreath and with a shield leaning against her legs. One may wonder whether here Athena was doubled (since the vase is cylindrical, the two figures would never be seen at the same time) or perhaps another war-related goddess like Nikè was meant.

On 15 vases one or two women are depicted standing at the horses' heads or walking alongside the horses; on *ATH* 07 (Pl. 22), the vase on which all four gods are depicted, three women are present. The women are never identified by a polos or other attribute as goddesses. Four times a man is shown sitting at the heads of the horses. Once a nude boy is standing to the right in front of the horses (Pl. 22, *ATH* 16).

5.13.2 Analysis

Because Athena is in almost all cases depicted mounting the chariot, she does not tower above the other figures, although her helmet sometimes extends into the decorative border of the panel. In all of the compositions other gods are present and usually more than one. Apollo, for whom there is room enough in this composition because Heracles is not shown standing near the horses, is depicted most often. However, the other gods are found nearly as frequently. Women are present on half of the vases, but the only men are shown seated at the heads of the horses. Because of the divine context, the seated man has sometimes been interpreted as Hermes, since on other vases the god may be represented sitting in this

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and feet are missing and he is wearing a long garment. Standing near the horses to right looking back: *ATH* 13, *ATH* 17, *ATH* 18, *ATH* 28, *ATH* 30.

[189] Dionysus standing near the horses to right looking back: *ATH* 06, *ATH* 10, *ATH* 11, *ATH* 14, *ATH* 15, *ATH* 16, *ATH* 25, *ATH* 26, *ATH* 29; directed to right: *ATH* 23, *ATH* 24; directed to left: *ATH* 19. Standing behind the chariot: *ATH* 04, *ATH* 05, *ATH* 07; sitting: *ATH* 30.

[190] See note 146.

position.[191] However, in this group the boots of the seated man are never winged, and on *ATH* 18 and *ATH* 30 a recognisable Hermes is depicted standing elsewhere in the composition. The only figure that seems to be derived from real life is the nude boy in front of the horses on *ATH* 16 (Pl. 22). Additional animals are never found in this *variant*.

5.13.3 Changing the composition

The *typical composition* of *variant ATH* resembles and was probably associated with the *variants AP IV* and *AP V* of *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles'. However, because Heracles is left out and not even an anonymous man has taken his place, the depiction is more general. No specific moment or myth is represented, just the goddess mounting her chariot surrounded by other gods. While in *variants AP IV* and *AP V* it was Hermes who was most often present, perhaps suggesting a journey, on these vases other gods are often found, including Apollo, Dionysus, and even a few times Poseidon, who was also sometimes depicted in the Apotheosis.

The presence of all these gods makes the composition resemble that of a wedding procession, which is enhanced by the facts that often women are standing nearby, usually turned to the left to face the chariot, and that there are no standing men, old men, hoplites, or animals present. The only men who are depicted are the ones sitting at the heads of the horses. The nude boy on *ATH* 16 (Pl. 22) standing beneath the heads of the horses seems also to be derived from depictions of processions.

5.13.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The depiction is found on belly-amphorae, neck-amphorae, the body of hydriai, column-kraters, and a calyx krater. It is also found on smaller shapes including an oenochoae, one olpe, a lekythos, a cup, an epinetron, a tripod-exaleiptron, and a pinax. Among the painters are the Antimenes Painter, the Leagros Group, the Dikaios Painter, the Edinburgh Painter, the Ready Painter, the Madrid Painter, and the Red Line Painter. The pinax is signed by Skythes.

On other sections of the vases a mythological scene is depicted nine times. Four times Heracles is represented; his Apotheosis is painted on the other side of the cup (*AP VI* 17). Gods sitting or standing together are found four times. On one of the legs of the tripod-exaleiptron there is a representation of a goddess mounting a chariot (*WOa* 06). Six times

[191] *AP III* 21, *AP III* 25, *AP IV* 13, *AP IV* 27, *AP VII* 04, *AP VII* 09, *AP VIIa* 05.

there is a Dionysiac scene. The other scenes are derived from the world of men: hoplites leaving and fighting, chariots, and an erotic scene of men and boys.

5.14. *Variant WOa-c*: 'Woman holding reins, other gods standing nearby' 540–500 BCE (Table 34, Plates 22–23)

5.14.1 Description

In addition to the representations of Athena mounting a chariot, there are 62 vases in the database with a depiction of a woman driving a chariot.[192] She may be a goddess, or at least a mythological figure such as a maenad, since mortal women are never shown driving chariots. The fact that no old men, ephebes, or hoplites, and only a few times boys and men, are found in these representations supports this conclusion. The woman is always shown wearing a long garment and holding the reins with both hands. In most cases she is mounting the chariot; only 14 times is she depicted standing in it. Nearly all of the vases are dated to the last three decades of the 6th century BCE.

In most cases Apollo is the centre of the composition (*variant WOa*), but there is a second group that is Dionysiac, where Dionysus is the only god present often accompanied by satyrs and maenads *(variant WOb)*. Only four times are both Apollo and Dionysus depicted on the same vase.[193]

The earliest depiction of t *variant WOa* is found on a fragment of a belly-amphora, attributed to the Manner of Exekias and dated around 540 BCE (*WOa* 01). The painter inscribed the names of the persons, and although the name of the female driver is lost, she may be identified as Demeter because she is holding corn ears in her hand, as is Triptolemus standing next to her. Athena with helmet, spear, and aegis and Heracles with the lion skin and his club are standing near the chariot's horses. Their names are also inscribed, although only the H of Heracles' name-inscription survives. At the heads of the horses the *petasus* and

[192] See Manakidou (1994) 143–152. On *WOb* 01 the depiction is found on both sides. There are also some fragments where the composition is not clear, among which various fragments found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph in Athens, published in Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou (1997). I have no picture of a belly-amphora attributed to the Priam Painter (Salerno, Museo Archeologico Provinciale, 1102, 520 BCE, BA 301786) on which according to the description a woman is mounting the chariot accompanied by Apollo and Hermes. Furthermore, depictions of women driving a chariot are found on many 5th-century lekythoi and other vases. However, as vases dating to the 5th century are no part of this study, I made a choice which vases dating to around the end of the 6th century I added to my list.

[193] On two late column-kraters Apollo, Hermes and Dionysus are depicted (*WOa* 35, *WOa*, 36). On a third fragmentary one (*WOa* 37) the upper part of the painting is missing, making it impossible to identify the figures with certainty. However, Hermes is identified by his winged shoes, and as there are rarely depictions in this group with mortal men standing around, I assume that here also Apollo and Dionysus are represented. Apollo and Dionysus are also found on *WOa* 25.

kerykeion of Hermes are visible. At the right side a man is standing next to the name-inscription Ploutodotas, who may represent Hades. On the zone above this picture Heracles is shown leading Cerberus from the Underworld.

The same combination of scenes is found on a hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter dating to ca. 510 BCE (*WOa* 02). On the body Demeter, also identified by a name-inscription, is represented mounting the chariot, while Apollo is standing near the horses. A goddess with a polos facing him may be Artemis. Hermes and a woman are leading the procession. On the shoulder Heracles and Cerberus are depicted surrounded by gods.

On other vases it is Artemis who is depicted driving the chariot. On a belly-amphora attributed to the Priam Painter (Pl. 22**,** *WOa* 23) name-inscriptions identify the driver as Artemis and the woman standing at the horses' heads as Leto, while Apollo and Hermes are standing near the horses. On *WOa* 12, a belly-amphora by the Rycroft Painter, the driver may be identified as Artemis because she is wearing a polos and because Apollo holding a lyre is standing near the chariot.[194] However, not all unnamed female drivers accompanied by Apollo can be identified as Artemis. On two hydriai by the Rycroft Painter (*WOa* 16, *WOa* 17) a woman is mounting the chariot, while another woman, holding a bow and therefore identified as Artemis, is standing next to Apollo near the horses. On *WOa* 02, the depiction with Demeter mentioned above, Artemis is probably also standing next to Apollo. However, in most cases the women are not made recognisable by any attribute or inscription.

Apollo stands near the horses in 35 depictions, including the ones mentioned above. On 14 vases he is the only god present. On six vases he holds a lyre instead of a kithara.[195] Although the lyre is the instrument more commonly used in daily life, the kitharode is in all cases identified as Apollo because other gods or a deer stand nearby.

Hermes is depicted on 23 vases, usually leading the procession at the heads of the horses. Four times his position has shifted a little bit backwards and he stands near the horses.[196] On *WOa* 11 (Pl. 22) he is shown following the chariot, perhaps because his place at the horses' heads is taken by a boy. On *WOa* 03 a man is depicted at the horses' head,

[194] Apollo is holding a lyre instead of a kithara, which is unusual, but he may be recognised as the god because on the other side of the vase, where the gods are depicted with a deer and a palm tree, he holds a lyre too.

[195] *WOa* 12 (see note 194), *WOa* 18, *WOa* 19, *WOa* 30, *WOa* 31, *WOa* 32. On *WOa* 10 the woman standing near the horses has a lyre. For the use of the lyre, see notes 168 and 243; and Chapter 3, note 123.

[196] Hermes at heads of horses, directed to the right: *WOa* 02, *WOa* 09, *WOa* 10, *WOa* 16, *WOa* 17, *WOa* 32, *WOa* 39; standing to the right looking back: *WOa* 14, *WOa* 15, *WOa* 28, *WOa* 30, *WOa* 35, *WOa* 37; standing to the left: *WOa* 01, *WOa* 27; standing to the left looking back: *WOa* 36. Near the horses directed to the right looking back: *WOa* 07, *WOa* 12, *WOa* 23, *WOa* 24. Behind chariot: *WOa* 11. Not clear: *WOa* 03, *WOa* 34.

partly covered by them; his boots are not winged, but because both Poseidon and Apollo are standing nearby Hermes may be meant. Three times Hermes is the only god present.

Dionysus is found four times in *variant WOa*. Once he is standing to the left near the horses facing Apollo (*WOa* 25). Three times he is standing to the right near the horses looking backwards. On a late amphoriskos a satyr is walking to the right in front of the chariot and looking backwards.[197]

Women are shown standing near the horses' heads or near the horses in 15 depictions. On two vases found in the Sanctuary of the Nymph in Athens women are painted beneath the handles of the vases; it is not clear whether they are part of the chariot scene.[198] On *WOa* 10 a woman holding a lyre is standing near the horses; twice the woman standing facing Apollo is holding a torch, and once a flower. The meaning of the torches is not clear; they are usually found in wedding processions and sometimes in Dionysiac scenes.[199]

Few figures derived from daily life are found in this *variant*. On hydria *WOa* 04, attributed to the Swing Painter, a man with a spear is standing near the horses and another man at the horses' heads.[200] On two vases a boy is shown walking in front of the horses and looking backwards (Pl. 22, *WOa* 11; *WOa* 13).

Nine times a deer accompanies the chariot, and on two kalpides attributed to the Rycroft Painter, a panther; both animals are often connected with Artemis. The deer is found mostly in depictions where no other woman is present than the female driver, and one may hesitate to consider whether it belongs to Apollo or to the driver, who in that case may be identified as Artemis. Twice the deer is shown standing near the woman at the heads of the horses;[201] because she can therefore be identified as Artemis, the identity of the female driver is not clear. On *WOa* 09 a bird is flying in front of the head of the mounting woman.

There are 21 vases with *variant WOb*; twice the scene is depicted on both sides of a vase. On 15 vases Dionysus is present, usually standing near the horses. On *WOb* 02 (Pl. 22) he is preceding the chariot; on *WOb* 03 he is following it. On 12 vases there are no other

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[197] Dionysus: *WOa* 25, *WOa* 35, *WOa* 36, *WOa* 37. Satyr: *WOa* 26. As the Red Line Painter made also vases with Dionysus mounting, there may be some confusion; it is also possible that the satyr, painted beneath the handle of the vase, was not thought of as a part of the depiction.

[198] *WOa* 33, *WOa* 39. Cf. note 197.

[199] Torch: *WOa* 14 and *WOa* 34; see note 206. Flower: *WOa* 15.

[200] On *WOa* 06 there is a seated figure at the horses' heads, but because of the fragmentary state, it is not possible to say who it may be.

[201] Deer, no other woman: *WOa* 05, *WOa* 09, *WOa* 11, *WOa* 20, *WOa* 31, *WOa* 35; standing near woman at heads of horses: *WOa* 07, *WOa* 22; standing near Hermes at heads of horses, other woman present: *WOa* 34. Panther: *WOa* 18, *WOa* 19.

gods depicted, but three times Dionysus is accompanied by Hermes, walking in front of the chariot or near the horses.[202] The vases on which Dionysus is represented in the company of Apollo and Hermes are discussed above (*variant WOa*).[203]

Four times a woman is depicted, standing at the heads of the horses (Pl. 23, *WOb* 08) or near them. On *WOb* 16 she is walking to the right in front of the chariot.[204] On nine vases maenads are present, who can be distinguished from mortal women because they are depicted dancing – sometimes with *krotala* – or running.[205] On *WOb*10 a woman is shown standing to the left near the heads of the horses and lifting two torches, a detail normally included in wedding processions but here probably used to identify her as a maenad.[206] On *WOb* 01b a boy is shown preceding the chariot in which a woman is already standing.

Satyrs are found on nine vases, four times in the company of Dionysus; on the other vases the god is not depicted and only satyrs and maenads accompany the chariot. On *WOb* 02 three satyrs are shown accompanying the chariot driven by a wreathed woman who may be a maenad (Pl. 22). The composition is unusual because one satyr is standing on the pole of the chariot, as Heracles usually does in the images of the Gigantomachy.[207] A little masturbating satyr crouches under the bellies of the horses, and another little satyr walks in front of the horses playing the *auloi*. Dionysus is leading the procession, holding branches and looking backwards, while Hermes walks alongside the horses, also holding a branch. On two vases (*WOb* 05, *WOb* 14) a satyr with a kithara is shown standing near the horses in the position usually occupied by Apollo; on *WOb* 05 Dionysus is not depicted, and on the neck of the volute-krater (*WOb* 14) the chariot accompanied by three satyrs and two maenads is used as a standard-motif and paired with a chariot in which Dionysus is mounting.[208] Once a panther is accompanying the chariot (Pl. 23, *WOb* 08), twice a billy-goat, and four times a deer. The deer on *WOb* 11 is not the usual doe, but a speckled animal with long antelope-like horns. In all cases the deer stands at the horses' heads, once next to Hermes, in the other

[202] Hermes before chariot looking back: *WOb* 10; directed to the left: *WOb* 013; standing to the right near the horses: *WOb* 02.

[203] See note 197.

[204] Woman: *WOb* 01a, *WOb* 08, *WOb* 16, *WOb* 19; on one side of *WOb* 01a woman is standing at the horses' heads, on the other side a boy.

[205] Maenads: *WOb* 03, *WOb* 07, *WOb* 10, *WOb* 11, *WOb* 14, *WOa* 17. With *krotala*: *WOb* 05, *WOb* 012, *WOb* 18.

[206] See section 5.15.1 *DIO* 31 (Pl. 23). Maenads with torches are also found on some late black-figure lekythoi, *e.g.*, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 14107 (BA 301932), and on red-figure vases.

[207] Jurriaans-Helle (2009).

[208] *WOb* 14; *DIO* 26. In another zone the standard-motif of a hoplite leaving is depicted (*HL IV* 83).

cases only satyrs and maenads are present.[209] On one lekythos no bystanders at all are represented (*WOb* 21), but a tree with white fruits is depicted near the horses that may connect the scene with Dionysus.[210]

I included one oenochoe in the list with a depiction of not one but two women standing in the chariot (*WOc* 01),[211] because the composition is the same as for the other paintings and the second woman is almost invisible behind the female driver. It is noteworthy that the driver wears a beautiful mantle, resembling the mantles sometimes worn by men in depictions of men driving a chariot (*variants MC* and *CMM*).[212]

5.14.2 Analysis

The vase-paintings of *variant WOa-c* in most cases do not represent a known myth or a specific occurrence. They represent the gods in a timeless context, which may be compared to the many representations of gods standing together.[213] This *variant* rarely includes figures derived from real life. The Swing Painter, who painted many chariot scenes where anonymous men, women, or hoplites replace the mythological figures, painted the only representation with men standing nearby (*WOa* 04). Three times a boy is shown walking in front of the chariot; twice the female driver is not mounting but standing in the chariot, which indicates that the emphasis is on the journey rather than on the departure (Pl. 22, *WOa* 11; *WOb* 01b)

The animals depicted in this *variant* are all connected with the gods. The panther is often associated with Dionysus but is also found in the company of Artemis. The combination with Apollo and a panther is probably enough to identify the mounting woman on *WOa* 18 and *WOa* 19 as Artemis, while on *WOb* 08 (Pl. 23) where Dionysus is accompanying the chariot one may hesitate to identify to whom the animal belongs.[214] The deer is connected with both Apollo and Artemis, so its presence in *variant WOa* is expected. It is also found several times in *variant WOb* in the presence of satyrs and maenads and once

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[209] Deer and Hermes: *WOb* 13; with satyr or maenad: *WOb* 11, *WOb* 19, *WOb* 20. Billy-goat: *WOb* 04, *WOb* 06. Panther: *WOb* 08.

[210] Pfisterer-Haas, S. (2003) 94. See section 3.8.1, notes 113 and 114; 3.8.2, note 135. See section 5.15.1, *DIO* 35.

[211] London Market, Ede, *Greek Pottery* (2007) nr. 4. This oenochoe may be the one mentioned in BA 351321.

[212] See sections 3.8, 3.11, 3.12, and 6.6.

[213] Jurriaans-Helle (2003).

[214] Jurriaans-Helle (1996) 26–27. Deer: see section 5.0, note 15; sections 5.4.2 and 5.9.3.

of Dionysus and Hermes. The billy-goat is found only in *variant WOb* in the presence of Dionysus.

In most cases the identity of the female driver is not clear. However, she is never shown holding the reins with one hand as Athena usually does. The corn-ears and name-inscription of Demeter found on *WOa* 01 and *WOa* 02 are examples of providing a special identity to a figure by adding attributes and inscriptions. Because of the presence of Apollo, one may decide that Artemis is the female driver in *variant WOa*, and in some cases she is certainly intended: however, the identity of the female driver remains uncertain in the cases where Artemis is shown standing near the horses, recognised by her bow, or the woman at the horses' heads may be recognised as the goddess because a deer is standing next to her. It is noteworthy that the earliest depiction of the *variant* is a mythological scene, representing Demeter and Triptolemus, identified by name-inscriptions and corn-ears, while on later vases the identity of the female driver is in most cases not clear.

For the identity of the woman charioteer in *variant WOb* there are various possibilities: Ariadne, Semele, a maenad or also Artemis. Although vases painted in the 5th century BCE lie outside the focus of this study, it should be remarked that the compositions of *variant WOa-b* with their rather timeless meaning are the precursors of the numerous depictions of women mounting chariots on 5th-century black-figure vases, especially the many lekythoi found in grave contexts. In his discussion of these lekythoi, Winfred van de Put wonders: "Why is a woman or goddess ascending or riding the chariot, decorating more than a quarter of the lekythoi, such an important image to the Athenians commemorating their loved ones."[215] He contends that on the vases with Dionysus (*variant WOb*) the female driver is Ariadne, and that it is a paradigmatic, mythical image, in which "a key moment in the life of both Athenian man and woman, the marriage, is elevated to a divine level".[216]

According to Tiina Tuukkanen,[217] the many 5th-century lekythoi with depictions of mounting women represent the apotheosis of Semele or Ariadne, both mortal women who were saved from Hades and achieved immortality by their relationships with Dionysus. She points at the fact that the Eleusinian mysteries and the cult of Dionysus, which became popular in the second half of the 6th century BCE, prepared the initiate for the journey to Hades. The journey of the goddesses is thus symbolically connected with the procession in

[215] Van de Put (2011) 122.

[216] Van de Put (2011) 122.

[217] Tuukaanen (2001)140–141.

the Dionysiac mysteries and offers "consolation for the deceased and an assurance of good prospects of blessed times in the underworld."[218]

Both Van de Put and Tuukkanen interpret the vase-paintings as representations of a mythological journey that is related to a real-life procession. I agree that these timeless depictions take the place of the earlier, more specific representations of mythological processions[219] and other events, but I think that these images cannot be related to a wedding procession, since the goddess is holding the reins and the *typical composition* is different. However, it is very possible that the 6th-century depictions of the goddess mounting a chariot (my *variants WOa-b*) are related to processions that took place during mystery-rituals or festivals. It is notable that on two vases, one of them the earliest known (*WOa* 01), Demeter is identified by a name-inscription. In *variant WOb* the relationship of the scene with Dionysus is obvious, and perhaps there is also a connection with the Apaturia, in which case the female driver might be Artemis to whom the boys offered their shaven hair.[220] In my opinion, both Van de Put's and Tuukkanen's interpretations of the use of this image in the 5th century BCE confirm my proposal that a chariot is a sign that a *rite de passage* is depicted. This may explain why many 5th-century lekythoi with chariot scenes are also found in grave contexts.

5.14.3 Changing the composition

The composition resembles that of *variant ATH*, but the female driver never holds the reins with one hand. Furthermore, in *variant ATH* Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus are often all depicted together, while in *variants WOa-b* there is a clear division between the group with Apollo and the group with Dionysus. The representations with Dionysus (*variant WOb*) may be connected with depictions of the god himself mounting a chariot (*variant DIO*), in which a woman is often shown standing near the horses. Perhaps the god and the woman switched places in the same way that Athena and Heracles did in *variants AP IV* and *AP V* and *variant AP VI* of the Apotheosis of Heracles.

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[218] Tuukkanen (2001) 142.

[219] Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 207.

[220] See sections 5.0 and 6.6.

5.14.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The representation of *variant WOa–c*, 'Woman holding reins, other gods standing nearby' is found painted on large vases such as belly-amphorae, the bodies of hydriai, column-kraters and neck-amphorae, but also in friezes on the shoulder of a hydria, the neck of a volute-krater, the panels on kalpides, lekythoi, an alabastron, a cup, a tripod-exaleiptron, and a loutrophoros. The scenes with Apollo are most often found on belly-amphorae, column-kraters, hydriai, and kalpides, while the Dionysiac scenes are more commonly found on the neck-amphorae and the lekythoi. The vases of this group date to the last 30 years of the 6th century BCE, with the exception of *WOa* 01, which is attributed to the manner of Exekias and dated to about 540 BCE. Both *variants* – with Apollo and with Dionysus – were made throughout the whole period. Among the painters of *variant WOa* the Rycroft Painter stands out with ten vases. Other painters of this *variant* are the Swing Painter, the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, the Antimenes Painter, the Painter of Louvre C11266, the Painter of Louvre C11287, the Diosphos Painter, and the Sappho Painter. *Variant WOb* includes vases attributed to the Leagros Group (five vases), the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, the Acheloos Painter, the Priam Painter, and typical lekythos-painters such as the Sappho Painter, the Edinburgh Painter, the Gela Painter, and the Haimon Painter.

On about half of the vases a mythological scene is depicted in another section of the vase. Some subjects are found with both *variants*: Heracles is found nine times; on three vases he is depicted with Cerberus, which may be a reference to the Eleusinian mysteries. Dionysiac scenes are found on 15 vases. Other scenes, such as the departure of Amphiaraus, hoplites playing a board game, the chariot of Athena, and a gathering of gods are found only with *variant WOa*. In *variant WOb* Dionysus is twice shown mounting a chariot depiction another section. The other subjects are derived from the world of men. Both *variants* are paired with depictions of hoplites leaving or fighting and a komos. *Variant WOa* is found with depictions of a chariot race and a chariot leaving. On 12 vases there is no other decorated section.

5.15. *Variants DIO, DIWO* and *GM*: 'Dionysus or other gods holding reins' 530–500 BCE (Table 34, Plate 23)

5.15.1 Description

In my database are 54 depictions of Dionysus driving a chariot (*variant DIO*), all dating to the last quarter of the 6th century BCE; once the scene is painted on both sides of a cup.[221] I added four vases with representations of Dionysos driving a chariot with an unidentified woman standing next to him (*variant DIWO*), and five depictions of other gods mounting a chariot (*variant GM*).[222]

In *variant DIO* the god is usually shown mounting the chariot, but 11 times he is depicted standing in it. The vase-painters took care to make the god recognisable: he is almost always wearing a wreath and in nearly half of the pictures holding a kantharos, drinking horn, or vine. On *DIO* 16 his name is inscribed. On all vase-paintings in which Dionysus is *not* holding one of his attributes, satyrs and women are present. Satyrs are enough to identify the god and, in the case of the women, the painters represented them dancing or with krotala or at least surrounded by branches or vines. Usually Dionysus holds the reins with both hands, but a few times he is holding the reins with one hand and a kantharos or drinking horn with the other.[223]

On three oenochoai Dionysus is not identified by attributes, but details were added that place the depictions in the Dionysiac realm. On *DIO* 31 (Pl. 23) the man standing in the chariot has no attributes, but a woman holding torches is standing to the right near the horses and looking back toward him, and a panther holding a piece of meat in his mouth is walking near the forelegs of the horses, in the position where in more real-life depictions a dog is found. Panthers are connected with Dionysus and Artemis, and on some late lekythoi

[221] There are some fragments that I did not include because there is so little left that the *typical composition* is not clear: On a fragment of a belly-amphora attributed to the Amasis Painter, 550–540 BCE (Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, BA 310446) a man is standing in a chariot holding a kantharos in his right hand and probably the reins in his left hand. On a fragmentary column-krater attributed to the Rycroft Painter, 520–510 BCE (Caltagirone, Museo Ceramica, Coll. Russo-Perez, 5477, *CVA* I 29,1–4) Dionysus is mounting a chariot. On fragments of a calyx-krater attributed to the Rycroft Painter, 510 BCE (Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum, 75 AE 14, BA 14623) a man is holding the reins and a woman playing the *auloi* and a dancing figure are also preserved. Furthermore, there are many depictions dating to the period after 500 BCE, but these are not included in this study. A variant on the *typical composition* is found on two 5th-century lekythoi attributed to the Marathon Painter, which I mention because they show how later painters could vary on the composition: Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (BA 25312); Paris, Musée Rodin, TC 149 (BA 10925). On both lekythoi Dionysus is standing near the horses while a satyr is mounting the chariot. On one Athena is present raising her hands towards Dionysus.

[222] See Manakidou (1994) 142–144; 151.

[223] Kantharos: *DIO* 03, *DIO* 10; On *DIO* 10 he is holding the reins in his right hand and a kantharos in his left hand. Horn: *DIO* 28. On *DIO* 54 which is directed to left, he is holding the reins with his right hand.

maenads are shown holding torches.[224] On *DIO* 33 a nude man with a short mantle is mounting the chariot. Although he does not look like Dionysus, I added this oenochoe to the list because a woman holding krotala is following the chariot. On *DIO* 35 the man in the chariot is holding a vine with grapes and white fruits.[225]

Satyrs are present in half of the pictures, walking beside the chariot or dancing around it. Sometimes a satyr is shown kneeling in front of the horses, filling the space beneath the horses' heads (Pl. 23, *DIO* 21).[226] Satyrs may also play the kithara or the *auloi*, or carry a kantharos, drinking-horn, an amphora, or an *askos*.[227] On *DIO* 17 the satyr is carrying a maenad on his shoulders.

Women are present on nearly all vases. In 43 depictions they can be identified as maenads because they are dancing or holding krotala or a lyre. However, on a few vases a woman is shown standing quietly near the horses or at the horses' heads; once the woman is identified by a name-inscription as Semele.[228] However, the fact that this name is written next to her does not mean that all women standing quietly near the horses are to be identified as Semele: In my opinion it is more probable that the painter added this name to give the otherwise anonymous woman a specific identity which would otherwise not be clear. Two times a winged woman is shown walking alongside the horses and looking backwards.[229]

Other gods are rarely part of this Dionysiac composition. Hermes is depicted eight times: four times in the company of satyrs or maenads.[230] In the other cases he is combined with a quietly standing women and with Apollo, or with Athena (Pl. 23, *DIO* 10).[231] The goddess, wearing an aegis and a helmet and carrying a spear, is shown standing near the horses and looking backwards. She raises her left hand, making an exhorting gesture like the one she makes in representations of *variant AP VI*.

Men are seldom present. On *DIO* 26 a man walks in front of the horses looking backwards, and Hermes may be meant although his boots are not winged. On *DIO* 50 a man

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[224] For torches, see note 206. About panthers: Jurriaans-Helle (1996) 26.

[225] See note 210.

[226] Satyr kneeling: *DIO* 21, *DIO* 29. On *DIO* 30 a little satyr is dancing beneath the horses' heads.

[227] Kithara: *DIO* 17, *DIO* 18, *DIO* 20, *DIO* 26. Auloi: *DIO* 02, *DIO* 12, *DIO* 22, *DIO* 24b, *DIO* 36. Kantharos: *DIO* 12, *DIO* 21, *DIO* 24b. Horn: *DIO* 08, *DIO* 17. Amphora: *DIO* 48. Askos*: DIO* 12.

[228] Semele: *DIO* 16. Woman: *DIO* 15, *DIO* 23, *DIO* 32, *DIO* 48, *DIO* 51, *DIO* 54,.

[229] *DIO* 48 (with a second woman standing quietly), *DIO* 49. See note 146 for more depictions of a winged woman walking alongside a chariot.

[230] *DIO* 03, *DIO* 04, *DIO* 12. On *DIO* 48 he is combined with a satyr, two women and winged woman.

[231] Hermes, Apollo, and woman: *DIO* 15. Hermes and Athena: *DIO* 10. Hermes with woman: *DIO* 32, *DIO* 54.

with a staff is sitting in front of the horses, where in other depictions Hermes is shown. On *DIO* 24b a second Dionysus-like man sits in front of the horses. A young man wearing a wreath is depicted standing near the horses on *DIO* 13, according to the description.

Five times a panther is present, twice a billy-goat, and once a deer.[232] Once a palm tree is painted next to the chariot; this is the only depiction where the chariot is facing to the left.[233] In none of the compositions is a child, old man, or hoplite present.

There are a few vases of *variant DIWO*, where Dionysus is shown standing in the chariot and holding the reins while a woman stands next to him, who can be recognised as Dionysus' bride Ariadne: on a hydria attributed to the Ready Painter she is pulling her mantle forward (*DIWO* 01); Hermes and two women are standing near the horses, and a woman and an old man at the horses' heads. There are two wreaths visible, one apparently held by one of the women standing near the horses, and one in front of the bride's face. It is not clear whether she is holding it or the woman facing her. A satyr playing the auloi is kneeling behind the chariot. The *typical composition* is that of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', and the bridal gesture, the presence of the old man, and the wreaths support this interpretation.

The other depictions of *variant DIWO* are all on cups. On *DIWO* 04[234] Dionysus holding a drinking horn is shown standing in a chariot with a woman standing next to him. A satyr is walking alongside the horses looking backwards. On other fragments of this cup there are depictions of three more chariots with a man and woman standing in them and with men and women and a boy standing nearby. All of the chariots are surrounded by vines. Here too, the *typical composition* is that of a wedding procession, and the presence of a boy is in accordance with this. Twice the image is used as a standard-motif without bystanders: on eye-cup *DIWO* 03 it was painted between the eyes, probably on both sides of the cup. On *DIWO* 02 the motif appears twice on both sides of the cup.

Finally, there are a few depictions of other gods mounting a chariot (*variant GM*). The gods are the same ones who are usually shown standing next to the chariot in other chariot-scenes: Apollo, Hermes, and Poseidon. On *GM* 01 Hermes is mounting the chariot, while Dionysus holding a drinking horn and two women stand nearby. On *GM* 05 Poseidon,

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[232] Panther: *DIO* 01, *DIO* 08, *DIO*, 31, *DIO* 44, *DIO* 51. Billy-goat: *DIO* 16, *DIO* 20. Deer: *DIO* 46.

[233] *DIO* 54.

[234] Fragments of this cup are in Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco Villa Giulia,79473 (BA 9025660), and Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 514–516 (BA 12392).

identified by his trident, is mounting a chariot drawn by two winged horses. Hermes is standing at the horses' heads, and Dionysus and a woman are standing near the horses.

There are three vases with Apollo mounting a chariot. On *GM* 02 (Pl. 23) Apollo is mounting while Artemis is standing facing him and handing a kithara to him. Hermes is walking alongside the horses looking backwards and raising his hand towards Apollo. Leto is leading the procession. All of the gods are identified by name-inscriptions. On *GM* 04 a woman is giving a kithara to a man mounting the chariot, who is holding the reins with one hand. Since Hermes is standing at the horses' heads and a deer is depicted near the horses, here too Apollo and Artemis may be identified. A remarkable variant is found on *GM* 03 (Pl. 23): Apollo is mounting a chariot drawn by a lion, a panther, and two boars. He is carrying his kithara on his back, reminiscent of charioteers with a Boeotian shield. A goddess wearing a polos is standing next to the chariot, and Hermes is walking alongside the animals looking backwards and stretching his hands towards Apollo. At the heads of the animals a woman is standing facing to the left and raising both arms. Although the woman with the polos may be identified as Artemis, it is also possible that the woman at the heads of the animals is Artemis, shown as goddess taming the wild animals in her function of *potnia theroon.*

5.15.2 Analysis

There is no doubt that *variants DIO, DIWO,* and *GM* represent mythological scenes. Daily-life figures such as men are very seldom included in the images. In *variants DIO* and *DIWO* satyrs and maenads are usually present. Hermes is included nine times; Apollo and Athena both appear only once and in combination with Hermes. Quietly standing Woman are mostly found in depictions that do not include satyrs or maenads. Apparently, the emphasis of these images is less on the Dionysiac aspect and more on the gathering of gods.

This is also the case in *variant GM*, where Hermes and Dionysus are shown accompanying the chariot. The winged horses on *GM* 05 indicate the divine realm and recall early depictions of gods in chariots, such as the 7th-century amphorae from the Greek Islands with Apollo and the Muses, from Athens with Heracles and a woman,[235] and the Siana cup attributed to Lydos (Pl. 16, *AP I* 04).

[235] Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 911 and 354 (Von Bothmer and Mertens (1979) 122–124, nrs. 71 and 72). See Chapter 4, note 7.

5.15.3 Changing the composition

The *typical composition* of *variant DIO* resembles that of *variant ATH*. However, the divine and mortal bystanders who usually appear in *variant ATH* and also in *variants* of the Apotheosis are replaced by satyrs and maenads. Since these figures are mostly shown dancing or gesticulating, the depictions are lively, which is enhanced by the vines painted between the figures. In some cases, however, a satyr stands next to the chariot holding a kithara, just as Apollo does in other *variants*, or there is a small figure of a satyr, or a kneeling satyr, beneath the heads of the horses, resembling the boy depicted there on other vases. The presence of Athena on *DIO* 10, who is usually found accompanying a chariot only in Apotheosis scenes, and her urging gesture seem to be derived from *variant AP VI*.

The *typical composition* of *variant DIWO* resembles that of *subtype* 'Wedding procession', and in the more elaborate depictions the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne is meant. However, the composition also appears as a repeated standard-motif on cups.

Variant GM has the same *typical composition* as *variant ATH* and *variant DIO*. There are so few images of these gods driving a chariot compared to the many depictions of Dionysus and Athena, that it may be concluded that these were not common pictures. The painters adapted the *typical composition* of *variant ATH* and *variant DIO* and made an effort to identify the driver by giving him attributes. The gesture of offering the kithara (*GM* 02, *GM* 04) recalls the delivery of a cuirass in *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' (*HL V* 03, *HL V* 04, *MC* 22, *MC* 42), and Apollo carrying his kithara on his back (*GM* 03) recalls the charioteer with a Boeotian shield. The remarkable team of animals on *GM* 03 is an original and playful variation on the usual horses.

These vases show that the painters used existing *typical compositions* and adjusted the meaning by changing details or adding name-inscriptions. However they stayed within the boundaries of the *typical composition*: they chose the elements carefully and left out figures that do not belong in the depiction like old men, hoplites an children.

5.15.4 Shapes, painters, and other images on the same vase

The representations with Dionysus holding the reins are found mostly on symposium ware. There are some large shapes, such as belly-amphorae, larger neck-amphorae, the bodies and shoulders of hydriai, psykters, calyx-kraters, column-kraters, and the necks of volute-kraters, but most images and especially the ones dated late in the century, are found on smaller shapes: small neck-amphorae (eight of which attributed to the Red Line Painter), oenochoai, olpai, a kyathos, cups, and lekythoi. The images with the other gods holding the reins are

found on hydriai and lekythoi. The vases are attributed to the Antimenes Painter and his Circle, the Rycroft Painter, the Priam Painter, the Leagros Group, the Golvol Group, and the Red Line Painter. The lekythoi include some dated to the 5th century BCE, which I added to the list to show how this *typical composition* remained in use into the 5th century.

On more than half of the vases with another decorated section a Dionysiac scene is depicted, or a scene related to wine and drinking, like a vintage, komasts, a symposium, or even Heracles at a symposium. There are a few other mythological images, such as gatherings of the gods, Heracles fighting with the Bull of Minos, and his Apotheosis. The other paintings show the world of men: hoplites leaving in a chariot, fighting, and the bringing home of a dead hoplite. Three times a chariot race is painted on the shoulder of a hydria. On the vases of *variant DIWO* a running amazon and a centauromachy are depicted, and on the vases of *variant GM*, a Dionysiac scene, Heracles and the Lion, and chariots wheeling round with a winged Eris or Iris named by inscription, in the centre.

5.16. General conclusions

Of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' was the last *subtype* to be formed. While there were already standardised images of hoplites and bridal couples in chariots surrounded by various figures in the first quarter of the 6th century, the earliest depictions of the Apotheosis of Heracles, dated to 570–560 BCE, represent him entering Olympus on foot. On some vase-paintings dating to 560–550 BCE a chariot was added (*variant AP I*), but the hero was still shown walking alongside the chariot and not riding in it, and the presence of Hera, Hebe, and other goddesses who play a role in wedding rituals, and *typical elements* such as wreaths, refer to the fact that his apotheosis coincided with his marriage to Hebe (Pl. 16, *AP I* 02). It is Lydos who first depicts the hero standing in a chariot, with winged horses (Pl. 16, *AP I* 04).[236] However, the chariot is not driven by Athena but by a charioteer, while the goddess is shown fully armed walking alongside the horses, an image that recalls the composition used to represent Heracles with Athena and Zeus in the Gigantomachy. It is only in the second half of the century that the *variants* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' finally achieved their *typical compositions.*

It is interesting to recognise that several *variants* came into existence around 540 BCE and what choices the vase-painters made, taking the *typical composition* or some *typical elements* from other related scenes and adapting them to the subject. Clearly, the fact

[236] For early depictions of chariots with winged horses, see Chapter 4, note 7.

that Heracles' apotheosis coincided with his marriage with Hebe was the basis for *variants AP II* and *AP III*, where Athena is shown holding the reins and Heracles is standing beside her in the chariot. This *typical composition* was derived from that of *subtype* 'Wedding procession', and the implication is that Heracles was brought passively to his new life in Olympus just as a bride is brought to her new home. The *typical composition* is exceptional, since when a goddess and a god or a mortal man are shown riding in a chariot, the male figure is usually holding the reins. Just as in the *typical compositions* of wedding processions, Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus are in most cases included in both Apotheosis *variants AP II* and *AP III.* Women may be present, and sometimes one of them can be identified as Artemis. On some vases figures derived from real life are depicted, such as hoplites, men, and dogs.

Although *variant AP II*, with Athena and Heracles both standing in the chariot, is depicted on the earliest vase in this group, *variant AP III,* in which Athena as charioteer is mounting the chariot, is found on twice as many vases. A mounting charioteer is also found several times in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession',[237] although the composition with both groom and bride standing in the chariot was much more popular. The fact that Athena with her high helmet does not tower high above all the other figures, because she still has one foot on the ground, may have played a role in the popularity of the image, but in my opinion it is more significant that in this way it is clear that Athena – as the person who mounts last – is higher in status and that she and Heracles are not a bridal couple. Since on two vases in *variant AP III* a man with a club is present, who may represent the mortal Iolaus who stays behind on earth when Heracles travels to Olympus (Pl. 17, *AP III* 05), the *variant* seems to depict Heracles' departure to Olympus.

Around the same time *variants AP IV* and *AP V* are found, in which *elements* of the early depictions of Heracles brought on foot to Olympus, and of Heracles walking beside a chariot driven by Iolaus (*variant AP I*), and of *variants AP II* and *AP III* in which Athena is the charioteer, are combined in a *typical composition* that resembles *variant HL IV* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving': Athena is depicted standing with one foot on the ground and the other in the chariot, while Heracles is standing near the horses. However, in *variant HL IV* the hoplite is usually shown walking *towards* the chariot to mount it, in *variant AP IV* Heracles is shown walking *alongside* the chariot, usually looking backwards at Athena and

[237] The detail that the charioteer is depicted mounting is probably derived from *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', where in the last third of the century the driver is often depicted mounting, but only when the hoplite is not yet standing in the chariot but still approaching it.

sometimes making an urging gesture. Therefore, in my opinion, in this *variant* the arrival at Olympus is represented with Heracles already dismounted and on his way to enter Olympus. In agreement with this interpretation is the fact that Iolaus is never depicted in this *variant*. There are other gods present, especially Hermes, but fewer than in *variants AP II* and *AP III,* perhaps because there is less room for them since Heracles is standing near the horses, but also perhaps because in the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' (of which *variant AP IV* derives) there are usually no gods at all depicted. This interpretation means that the significance of a *typical element* is not always the same; it can change with its context. The *typical element* of a person standing with one foot in the chariot and the other on the ground, which in most contexts indicates that someone is *mounting* a chariot, in *variant AP IV* indicates that the person has arrived and is *dismounting*.

In *variant AP V* Heracles is depicted turned towards the chariot. Here too, other gods and especially Hermes are present, but twice a man with a club, usually identified as Iolaus, is following the chariot, and once an old man is standing near the horses (Pl. 19, *AP V* 01, *AP V* 12). Heracles facing to the left seems a small difference with *variant AP IV*, but it is an important detail: it gives the impression that he is going to mount the chariot and that in these images it is not the arrival but the departure that is depicted, which agrees with the presence of Iolaus. Quite often three gods in addition to Athena are present in this Apotheosis scene; maybe because in *variant AP III,* which also represents the departure for Olympus, gods are usually present. There is, however, an important difference between *variant AP III* and *variant AP V*: both represent Heracles' departure, but in *variant AP III*, based on the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', Athena is in charge, while in *variant AP V,* with the *typical composition* of *variant HL IV,* she is waiting for Heracles to mount the chariot, and the hero is the person in charge, just as he is in *variant AP IV* that represents the arrival in Olympus.

In *variant AP VI*, which also developed its final form around 540 BCE, Heracles is shown holding the reins and Athena is standing near the horses. The concept of the hero driving his own chariot to Olympus is new, but the *typical composition* resembles those of *variants AP IV* and *AP V* with the positions of Heracles and Athena switched, and also that of *variant HL V* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', in which the hoplite drives the chariot. The usual gods may be present, and once also a man with a club, who may be identified as Iolaus (Pl. 20, *AP VI* 12). However, other figures are also depicted, including women, men, a hoplite, and a boy, all of whom seem to be derived from real-life contexts. Their presence seems to indicate that the departure is depicted.

We may conclude that all these *variants* of the Apotheosis of Heracles came into being around 540 BCE and that most vase-paintings show Heracles not waiting passively but taking the initiative, both at the departure or the arrival. This may be related to the growing power and self-confidence of Athens in the later decades of the 6th century BCE.

Variant AP VII is the last that was formed, around 530 BCE. In this *variant* a charioteer, twice identified by name-inscriptions as Iolaus, is holding the reins for Heracles, while Athena is standing near the horses. This new *typical composition* resembles that on the early cup by Lydos (Pl. *AP I* 04), which is derived from the Gigantomachy, but as the horses and figures are represented in calm postures, it also resembles *variants CH* and *CMM* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. Since no one is depicted mounting the chariot, the emphasis is on the journey they are making, and there is no indication of the relative status of the two persons in the chariot. On most vases additional gods are present, but on some there are *typical elements* derived from real life, such as the boy and the lyre in the hands of Apollo on *AP VII* 10, which are also found in depictions of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.

There are also related *variants* in which Heracles, Athena, or both, are replaced by anonymous figures. However, depictions in which Heracles is recognisable but the charioteer is an anonymous woman, are found only in *variant AP IIb.* Probably the woman charioteer here may be recognised as Athena, since only gods are present and no figures belonging to real life, and the female driver of Heracles is always Athena.

In the other *variants* with anonymous figures that are derived from *variants* that show the departure of Heracles, Athena is sometimes paired in the chariot with an anonymous man *(variants AP IIa, AP IIIa, AP Va, VIa* and *VIIa),* or Athena and Heracles are both replaced by anonymous persons *(variants AP IIc, AP IIIb, AP Vb and VIb).* In these depictions not only gods but also men, old men, hoplites, and boys may be present. When one realises that it was easy for the vase-painters to identify the man in the chariot as Heracles by giving him a club, it seems probable that the painters were deliberately representing ambiguity by combining *elements* from the human and divine worlds, relating the mythological journey of Heracles is related to a real-life procession.[238] The depiction of Heracles departing for his journey to Hebe and his new life in Olympus may therefore be a mythological expression of the boys becoming ephebes. The presence of a deer, found a few times in most *variants* and

[238] See section 5.14.2.

usually explained as belonging to Apollo or Artemis, could also be a reference to the boys' reaching of maturity.[239]

I did not yet mention *variant AP VIIb*, in which two men stand in the chariot accompanied by gods other than Athena. These representations recall some *variants* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', where Athena is also rarely depicted and where there is no clear division between the human and the divine worlds.[240] Therefore it may be that the image symbolises a man being conveyed by another man to a new phase of his life.[241]

While these *variants* all reflect the imagery of Heracles' *departure* for Olympus, there are also a few versions of *variant AP IV* – which I interpret as Heracles' *arrival*– with anonymous figures. Interestingly, there is no image that shows Athena mounting the chariot and an anonymous man walking beside the chariot. Apparently, mortals could be depicted *departing* for Olympus, but not *arriving* there; that honour was reserved for Heracles (*variant AP IV*). In *variant AP IVb*, where an anonymous man or hoplite takes the place of Heracles, Athena is also replaced by an anonymous woman, and only the composition recalls the Apotheosis. In *variant AP IVa,* where Heracles is recognisable, the charioteer is a man who once is identified by a name-inscription as Iolaus; maybe another episode in Heracles' life is depicted.

There are also representations of gods driving chariots that seem to be related to the depictions of *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles'. Those with Athena holding the reins (*variant ATH*) are very similar to the composition of the Apotheosis. In all cases other gods and women are present, but no standing men, old men, hoplites and animals. In one-third of the depictions, the goddess is holding the reins with one hand, which distinguish these paintings from those of an anonymous woman holding the reins with two hands (*variant WOa-b*). In this group there are two *variants*, one with Apollo and other gods standing nearby (*variant WOa*) and one with Dionysus and satyrs and maenads *(variant WOb).* In *variant WOa* the female driver is twice identified as Demeter and in some cases as Artemis. On about a quarter of the vases a deer is accompanying the chariot and twice a panther, and since in most of these cases no other woman is present, we may assume that the female driver is Artemis. However, the driver should not be automatically called Artemis, because sometimes the woman standing near the horses is identified as the goddess by her bow. In

[239] See section 5.0. For deer: see Chapter 4, notes 189 and 191.

[240] See sections 4.4.2 and 4.5.2.

[241] Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 207. In section 6.6 I will discuss a possible connection between these vases and the Apaturia festival.

variant WOb Dionysus is standing nearby in most cases, accompanied by satyrs and maenads. There are also depictions without the god, but where the presence of satyrs and maenad indicates the Dionysiac context. In this variant the female driver may be identified as Semele or Ariadne, but Artemis is also possible, as this goddess is also connected with Dionysus because she played a role in the rituals during the Apaturia festival, when the boys offered her their shaven hair.

Although the Apotheosis is the only scene in which a female driver, Athena, usually drives a chariot with a man, Heracles, standing next to her, there are a few depictions of female drivers with a god as passenger (*variant AP IId*). The identities of these female drivers are not clear but may be derived from the identities of their passengers, because the vase-painters – probably because this is not a usual composition – took care to identify the gods (Poseidon, Zeus, and Dionysus) by their attributes, such as a trident, a fish, a lightning bolt, and a kithara. By adding these extra *elements* the painters could indicate that the meaning of the composition had changed.

Of the gods Dionysus is the only one who is often depicted driving a chariot (*variant DIO*). In most images the god is attended by satyrs and maenads in wild motion, emphasising the Dionysiac character of the scene, while in other depictions only quietly standing gods and women accompany him. There are a few depictions of Dionysus holding the reins with a female passenger standing next to him (*variant DIWO*); these resemble the *subtype* 'Wedding procession'. Other gods driving a chariot are seldom represented (*variant GM*). Only the gods who are depicted standing nearby in other chariot-scenes, such as Hermes, Apollo and Poseidon, are sometimes shown as drivers, in all cases identified by their attributes.

In all *variants* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles', there is much variation in the number and identity of the bystanders. However, *typical elements* are *not* added randomly. Iolaus is found only on depictions of the departure to but not of the arrival at Olympus (*variant AP IV*). In the scenes that are undoubtedly mythological, such as the *variants* with Athena and Heracles or with recognisable gods or goddesses driving the chariot, there are rarely figures present who are derived from daily life. A few men and women appear on early vases (*AP II* 01, *AP II* 02, *AP II* 03), which may be explained by the fact that the *typical compositions* had not yet found their definitive forms. However, in the *variants* where Athena or Heracles is replaced by an anonymous person, real-life figures are depicted more often. In this way the vase-painters created a deliberate ambiguity through which it was possible to equate the mortals with the gods.

Although the images with Athena and Heracles undoubtedly represent a mythological story, they may also have been chosen to represent an equivalent event in real life.[242] It is noteworthy that in *variant AP VI* Heracles is usually depicted actively mounting the chariot, while in *variant AP VIa* the anonymous man is in most cases standing in the chariot and several times a boy is depicted preceding the chariot, both details indicating a daily-life procession. However, the chariot itself is an indication that it is not a real-life procession that is depicted but the fact that someone is making a journey to a new phase in life.

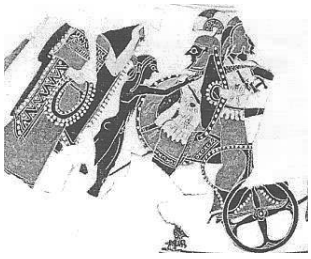
At the end of the century the *variants* with Athena, a goddess, or Dionysus driving a chariot became more popular. These compositions, with their rather timeless meanings, were the precursors of the numerous depictions of figures mounting chariots on 5th-century black-figure vases, especially lekythoi. It seems as if these depictions took the place of the more specific representations of processions during wedding ceremonies and religious festivals.[243]

[242] Tuukkanen (2001) 142.

[243] Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 207. It is interesting that in *variant WOa* Apollo is rather often depicted with a lyre instead of a kithara. I connected this instrument with the contest during the Apaturia. See section 3.8.1, note 123; section 3.8.2, note 130.

Chapter 6

Type scene ‘Chariot in profile’: Concluding remarks



Early chariot scenes (ca. 580–560 BCE)

Adapting the compositions (ca. 560–550 BCE)

Introduction of daily-life elements (ca. 550–530 BCE)

Gods and heroes reintroduced (ca. 530–500 BCE)

Text figures 7a-d.

HL I 01. *Athens, National Archaeological. Museum, Akr.2112a-b, C Painter, 570–565 BCE (BA 300497).*

WP I 05. *St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 1403, Castellani Painter, 560–555 BCE (BA 310034).*

AP IIc 04. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.198.4, Bateman Group, ca. 530 BCE (BA 302237).*

FM II 15. *Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung, F 2000, Athena Painter, ca. 500 BCE (BA 390505).*

6.0 Introduction

Using the data describing about 1,275 vases in the Tables, I analysed the three *subtypes* of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' painted on Athenian black-figure vases and their *variants* diachronically in Chapters 3 through 5, focusing on how the imagery developed over time. In Chapter 2 I used the same method to analyse the very different *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'. In this final chapter I will look at the 'Chariot in profile' vases and their paintings from a different point of view. First, I will describe the *subtypes* synchronically, examining their similar characteristics, features, and trends during specific periods of time from about 590 to 500 BCE. The division into time periods that I use is not firm for two reasons: the dates of the vases are approximate (although generally agreed upon). and iconographic changes could occur either swiftly or gradually because of the varying ages and backgrounds of the painters within a workshop and because of changing social contexts. Next, I will compare the data, trends, and conclusions for the 'Chariot in profile' scenes with those developed for the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' in order to determine which similarities have value for the study of Athenian black-figure vase-painting as a whole. I will end the chapter with two sections that offer some hypotheses about the influence of historical events on the development and the popularity of these vase-paintings and the relationship of some of the depictions to the Apaturia festival.

6.1 The *subtypes* of *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' synchronically compared

6.1.1 Depictions of chariots before 6th-century Athenian black-figure vase-painting

The *typical composition* of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile with people standing in and next to it' (hereafter: 'Chariot in profile'), the subject of this book, belongs to a long tradition of depictions of chariots on Greek pottery. Chariots are found in Mycenaean and Late Geometric vase paintings, and during the 7th century BCE chariots were depicted in large panels on the bodies of Cycladic and Protoattic vases. These compositions foreshadowed most of the *subtypes* and *typical elements* I have recognised in 6th-century Athenian black-figure vase-painting:

1) a charioteer waiting in a chariot for the hero;
2) a hoplite or unarmed man mounting a chariot;
3) a hoplite and a charioteer standing in a chariot;
4) a man and a woman standing in a chariot; and
5) a god or goddess driving a chariot.

Only for the Apotheosis of Heracles in a chariot there is no known iconographic prototype in the 7th century, although there are several depictions of Heracles standing in or stepping onto a chariot.[1] On a few of these 7th-century vases, name-inscriptions or significant details make it clear which god or hero is represented.[2] It seems that composing a chariot scene both as a narrative image and also as a depiction of a particular event such as a departure or the wedding of specific persons, was first done on these large vases.

6.1.2 Early chariot scenes in Athenian black-figure vase-painting (ca. 580–560 BCE)

When in the early years of the 6th century the fully developed black-figure vase-painting technique had been adopted in Athens, compositions with chariots were among the earliest subjects depicted. They were sometimes used to represent specific mythological stories. Because there were as yet no standard compositions for depicting individual stories, name-inscriptions could be added, especially – but not solely – to scenes that might be understood in different ways, as there were no immediately recognisable figures such as Heracles or a unique monster included, and the depicted figures might represent mortals as well as heroes or gods.

Vase-painters in Corinth reached the height of their technical ability in the 7th century and name-inscriptions to identify mythological scenes are found on Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery starting in the second half of the 7th century BCE.[3] However, while in Corinth vase-painters continued to use name-inscriptions, in Athens vase-painters began to develop a pictorial language thanks to which inscriptions could be omitted as superfluous, because narrative scenes could be identified by composition alone or by a gesture or meaningful detail.[4] An example is the dinos attributed to the Gorgon Painter, dated to ca. 580 BCE (Pl. 7, *CW* 01): a chariot is depicted on either side of two fighting hoplites; the chariots face outwards, away from the fight, and their practical function in the composition is to frame and separate the battle from the scene with the Gorgons on the other side of the vase, which has no handles to interrupt and divide the decorative frieze. However, by a small

[1] For the earliest depictions of (mounting) gods or men and women in chariots: see section 4.0, note 7, and section 5.15.2, note 235.

[2] Although it is far beyond the focus of this study, I would like to point out that during the same period poets such as Archilochus of Paros, Simonides of Samos, and Sappho, Alcaeus, and Arion of Lesbos were active.

[3] See Chapter 2, note 13.

[4] See section 0.3.2. Some of these innovative painters may have been adventurous Corinthians, who immigrated to Athens, when after about 590 BCE, thanks to Solon's laws, the city's economy was booming and foreign craftsmen could obtain Athenian citizenship.

feature in the composition – the charioteers turn their heads backwards to look at the fighting heroes – the chariots become part of the scene.

The painting of a hoplite mounting a chariot in which a charioteer is waiting on the fragments of a lekanis lid by the C Painter dated to 570–565 BCE (*text figure 7a*; Pl. 4, *HL I* 01) is another early example of the pictorial language that was developing in 6th-century Athenian vase-painting. While on the (now lost) Late Corinthian Amphiaraus krater (ca. 560 BCE), and according to the description by also on the Chest of Cypselus (probably made in first quarter of the 6th century BCE) of which we have only the description by Pausanias,[5] Eriphyle was identified both by a name-inscription *and* by a large necklace, on the Athenian lekanis lid the meaning of the scene is made clear *only* by the presence of the large necklace held by the woman, which identifies her as Eriphyle and, at the same time, the mounting warrior as Amphiaraus.[6] The supplicating gesture of a boy and the posture of Amphiaraus looking back towards his wife confirm the identification of the mythological scene.[7]

Long processions of chariots, the composition of which recalls the funeral processions on Geometric vases, are found on the decorative friezes painted on the bodies of a few large vases such as the two dinoi by Sophilos (ca. 580 BCE and the François krater (570–565 BCE).[8] On these vases the *typical composition* of a row of chariots was adapted to represent the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, possibly because the vases were made for the occasion of a wedding.[9] In all of the chariots couples of gods and goddesses stand, accompanied by groups of three women walking to the right in the same direction as the chariots, but none of the chariot passengers is the bride and groom: they are the wedding guests arriving at the house of Peleus after the wedding night (*variant WG)*. It should be noted that on all three of these early vases the identification of the event is clarified by name-inscriptions and that no details such as torches or wedding presents that could characterise the occasion as a wedding were added.

Around the same time the C Painter decorated one of the legs of a tripod-exaleiptron (*WP I* 01, 570–565 BCE) with a man and a woman standing in a chariot accompanied by

[5] Pausanias, 5, 17,5 – 18.2. For the Chest of Cypselus and the Amphiaraus krater (once Berlin, St. Museen Antikensammlung, F 1655): see section 3.1.3, notes 27 and 29.

[6] Because of the fragmentary condition of the lid, it is not clear whether other specific details, such as the mourning seer seated on the ground known from the description of the Chest of Cypselus and from the Amphiaraus krater, were also depicted.

[7] See section 3.1.1.

[8] See section 4.1.1.

[9] See section 4.1.2.

three women.[10] By making a slight change in the *typical composition*, he gave a new meaning to the persons in the chariot and to the composition as a whole: the three women are standing to the left, facing the chariot, which gives the impression that they are greeting and receiving the chariot. Since, furthermore, the procession has been reduced to a single chariot and the groom receiving the guests at his door is not depicted, the scene must be understood as depicting a different wedding event: the groom conveying his bride to his house on the evening of their wedding, where they are received by the women of his family. As a symbol of the festive occasion the painter added wreaths, such as were used in Athenian daily life. In this case there is no clue to the identity of the bridal couple, who are probably to be interpreted as mortals, not gods.[11]

In the C Painter's image, the *typical element* of a chariot with a couple standing in it remained the same, but the identity of the figures changed and the gesture of the woman wearing her mantle over the head and holding it up by her cheek to frame her face took on a new meaning. On the 'Chariot in profile' scenes painted by Sophilos and Kleitias the gesture merely indicates that the woman is married,[12] but the new composition associates it with the bride unveiling herself to her husband, and thus becomes the so-called 'bridal gesture'.[13]

6.1.3 Adapting the compositions (ca. 560–550 BCE)

During the decade from 560 to 550 BCE, Athenian vase-painters modified existing compositions to fit panels on various vase shapes and laid the basis for the *typical compositions* used throughout the rest of the 6th century. The careful way in which the C Painter adapted the stretched-out procession of many chariots in *variant WG* to the small leg panel of a tripod-exaleiptron can also be observed on vases of the Tyrrhenian Group. The adaptations were made not randomly (as sometimes is suggested), but thoughtfully: on two Tyrrhenian amphorae by the Castellani Painter, dated to 560–555 BCE, a single chariot is shown arriving at a house, just as on the Sophilos dinoi and on the François krater.[14] However, instead of the groom waiting at the door of his house, a woman stands there, and through the open door a small section of a bed is visible with a wreath hanging above it (*text figure 7b*; Pl. 13, *WP I* 05). When in the course of time the picture was further simplified,

[10] See section 4.2.1.

[11] See section 4.2.1, note 45: Zeus and Hera, or Peleus and Thetis.

[12] See section 4.1.1.

[13] See section 4.2.3, note 80.

[14] See section 4.2.1.

acquiring its *typical composition*, the house was left out, but the vase-painters always took care to insert at least one extra *typical element* (in addition to the couple in the chariot) in order to identify the occasion as a wedding: a wreath, held by the bride or by one of the bystanders; torches carried by one or more women (Pl. 13, *WP I* 09); and once a package. While wreaths were also used for many festive occasions, torches were especially associated with weddings. Moreover, torches indicate the change of the moment depicted, from the morning after the wedding night to the evening before. Since these new *typical elements* were derived from daily life, and at the same time the gods were left out together with the chariots in which they stood (except for one chariot and its couple, whose divine status is no longer obvious or likely), the real-life atmosphere of the compositions was enhanced. Only the god Dionysus is sometimes included in the scene. Since in the earlier scenes he was traditionally shown walking and not standing in a chariot, it was apparently easy to retain him in the new composition.[15] His presence in combination with the daily-life elements is an early example of the new and deliberately ambiguous paintings in which daily-life genre and mythological meanings mingle.

The vase-painters' skilful way of compressing a composition but retaining its meaning can also be seen in the depiction of a chariot waiting (*variant CW*). Because the shoulder panel of a Tyrrhenian amphora is too small to paint a battle scene with chariots waiting on both sides, the Kyllenios Painter (ca. 555 BCE) depicted a single chariot, taking care, however, that the subject choice was plausible. At the right side of the panel Heracles is shown fighting the Hydra, and since the monster does not ride in a chariot, only one chariot is needed for the narrative image (*CW* 03). It is noteworthy that later in the century too, painters chose scenes that required only one chariot on vase panels with space for only one (*e.g.*, the abduction of a woman on the shoulder of a hydria: Pl. 7, *CW* 05).[16]

To adapt the Departure of Amphiaraus to fit a small panel, the painters had to make choices. *Typical elements* referring to a departure, such as the mounting hoplite and women, old men, and children standing nearby, are always included but, compared with the complex images on the Chest of Cypselus or the Corinthian Amphiaraus krater, one or more *typical elements* that identify the specific myth are missing on all vases from the period between 560 and 550 BCE.[17] Early on, the mythological meaning was clear because at least two specific

[15] See section 4.2.3.

[16] See section 3.6.1.

[17] See section 3.1.1.

typical elements were depicted, such as name-inscriptions, the prominent necklace (or on *HL I* 03 a wreath with the name-inscription HORMOS), the warrior looking back at the woman, or the presence of the children and mourning old man (Pl. 4, *HL I* 04). On vases painted later in the decade there may be women and a mourning man present, but, since all other *typical elements* referring to the myth are missing, the painting could also represent a real-life departure, in which the women, old men, and boys standing nearby represent the people who stay behind.

In this same decade the imagery of the Apotheosis of Heracles, which in the first half of the 6th century BCE shows Heracles entering Olympus accompanied by Athena and other gods on foot, also changes.[18] On two hydriai attributed to the Archippe Group and dated to ca. 560 BCE (*AP I* 01; Pl. 16, *AP I* 02) a chariot with a charioteer was added to the composition.[19] At the same time, the gods who had been shown receiving and surrounding Heracles were replaced by goddesses such as Hera, Aphrodite, and Hebe holding wreaths. The visual result of these changes is that Heracles' Apotheosis became associated with his wedding to Hebe. However, because the vase-painters could not use the *typical element* of a bridal couple standing in a chariot (as in that case the groom is bringing his bride to his house), they used the older composition with Heracles walking towards Olympus and added a chariot to the composition using the *typical element* of the charioteer waiting for the hero. On both hydriai a name-inscription identifies Heracles' usual charioteer Iolaus; the fact that Iolaus remains in the chariot indicates that only Heracles will enter Olympus.

At about the same time, the vase-painter Lydos chose to modify a different existing composition to depict the Apotheosis of Heracles. He adapted the *typical composition* used to represent the Gigantomachy with Heracles standing in Zeus' chariot beside the king of the gods and Athena running alongside the horses (Pl. 16, *AP I* 04).[20]

6.1.4 Introduction of elements from daily life (ca. 550–530 BCE)

Around the middle of the 6th century BCE, representations of chariot scenes became increasingly popular. The *typical compositions* of the *subtypes* had taken their shapes and, because of the large numbers of surviving vases, *variants* can be distinguished. Some *variants* appeared later than others, and some decreased in popularity, but all of the *variants*

[18] See section 5.1.1.

[19] See section 5.1.1.

[20] Jurriaans-Helle (2009) 187–193.

existed simultaneously throughout the century.[21] The trend to add daily-life details to the chariot scenes continued and, although in some *variants* mythological figures remained part of the composition, in other *variants* all details that refer to the divine or heroic worlds were left out – except for the chariot. The resulting combinations of elements drawn from the mythological and the real worlds make many compositions ambiguous – perhaps to the original customers as well as to us with our lesser familiarity with the pictorial language.

Several *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' took form in the middle of the century, of which three were based on the original composition created in the period from 570 to 550 BCE (*variant HL I*). The *typical composition* of *variant HL II*, in which the charioteer stands in the chariot while the hoplite is mounting, resembles that of *HL I* 01 (Pl. 4) and *HL I* 03, in which the Departure of Amphiaraus is explicitly depicted, but there are no *typical elements* that refer to the myth (Pl. 4, *HL II* 03).[22] *Variant HL II* is the least common of the three *variants*; the reason – apart from the complexity of drawing the charioteer and the mounting hoplite together in the chariot – may be the fact that the visual association with the myth was still powerful and it was thought ill-omened to allude to the fatal departure of Amphiaraus on a vase that was possibly related to or maybe even intended for use in rituals at the departure of hoplites or at the entrance of a man into the army.

Variant HL III, with one or more hoplites standing behind or next to the chariot and only the charioteer standing in it, is more common. It resembles the composition used earlier on *HL I* 02, *HL I* 04 (Pl. 4), and *HL I* 05.[23] From around 540 BCE onwards, *variant HL IV,* in which the charioteer is shown mounting the empty chariot, was also very popular.[24] In this *variant* the *typical compositions* of *variants HL II* and *HL III* were combined. It includes the *typical element* of a man mounting the chariot, which indicates a departure, but the composition is less complex and lacks the technical difficulty of drawing the charioteer and the hoplite together. Because the charioteer, with one foot still on the ground, does not tower above the other figures, this composition was particularly suitable for wide panels (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 13, *HL IV* 29). In all three *variants* it is clear that the charioteer has already taken his place in the chariot or is mounting first and waiting for the hoplite to join him. The sequence of mounting indicates the social status of the men: the person mounting the chariot last is the

[21] Chariot scenes are also found on black-figure vases in the 5th century. However, the scope of my study is the 6th century BCE. Few 5th-century vases are of a good quality, and the pictorial language was no longer as vivid.

[22] See section 3.2.1.

[23] See section 3.3.1.

[24] See section 3.4.1.

one in charge and of highest rank. Since in most cases the hoplite standing next to the horses is facing to the left as if he is approaching the chariot, the emphasis of the scene is on the departure. The women, old men, and boys standing nearby represent the people who will stay behind in the city (Pls. 4–7).[25] A few times the god Hermes is included as part of the departure crowd, but there are no other references to the mythological world, and on *HL III* 10 only non-mythological names are inscribed.

In *variant HL V* there is no charioteer, and the hoplite himself holds the reins. In most cases he is depicted in the act of mounting the chariot.[26] This places the emphasis on the military aspect of the scene, since in almost all cases only other hoplites are shown standing nearby (Pl. 7, *HL V* 11). There are only a few examples of this *variant*, probably because the hoplite's posture is awkward and in realistic terms impractical, as he is holding his shield and weapons as well as the reins. However, the composition focuses on the action of the hoplite and his departure, and for the painter and viewer it was easy to paint as well as to understand.

In *variant CH* a hoplite and a charioteer both stand in the chariot.[27] On some early vases no bystanders are included in the scene, but in most depictions of this *variant* the same *typical elements* are found as in the departure scenes discussed above: the chariot with charioteer and hoplite and the women, men, and children standing nearby. Here, too, additional hoplites may be present and, since in one-third of the images the charioteer is carrying a Boeotian shield on his back, the context is surely military. In this *variant* the compositional detail that the hoplite is shown mounting the chariot last, which signifies his greater importance than the charioteer, has been lost. Furthermore, as no one is shown mounting the chariot, the emphasis is less on the moment of departure than on the journey. The women and old men standing nearby therefore do not represent the family members staying behind, but rather the citizens of Athens who are attending a procession or parade (Pl. 10, *CH* 21a-b). On three vases a non-mythological name is inscribed near the hoplite: Kalias (Pl. 10, *CH* 07) and twice Anchippos (*CH* 03, *CH* 04), indicating the real-life nature of the event.

The *typical composition* of these last two *variants*, both focused on armed men standing in the chariot, is related to the representation of one or two unarmed men standing

[25] Pl. 5, *HL III* 08, *HL III* 11; Pl. 6, *HL III* 62, *HL IV* 06, *HL IV* 13, *HL IV* 48.

[26] See section 3.5.1.

[27] See section 3.9.1.

in a chariot (*variants MC, CMH,* and *CMM*).[28] In the earliest paintings of *variants MC* and *CMM* no other people are depicted standing near the chariot, and in most cases a bird is shown flying above the horses. In *variants CMH* and *CMM* the men stand in the chariot, and in *variant MC* a single man usually stands in the chariot on vases dating to the third quarter of the 6th century BCE; these *variants* thus emphasise the journey or procession. From about 540 BCE onwards, chariots are most often included in larger compositions of processions, with people standing nearby, sometimes carrying armour. A boy may stand at the heads of the horses, another sign that a procession is depicted, since boys leading processions are also found in depictions of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession'.[29] The birds are interpreted as eagles and may indicate that the depicted persons belong to the class of the *Hippeis*. [30]

The composition with two unarmed, non-military figures standing in a chariot also resembles that of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', where the bridal couple is depicted standing in the chariot and the emphasis is on the journey they are making to their new home. In this period there are chariot compositions in which no recognisable gods are depicted (*variant WP II*),[31] as well as ones in which gods and *elements* taken from daily life are combined (*variant WP III*).[32] One of these daily-life elements is a boy walking or standing near the horses' heads. In Athens the wedding processions were led by the *pais amphithales*, a child whose parents were both alive.[33]

The depiction of a wedding procession can be recognised chiefly by the presence of women carrying objects such as wreaths, torches, and packages (Pl. 13, *WP II* 11 and *WP III* 10).[34] The objects are all found a few times in *variant WP I,* but in *variant WP II* wreaths are more often depicted in the hands of the bride and torches are only rarely depicted. The *typical element* most common in this period is a woman carrying a flat, rectangular package on her head. The package seems to be an object from daily life that was added to make it clear that a wedding event is depicted. Although packages are mostly found in scenes in which no gods are present (*variant WP II*), they are occasionally depicted in compositions

[28] See sections 3.8.1, 3.10.1, 3.11.1.

[29] In section 6.6 I will discuss a possible connection between the vases with these three *variants* (and also some of the earliest vases of *variant HL III,* on which only one hoplite stands next to the chariot) and the vases with horsemen that are associated by Ingeborg Scheibler with the *Hippeis* and the Apaturia festival.

[30] Metzger-van Berchem (1967) 157–158.

[31] See section 4.3.1.

[32] See section 4.4.1.

[33] See section 4.0.

[34] Only on one painted vase of this period do the women not hold any objects (*WP IV* 01).

that do include gods (*variant WP III*).[35] Hermes is the god most often depicted in wedding processions during this period, but Dionysus, who was also present on earlier vase-paintings, is found several times. Apollo is seldom depicted; the reason may be that the god was not yet as popular as he later became. A practical reason may be that there was no room to represent Apollo: whereas Hermes is mostly walking in front of the chariot and Dionysus is often following it, Apollo's usual place is near the horses, where the space was already filled by the women carrying packages.

On a few depictions of *variant WP II* the woman in the chariot is *not* making the bridal gesture and only wreaths (which could be used at any festive occasion) are depicted as attributes (Pl. 13, *WP II* 15). Furthermore, no one, or just one person, accompanies the chariot. Since all *typical elements* referring to a wedding procession are omitted (except for the couple in the chariot) these paintings do not in my opinion represent the wedding procession but a festive occasion connected with marriage.[36]

A man and a woman standing together in a chariot (but now the woman is holding the reins) is also a standard element in one of the *variants* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles', which is first found around 540 BCE although most of the examples date to the last three decades of the century. The fact that there was no long tradition of representing Heracles riding in a chariot to Olympus is probably the reason that several *variants* emerged about the same time, one iconographically related to the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' (*variant AP II*)[37] and two related to the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' (*variants AP IV and AP VI*).[38]

Continuing the early wedding-like representations of the Apotheosis of Heracles on two hydriai by the Archippe Group (*AP I* 01; Pl. 16, *AP I* 02),[39] vase-painters started from about 540 BCE onwards to use the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' with an important change (*variant AP II*): Not the bride, but Heracles, the groom, is shown standing as a passenger next to Athena, who is driving the chariot and bringing him to his new home (Pl. 16, *AP II* 06).[40] This is an exceptional composition that was almost exclusively used for Heracles' Apotheosis. Depictions of other goddesses driving chariots

[35] See sections 4.3.1 and 4.4.1.

[36] See section 6.6.

[37] See section 5.2.3.

[38] See section 5.6.3. and 5.9.3.

[39] See section 6.1.3.

[40] See section 5.2.1.

with a male passenger (*variant AP IId*) are not found at all in this period and only rarely later in the century (Pl. 17, *AP IId* 01).[41]

About 540–530 BCE Exekias was the first to paint a new procession composition to represent the Apotheosis of Heracles (*variant AP IV*). It recalls the earlier images (*variant AP I*) with Heracles walking alongside the chariot. However, it is not Iolaus but Athena who holds the chariot reins, and she is shown standing with one foot in the chariot and the other hovering above the ground (Pl. 18, *AP IV* 01) as if either mounting or dismounting. This composition resembles *variant HL IV*, but the meaning is quite different. While the hoplite of *variant HL IV* is usually shown walking towards the chariot, Heracles is shown walking in the same direction that the chariot is moving. The suggestion is clearly *not* that he is about to mount the chariot to be driven by the goddess to Olympus, but rather that he has just stepped off the chariot and is walking forwards. This means that it is *not* a departure that is depicted, but Heracles' arrival at Olympus.[42] The consequence is that, although the posture of Athena with one foot in the chariot in most depictions would be understood as stepping *onto* the chariot, it must here be interpreted as stepping *off*.[43] This shows that a *typical element* may present a different – even opposite – meaning in a changed context. The new composition also means that Heracles is no longer shown passively brought to Olympus but actively taking the initiative. Gods stand next to the chariot, but, as Heracles is now placed near the horses, there is less room for them. Hermes is usually present, but Apollo and Dionysus are less often included.

In *variant AP VI* the roles of Heracles and Athena are reversed: Heracles drives the chariot while Athena is depicted standing next to the horses.[44] The *typical composition* resembles *variant HL V*, where the hoplite drives the chariot himself. The idea of the hero driving his own chariot to Olympus is new and corresponds with the important new significance of *variant AP IV* in which the hero also takes the initiative.

Although the *variants* of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' were newly created in this period, from almost the same time there are some ambiguous paintings in which Athena is shown driving the chariot with an anonymous man standing next to her (*variant AP IIa*) and others in which both Athena and Heracles are replaced by anonymous figures (*variant*

[41] See section 5.3.1.

[42] See section 5.6.3

[43] Jurriaans-Helle (1997) 294–295. See Mackay (2010) 188–190.

[44] See section 5.9.3. On the earliest known painting, a woman holding a spear but not clearly identified as Athena is standing near the horses (Pl. 20, *AP VI* 01).

AP IIc) and elements from daily life are added such as a dog and an old man (*text figure 7c*; Pl. 17, *AP IIc* 04).[45]

6.1.5 Gods and heroes reintroduced (ca. 530–500 BCE)

In the last third of the century all of the existing *typical compositions* of the *type* scene 'Chariot in profile' continued to be painted. Some decreased in popularity, while others became widespread. New variant compositions were also created. Images of gods and heroes became increasingly popular and were both introduced and reintroduced into the various *subtypes*.

For the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', all *variants* created earlier continued in use throughout the whole period. *Variant HL IV,* with a mounting charioteer and a hoplite standing near the chariot, was painted almost exclusively at this time.[46] I noted above[47] that in earlier years a few times non-mythological names were inscribed (*HL III* 10, *CH* 03, *CH* 04; Pl. 10, *CH* 07), and this is true also of one vase in this period (Pl. 9, *MC* 58). However, in accordance with the renewed interest in representing images of the gods and heroic myths in the last decades of the century, name-inscriptions were added in some cases to existing compositions to give them a mythological meaning. On *HL IV* 48 (Pl. 6) the names Amphiaraus, Eriphyle, and Alcmaeon were written on an otherwise 'standard' departure scene. On *CH* 36 and *CH* 37 the names Eriphyle, Kalope, and Adrastos were added, and on *CH* 38 the name Paris.[48] On *HL IV* 51 (Pl. 6) the departure scene received a mythological meaning by the *visual repetition* of the figure of the old man in the departure scene and on the other side of the vase; he must represent king Priam.

The *variants MC, CMM,* and *CMH*, with unarmed men standing in a chariot, were also painted during this time. In most cases the chariot is shown accompanied by several persons. A new feature in these last decades of the century is that on some vases gods – especially Athena – stand nearby (*variants AP VIa-b* and *AP VIIa-b*).[49] The compositions include no elements that refer specifically to a battle or a departure, although in some cases a man, old man, hoplite, or woman stands nearby. The composition of *variant AP VIa-b*

[45] See section 5.3.1.

[46] See section 3.4.2.

[47] See section 6.1.4.

[48] See sections 3.4 1 and 3.9.1.

[49] See section 5.12.1. I discussed these vases in Chapter 5, with other depictions of gods accompanying a chariot.

resembles that of *variant MC*, and the composition of *variant AP VIIa-b* resembles the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' and the *variants CMM* and *CMH* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.[50] The fact that gods sometimes accompany the chariot is in accordance with the increasing popularity of gods in chariot scenes at the end of the 6th century BCE.

In paintings of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', the increasing popularity of the gods is even more obvious. Although *variant WP II*, where no recognisable gods are present, was still painted during the last third of the century, the chariot in this period is most often accompanied by gods, occasionally in combination with women carrying attributes (*variant WP III*) but also without them (*variant WP IV*). In the last case, the *typical composition* with the chariot holding a man and a woman making the bridal gesture and accompanied by gods apparently sufficed to identify the event. A few times mythological names were added to give the scene a specific mythological meaning: Admetus and Alcestis (*WP III* 31), Peleus and Thetis, and Heracles and Hebe (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 05, *WP IV* 08). Whereas Peleus and Thetis recall the early vase-paintings of *variant WG*, another moment in their wedding rituals is depicted.

The gods depicted in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' are Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus – or at least two of them. During the last half of the century Dionysus was losing popularity, while Apollo – who was virtually absent earlier – was now almost always present. Paintings with a single god usually depict Apollo or Hermes, while Dionysus is seldom found; since Apollo is painted looking like a mortal, beardless kitharode, the whole wedding procession representation becomes ambiguous when there are no other gods depicted and forces the viewer to ponder whether a daily-life or mythological scene is depicted.

The trend that images of the gods were becoming more popular is also seen in the choice of women's attributes. During the last decades of the 6th century women carry a torch most often in *variant WP III*, while packages become less popular. Women are only occasionally identified as goddesses by the polos, and, when they are, they never carry a package or a wreath. However, on a few vases goddesses carry torches, acting like the mother of the bride or the groom in daily life ceremonies (Pl. 14, *WP III* 37; *WP III* 49, *WP III* 59).[51] This suggests that unnamed women carrying torches could be identified as either goddesses or mortals, while women with other attributes probably are mortals.

[50] See sections 5.12.3 and 5.0.

[51] See section 4.4.2.

During the last decades of the century there are a few paintings that show the mortal groom mounting the chariot. While scenes with both bride and groom standing in the chariot emphasise the journey and their proceeding together to a new phase of life, the *typical element* of someone (in this case the groom) mounting the chariot emphasises the departure. The composition was probably adapted from *variant HL IV*, but there is a difference: in the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', the charioteer is mounting in expectation of the hoplite next mounting the chariot. In the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', the groom – who is holding the reins – is sometimes shown mounting, while the bride is already waiting for him in the chariot. In both cases, however, the most important person is mounting last.

Since the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles', with Heracles brought to Olympus in the chariot of Athena, was not created until around 540 BCE, it is not surprising that most depictions of the *variants AP II, AP IV,* and *AP VI* were painted in the last three decades of the century. However, *variants* of the composition were also introduced. Related to *variant AP II,* with Athena and Heracles both standing in the chariot, are images in which Athena is shown mounting the chariot (*variant AP III*) to join Heracles, who is already in the chariot,[52] which makes it clear that the goddess is in charge and of higher status than the hero.[53] In this composition – which is found twice as often as *variant AP II* – the hero is more recognisable than in the earlier depictions, as the figure of the goddess does not completely overlap him and the sequence of mounting is clear (Pl. 17, *AP III* 05; Pl. 18, *AP III* 08).

Related to *variant AP IV* – Heracles walking alongside the chariot and looking back towards Athena – are paintings in which Heracles is walking towards the chariot (*variant AP V*).[54] However, whereas v*ariant AP IV* represents the hero's the arrival on Olympus,[55] *variant AP V* recalls *variant HL III* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' and represents his departure on the journey to Olympus (Pl. 19, *AP V* 01, *AP V* 04) just as *variant AP III*. By choosing to paint *variant AP V*, the vase-painters imply that Heracles is the one in charge, since he is mounting last, and hence that he is not being passively brought to Olympus but takes the initiative; in this respect *variant AP V* resembles *variant AP IV*, but the moment depicted is different.

[52] See section 5.4.1.

[53] The same development is seen in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession', but there are not many examples of a mounting groom, so I did not describe it as a separate variant. In the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' there are more examples of Athena mounting than standing in the chariot, maybe because most of the vases are dated to the last third of the 6th century BCE, when the mounting charioteer is also found in the other *subtypes*.

[54] See section 5.7.1.

[55] See sections 5.6.3; 6.4.

Most examples of *variant AP VI*, with Athena walking or standing near the horses and usually looking back towards Heracles who holds the reins, are found in this period.[56] Since I argued that in *variant AP IV*, where Heracles is shown walking alongside the chariot and looking back towards Athena, Athena is depicted stepping *off* the chariot,[57] the possibility must be considered that in *variant AP VI* Heracles is depicted dismounting, urged by Athena to follow her to Olympus. However, one could also think that the goddess was capable of running alongside a moving chariot (as she does in depictions of the Gigantomachy) and that she is urging him to follow her with the chariot. On the whole, the visual association is with the typical image of a hoplite driving out to battle. On a single vase Iolaus is shown standing behind the chariot, which indicates that the procession is still in the human world; on several vases mortal men, women, and even a hoplite, or an old man seated near the horses' heads, are represented.

In these later decades of the century there are also some vase-paintings that include a man without attributes holding the reins (*variant AP VIa*), identified one time as Iolaus by a name-inscription (Pl. 21, *AP VIa 16*). The composition resembles *variant MC*, but in most cases Athena is depicted near the chariot standing facing to the right and looking back. On a few vases this charioteer is shown standing with one foot in the chariot and the other on the ground. Following the meaning of *variant AP IV*, this composition can be interpreted as an arrival. However, an argument that a departure and not an arrival is depicted may be the combination of Athena and an anonymous man: other *variants* that show the departure of Heracles also include a few paintings with Athena and an anonymous man (*variants AP IIa, AP IIIa* and *AP Va),* but the combination of Athena and an anonymous man is never found in the *typical composition* of *variant AP IV*, which represents Heracles' arrival on Olympus. This composition is only rarely found with both figures depicted without attributes (*variant AP IVb*), or with Heracles and Iolaus (or an unidentified man) as charioteer (*variant AP IVa*).[58] Apparently, Athenians found it possible to represent mortal people *leaving* for Olympus under the guidance of Athena, but not actually *arriving* there. Olympus was the exclusive preserve of the gods and Heracles, and the representation of a mortal arriving in the home of the gods was possibly seen as *hybris*. However, the *typical composition* of the arrival with both a man and a woman depicted without attributes (*variant AP IVb*) is found

[56] See section 5.9.1.

[57] See section 5.6.3.

[58] See section 5.8.3.

on two hydriai dating to about 530 BCE (*AP IVb* 01, *AP IVb* 02), which are the only vases of this *subtype* painted with a sports scene on another panel.[59] The painters may have intentionally chosen the *typical composition* of Heracles actively walking to Olympus to illustrate the fact that athletes could obtain immortal fame through their accomplishments.

V*ariant AP VII*, which is first found in this period, shows Heracles standing in the chariot or approaching it, while a charioteer – twice identified as Iolaus by name-inscriptions – is holding the reins (Pl. 21, *AP VII* 06).[60] Athena stands near the horses, in some cases standing to the right and looking back, in other cases facing to the left. Hermes – at the heads of the horses – is usually present, while Apollo and Dionysus are depicted only a few times, perhaps because Athena is standing in their usual positions near the horses. The composition with Heracles and the charioteer standing in the chariot resembles *variants CH* and *CMM* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', and also the composition found on the early cup attributed to Lydos (Pl. 16, *AP I* 04),[61] which recalls the Gigantomachy with Athena running alongside the chariot holding Zeus and Heracles. As mentioned above (discussing *variants MC, CMM,* and *CMH*), the same composition with Athena standing near the horses is known with two anonymous unarmed men in the chariot (*variants AP VIIa-b*), resembling the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' and the *variants CMM* and *CMH* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'.

A new phenomenon in the period between 530 and 500 BCE is the many vase-paintings in which gods are shown mounting a chariot, although no specific mythological episode seems to be represented. In the scenes where Athena drives the chariot (*variant ATH*), the composition seems to have been derived from the Apotheosis of Heracles, but without the hero it has lost its meaning (Pl. 21, *ATH* 04; Pl. 22, *ATH* 07).[62] In the preceding decade only one depiction is known of another goddess, Demeter, mounting a chariot (*WOa* 01), but in this case she is accompanied by Triptolemus and several other gods. To paint this mythological event, the painter seems to have adapted the composition of someone mounting a chariot and added name-inscriptions to make the meaning clear.

During the final decades of the 6th century, in some cases the female driver is identified by name-inscriptions or by attributes as Demeter or Artemis. In most cases,

[59] On the neck of a volute-krater attributed to the Leagros Group (BA 44118) standard-motifs are depicted, among which are various chariot scenes (*HL III* 71, *HL IV* 68), Heracles and Cycnus (*HC II* 31), and sport scenes.

[60] See section 5.11.1.

[61] See section 6.3.

[62] See section 5.13.3.

however, it is not immediately clear who she is, although the composition as a whole may provide clues to her identity.[63] In more than half of the pictures, Apollo stands near the chariot (*variant WOa*); on other vases Dionysus appears, sometimes accompanied by satyrs and maenads (*variant WOb*). Only seldom are both gods present. In the paintings with Apollo, one is inclined to interpret the female driver as his sister Artemis. However, that she is not always the charioteer is clear from the paintings where Artemis – identified by her bow or a polos – stands near the horses, or where a deer next to a woman standing nearby seems to identify her as the goddess. In these paintings – and possibly also in other cases – the identity of the female driver is not certain. In the depictions with Dionysus, the charioteer may be Ariadne, Semele, or a maenad. However, in my opinion, Artemis may also be the driver in the Dionysiac scenes.[64] The animals standing near the horses may also help to identify the figures: panthers are associated with Dionysus but also with Artemis, and deer with both Apollo and Artemis.[65] Other gods are almost always present in these scenes; a few times a boy precedes the chariot, but no old men, ephebes, or hoplites are found. The vase-paintings seem to represent a mythological journey that is linked to a real-life cult procession.[66]

Representations of female charioteers are arguably to be analysed in connection with those of male gods driving a chariot that were painted in the last 20 years of the century.[67] On most vases Dionysus is the god, usually shown mounting the chariot and accompanied by satyrs and maenads (*variant DIO*). A few times a woman stands next to Dionysus in the chariot, and this *typical composition* resembles the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' (*variant DIWO*). Only seldom are other gods – Hermes, Apollo, and Poseidon – depicted holding the reins, and in those scenes the vase-painters took care to make them recognisable (*variant GM*).

These vase-paintings do not represent a specific myth or an event; the gods are depicted attending the departure of one of themselves or going somewhere together, just as they are often depicted standing together without doing anything.[68] Clearly, by the last decade of the century representations of daily-life events such as processions during

[63] See section 5.14.1.

[64] See section 5.14.2. See section 6.6.

[65] See Jurriaans-Helle (1986b) ; and *idem* (1996).

[66] Tuukkanen (2001) 142.

[67] See section 5.15.1.

[68] See Jurriaans-Helle (2003).

wedding ceremonies and religious festivals were losing popularity and being replaced by timeless images of gods in processions that include a chariot.

6.1.6 General conclusions on the change over time of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile'

The synchronic overview of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' demonstrates that the paintings first appeared in the first half of the 6th century BCE in elaborate mythological scenes. These were adapted and abbreviated around the middle of the century to fit smaller vase panels and also changed into depictions that were still heroic but in which many figures were ambiguously anonymous. In the second half of the century, details from Athenian daily life were added to the compositions and explicit references to the mythological world were sometimes omitted. At the end of the century, there was a renewed interest in mythology, and name-inscriptions were sometimes added to an image to make it clear that a specific myth was being depicted.

When the vase-painters created a new mythological image they sometimes used a *typical composition* that earlier in the century had been connected with a specific myth that was thematically related with the new image, and changed the meaning by adding name-inscriptions or a unique detail. The viewer, recognising the composition and theme of the original scene and combining it with the new detail, could construe the new meaning. Conversely, when the vase-painter wanted to represent a myth that was earlier connected with a specific *typical composition*, they could choose – instead of the 'old' *typical composition* – another one and add name-inscriptions.

An example of the first case is *the type scene* 'Fighting men separated', which in the first quarter of the 6th century BCE was used to represent an episode of the Theban War (*text figure 3*) and at the end of the century for the quarrel of Aias and Odysseus over the arms of Achilleus, clarified by the addition of the arms (Pl. 3, *FM II* 15)[69] Another example is the identity of the bridal couple in the chariot: traditionally they are considered Peleus and Thetis (derived from the earliest scenes of the procession of wedding guests at their wedding), but later in the century name-inscriptions identified them as Heracles and Hebe (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 08), Admetus and Alcestis (*WP III* 31), and Peleus and Thetis (Pl. 15, *WP IV* 05).

An example of the second case is the Departure of Amphiaraus. In early vase-paintings the hero is depicted mounting the chariot, looking back towards his unfaithful wife

[69] See section 6.2.

(Pl. 4, *HL I* 01). Later the names Amphiaraus, Eriphyle, and Alcmaeon are inscribed in a *typical composition* that without these inscriptions would not recall the myth (Pl. 6, *HL IV* 48). In all cases, however, the pictorial choice is not made randomly: for Aias and Odysseus *subtype FM II* is used, which indicates a quarrel and not a regular fight; for all three bridal couples, the *typical composition* of *subtype* 'Wedding procession' is used, with a man holding the reins and a woman standing in a chariot; and for the Departure of Amphiaraus a *variant* of *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' is used, with a woman carrying a little boy standing nearby.

6.2 Comparison of the change over time of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' with that of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'

Since the overview of the change over time in the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' shows a pattern of development, it is interesting to compared it with the change over time in *type scene* 'Fighting men separated', in order to establish whether this pattern has a more general value.

The earliest known depictions of fighting men separated appear on two Peloponnesian objects dating to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE, a Laconian cup and the buckle plate of a bronze shield strap from Olympia (*text figure* 3).[70] The compositions on both objects resemble the *subtype FM II,* where the bystanders are intervening to end the fight; name-inscriptions identify some of the figures as protagonists in the Theban War. *Subtype HC II*, depicting Heracles and Cycnus (or Cycnus' father Ares) separated by Zeus, appears a little later, around 570 BCE, and on some of the early representations many figures are depicted, identified by name-inscriptions (Pl. 3, *HC II* 05; *HC II* 06).[71]

While *subtype HC II* remained a mythological illustration (since Heracles is the protagonist and present in all paintings), around 560 BCE *subtype FM I* began to depict a duel, an organised fight between two warriors armed with spears. Although no specific mythological subject can be identified or was intended, the paintings have a heroic quality and are found on large vases that could be used in official contexts.[72]

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[70] See section 2.1.1.

[71] See section 2.3.3.1.

[72] See section 2.2.1.

During the last third of the century, *subtype FM II* was developed, that may have been inspired by the early depictions but in which the theme of fighters separated was adapted to a more real-life situation: men quarrelling during a symposium and separated by the bystanders.[73] The combatants are not fully armed and are sometimes represented naked, as are the bystanders intervening. The scene is painted only on small vase shapes.

About the same time, at the end of the 6th century, however, there was a renewed interest in mythology: in *subtype FM I* Athena or an anonymous woman sometimes separates the fighters (Pl. 1, *FM I* 17, *FM I* 32, and the Lysippides Painter added name-inscriptions to identify Odysseus and Diomedes (*FM I* 28), while on *FM I 35* Polynices and Tydeus may be depicted.[74] At the end of the century the composition was used by the Athena Painter to depict the quarrel of Aias and Odysseus (*text figure 7d*; Pl. 3, *FM II* 15; *FM II* 16). The Athena Painter chose to base his imagery on the *typical composition* of *variant FM II*, indicating that the heroes are quarrelling, with the significant addition of weapons lying on the ground to indicate what is at stake. The Athena Painter used the same composition to paint a completely different scene, Dolon threatened by Diomedes and Odysseus; on this vase he added name-inscriptions to make clear what episode is depicted.[75] In the last third of the 6th century BCE all of these *subtypes* were being painted at the same time.

This overview of the change in time of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' show that this *type scene* and the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', although they are completely different from each other, reveal the same general patterns of development, and it will be interesting to study other *type scenes* to see whether it is found there too.[76]

[73] See section 2.2.2.

[74] See sections 2.2.1.3 and 2.2.3.

[75] See Chapter 2, note 57.

[76] I noticed this development already in Jurriaans-Helle (1986a) 23-27, where I discussed the Gigantomachy and the scene 'man pursuing a woman'. The Gigantomachy is discussed more fully in Jurriaans-Helle (2009).

6.3 Pictorial language

By studying more than 1,250 vase-paintings of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', I have reached the conviction that Athenian vase-painters, even when they were artisans who painted many vases in mass-production in workshops, composed the images according to a pictorial system. They were free to make variations, additions, and omissions, but they stayed within the boundaries of the system and did not randomly add or omit figures.

The *pictorial language* of ancient Athens was vivid, and new compositions were introduced, but innovations built upon existing compositions with a related meaning, since new images had to be easily and quickly understandable by the public. When an existing *typical composition* was used as the basis for a totally new scene, name-inscriptions or significant attributes were added.

Typical elements had different meanings depending on their context: a woman pulling her mantle forward over her shoulder may be a married woman or a bride; a little boy may represent the youngest generation of the family remaining in the city as a man departs for war, or a boy playing a role in a ritual procession; a person with one foot in a chariot may be mounting or dismounting, depending on the postures and gestures of the other figures, and consequently either a departure or an arrival may be depicted. Some details retain their meaning even when the context changes: the person who mounts the chariot last is higher in social status than the one who mounted first, independent of whether he or she is the passenger or holding the reins. However, when the *typical element* of a mounting person is not present because both figures are standing in a chariot, the emphasis is less on the departure (or arrival) and more on the fact that they are shown making a journey or participating in a procession.

Pictorial language resembles spoken language in many ways. A person can choose his or her words, or change word order within certain understood rules. When this is done, native speakers easily understand the meaning of sentences, just as they immediately choose the correct meaning of a homonymic word in a certain context,[77] while in the same cases non-native speakers have to consider the language and analyse the sentences to understand meaning. In the same way contemporary Athenians of the 6th century BCE were intimately familiar with the *pictorial language* of Athenian black-figure vase-painting, while we have to study and analyse the compositions. This study has made it clear that doing this is worth the effort.

[77] See Chapter 1, note 15.

6.4 The meaning of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile'

Since it was the basic selection criterion for this study, it is interesting to look deeper into the meaning of the one *typical element* that is present in all vase-paintings of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', the chariot with the four horses.

In all of the *subtypes* the images include a chariot with one or two persons standing in it as the primary *typical element*. The chariot is the indicator that the people are making a journey, but at the same time that the paintings do *not* represent real-life events. We know that in the 6th century Athenian brides were conveyed on wagons to their new homes, nor did hoplites use chariots to travel to the battlefield. The common factor in all of the *subtypes* of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' is that people are proceeding to a *new phase in their lives*: from civilian to hoplite, from unwedded to wedded, or from mortal hero to god. Therefore, it is more accurate to say that these vase-paintings represent the attainment of their destined new position in the social community of Athens: boys will grow up to become ephebes and enter military service; girls will become wedded wives; and men will become husbands and heads of families, as well as soldiers, fulfilling an Athenian citizen's duties to both *oikos* and *polis*.[78] These were deeply rooted values and principles of Athenian society,[79] and it is these *symbolic transitions* that are depicted.

To make this symbolism clear, the painters made the depictions intentionally ambiguous. Some *typical elements*, such as recognisable gods and goddesses, belong to the divine world, while others, such as the children and old men or the flat packages carried by women in wedding processions, are related to daily life. Mortals are represented mingling with the gods, and the compositions of mythological *rites de passages* – such as the Departure of Amphiaraus, the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and the Apotheosis of Heracles – are modified to show anonymous people, connecting mythological processions or journeys to a different state of living, with daily-life rituals.[80]

The chariot in these vase-paintings is a powerful indicator that a symbolic journey to a new phase in life is depicted. The chariot shows the connection between the mythological and the real worlds: in myth it is the means of transport for gods and heroes, but in 6th-century Athens it was a prerogative of the elite. In these vase-paintings the two worlds flow

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[78] See section 4.6.

[79] See Chapter 1, note 76: Panofsky (1955) 28-31 distinguished three strata of iconography: the third one is *Intrinsic meaning or content*, where underlying principles of a nation or a period, condensed into a work of art, are identified. This last is the object of *iconology*.

[80] See Chapter 3, note 187.

into each other without boundaries, showing how the Athenian elite felt deeply connected with the heroic world. The representation of mortals in compositions with elements derived from the heroic and mythological worlds, elevates them to the level of gods and heroes.

6.5 Historical context

When two different *type scenes* 'Chariot in profile' and 'Fighting men separated' show the same trends and development over time, it seems clear that the vase-painters were responding to the great changes Athenian society experienced during the course of the 6th century BCE.[81] Although it is not the focus of this study, and I am not a historian, I will make a brief attempt to connect the trends in vase-painting to these historical events.

Our knowledge of the history of the 6th century BCE is limited, but we know that there were important changes in the political system of Athens. It seems that around 594 BCE the reform measures of the Athenian stateman Solon gave a positive impulse to the city's economy that was reflected in the blooming of the arts and crafts. In the *timocracy* that Solon instituted, a form of government in which possession of property rather than birth into a hereditary ruling class became the requirement for holding political office, the new second class of citizens became the *Hippeis*, or Knights. The paintings on Athenian pottery represent the world of the elite and the idealised heroic world that was perceived as their model. It was in this generation that large vases with elaborate mythological depictions were first made. Since there was no fixed tradition for representing images of myths, many details and attributes were included and name-inscriptions added to identify the scenes. As new shapes were invented, the painted compositions were adapted; towards the middle of the century, scenes of the heroic world and the real life of the upper classes were melded in images in which un-named figures were placed next to gods and heroes, or even took their places.

In 547/546 BCE Pisistratus became tyrant and remained in power until his death about 528 BCE; thereafter his sons Hippias and Hipparchus shared power until an end to the tyranny came with the democratic political reforms of Cleisthenes in 508 BCE. During the reign of Pisistratus, Athens grew in power and wealth and became more and more self-confident. This change in the attitude of Athenians may be reflected in the changed iconography of the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles': in *variants AP IV*, *AP V,* and *AP VI* Heracles is depicted not as the passive passenger of Athena but as the man in charge,

[81] See section 0.3.2.

assertively driving the chariot or boldly stepping forward to enter Olympus, under the guidance of his long-time patron Athena. The theatrical processional return to Athens of Pisistratus with Phye – whether it took place in 556 or 546 BCE – may have been the inspiration for these new *variants*. The self-confidence of the Athenians is also visible in the fact that in many paintings the gods and overt references to myth are omitted and elements from real life are inserted. However, because of the presence of the heroic chariot, even these depictions are ambiguous and do not clearly represent a real-life wedding or departure.

In the last third of the century gods are once again often depicted. This may be connected with the growing power of Athens, which meant that cults formerly linked to local sanctuaries were introduced to the city from the countryside.[82] Furthermore, as part of their religious policy the Pisistratid tyrants promoted many cults and constructed new sanctuaries or embellished existing ones, demonstrating their and the city's piety. Another reason for the renewed interest in the gods and their cults may be that when Pisistratus became tyrant, the noble families lost political power and had to derive prestige from the priesthoods that in many cults were hereditary. The vase-painters may have thus been responding to this new religious *élan* by depicting more mythological scenes.

In some cases a historical event seems to stand at the beginning of certain depictions. The purification of Delos by Pisistratus may be connected with the increasing presence of Apollo, and the popularity of images of Heracles fighting Cycnus, showing the hero as the protector of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.

In the final decades of the century, Athens and Thebes quarrelled about the border and the control of neighbouring places, such as Plataea[83] and Oropos in which place also Eretria was interested.[84] The Alcmaeonids, the Athenian family to which Cleisthenes belonged, had connections with Oropos through their mythological ancestor Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaraus.[85] These historical circumstances may have revived interest in the myth of Amphiaraus and the renewed depiction of his departure on *HL IV* 48 (Pl. 6). However, when the Priam Painter represented this myth at the end of the 6th century, he did not use the original *variant HL II*, but instead a picture of a departing hoplite that was common in his time and added the names of Amphiaraus, Eriphyle, and Alcmaeon.

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[82] Shapiro (1989a) 12-13. Stansbury-O'Donnell (2006) 93.

[83] Herodotus 6, 108. Walker (2004) 301–302. In 519 BCE the Athenians won a battle near Plataea.

[84] . See section 3.4.1. Walker (2004) 155–156; 169; 191: Oropos was possibly founded by Eretria. In the 6th century it was in Theban hands. Oropos came in the first quarter of the 5th century under control of Athens.

[85] Walker (2004) 253: The Alcmaeonids had also family ties with Oropos and Eretria.

After the reforms of Cleisthenes, Aias was named the eponymous hero of one of the ten tribes that made up the local government of the city of Athens.[86] This may have inspired the Athena Painter to add armour laying on the ground to the *typical composition* of *variant FM I,* changing the meaning from men quarrelling during a symposium to the epic fight between Aias and Odysseus over the armour of Achilles.

During the Pisistratid tyranny the production of Athenian black-figure vases reached its acme in quantity and quality. Although because of the prosperous economy, people of the lower classes in Athens could probably afford to buy painted pottery, the representations continued to reflect the pastimes of the upper classes: the symposium, sports, hunting, and horses. After the political change from timocracy to democracy in 508 BCE, depictions of aristocrats and their pursuits became less popular, and the great chariot-scenes disappeared. Instead of representations of anonymous – but elite – men and women participating in processions, the gods themselves were depicted mounting chariots, often taking the place of the mortals in events where they earlier had been represented as bystanders. These compositions, with their rather timeless meanings, were painted endlessly on late 6th-century and 5th-century black-figure vases, especially *lekythoi*. As I wrote in 1999: "Are these late vases the descendants of the majestic belly amphorae and craters of the middle of the century?"[87]

6.6 The *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' and the Apaturia

In this final section I will consider the interesting question of whether we – now that we have analysed the vase-paintings – can better understand to what they refer and their deeper meanings.

In section 6.3 I argued that the representations are not accurate images of real-life wedding processions or departures of hoplites, but rather express the deeply rooted values of Athenian society and represent the *symbolic transition* of ordinary people to their destined positions in the social community of Athens. Some of these *rites de passages* were celebrated during the Apaturia, the festival of the Athenian *phratriai*,[88] and therefore all the vases in this study of images of chariots may – in certain ways – be connected with the Apaturia. However, there are some *variants* where *typical elements* that specifically refer to

[86] See section 2.2.4.

[87] Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 207.

[88] See section 3.8.2. Deubner (1966) 232-234. Lambert (1993) 143-189. Böhr (2009) 119-120, n. 75.

a departure or a wedding are missing so that it is probably a timeless journey that is represented; these are the vases that even more symbolically seem to depict individuals' transition to a new phase in life. In this final section I will propose speculatively – for we have scant knowledge of ancient Greek festivals in the 6th century BCE – that some details in these vase-paintings may refer to rituals during the Apaturia.

In 1987 Ingeborg Scheibler argued that large belly-amphorae with paintings on both sides of horse-heads or horsemen – often with birds flying above them – are connected with the social class of the Knights, the *Hippeis,* and possibly made for use during the Apaturia.[89] In 1998 I proposed that large vases with paintings on both sides of rather simple depictions of chariots with birds flying above the horses also belong to that tradition and were probably made for the *Hippeis,* and related to the Apaturia festival.[90] Now that I have studied many more vases, I want to reiterate this statement all the more forcefully: I am convinced that these paintings display traditional values that were important in Athenian society and were celebrated in the Apaturia, and that they represent the world view of the Hippeis and the idealised heroic world on which the Athenian elite modelled themselves.

Unfortunately we know too little about the Apaturia to be certain that these vases were used during the festival or whether they were made for the Hippeis. According to Stephen Lambert,[91] "Phratry membership was a fundamental aspect of citizenship." Although aristocrats from the upper classes were the leaders of the phratries, they were not the only members; the phratries included *all* citizens, also those belonging to the lower classes. Therefore it is possible, and in my eyes probable, that the vases were also commissioned, bought, and used by people of the lower classes who wanted to imitate the classes above them and surround themselves with depictions of their life style. As horses and chariots were a privilege of the elite classes,[92] they were an obvious and popular subject.

Since the provenances of the vases in general do not provide answers about their use – most vases for which the provenance is known were found in Etruscan tombs – I examined the vase-paintings to determine whether there are details that may refer to the rituals of the Apaturia, as far as known to us. Most information about the festival dates to the 5th century

[89] Scheibler (1987) 77-78; 86-89; 101-102, 118. According to Scheibler, the Horse-head amphorae may have been made as prizes for the contests during the Apaturia.

[90] *Variants MC, CH, CMH* and *CMM,* and some vases of *variant HL III* and some vases in *subtype* 'Wedding procession'on which the woman in the chariot is bareheaded.

[91] Lambert (1993) 153. See also Ferguson (1910) 259–260; Nilsson (1951) 161

[92] Moon (1985) 42.

BCE, but, according to Lambert, "the role of the phratry in Athenian society may ... have been essentially the same before Cleisthenes as after." [93] I will first describe what is known about the Apaturia and then return to the vase-paintings.

The Apaturia was a festival honouring Dionysus, held on the 11th, 12th, and 13th days of the month Pyanepsion (mid-October to mid-November).[94] During the three days of the festival the members of the phratries came together, and citizens were enrolled in their new positions in the *phratry*. Young children were registered, and older boys and girls took leave of their childhood in ceremonies. Young men were registered as ephebes (literally reaching their *hèbè*) and started their military training; during the festival they shaved their beards and heads for the first time and offered the hair to Artemis. According to Athenaeus they also offered a cup of wine to Heracles and their friends during a ritual called the Oenesteria.[95] That the offering was made to Heracles, who was closely associated with his immortal bride Hebe, shows that he was connected with the reaching of maturity.[96] During the festival men also assumed their positions in the army or presented themselves after their marriages as new husbands and heads of families, by introducing their new brides to their *phratry*, although it is possible that this could also have been done at other rituals. In addition, there was a rhapsode-contest for boys.[97]

When we look at the paintings of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', there are some details that can perhaps be connected with the above-mentioned rituals: on some vases of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' armour is carried by the people accompanying the chariot;[98] the man in the chariot is in all cases bearded and may represent an adult man entering the army and receiving his armour. There are no depictions of people carrying armour in *variant CMM*, where no hoplites accompany the chariot and the passengers in more than half of these cases are represented as young beardless men. Perhaps they represent the young men who were being registered in their *phratries* and becoming ephebes.[99]

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[93] Lambert (1993) 267.

[94] See Chapter 3, note 132.

[95] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XI, 494. Jourdain-Annequin (1989) 371–372.

[96] Verbanck-Piérard (1995) 113.

[97] Böhr (2009) 120.

[98] The man is in most cases represented as a hoplite. *HL II* 08, Pl, 7, *HL III* 07; *HL III* 28, *HL V* 03, *HL V* 04, *MC* 22, *MC* 42, *CH* 11, *CH* 23, *CH* 38, *CMH* 06, *CMH* 07.

[99] Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 207.

On some vases the passenger, or one of the bystanders, is carrying a lyre (Pl. 9, *MC* 43),[100] which was the normal instrument for boys to accompany themselves during the rhapsode-contest.

The people shown accompanying the chariot are often of various ages, from baby boys to white-haired old men, which may be done to emphasise solidarity.[101] The boy who is leading the chariot in some depictions[102] may represent the youngest generation, but it is also possible that he was involved in specific rituals during the festival comparable with those of the *pais amphithales* in the *subtype* 'Wedding procession'. The boy's presence is usually a sign that the emphasis is on the procession or journey that is going on, rather than on a departure, while in the painting's composition his function is also to fill the empty space beneath the heads of the horses.

On most vases of these *variants* there are no *typical elements* indicating a departure: the persons are usually shown standing in the chariot; only on late vases of *variant MC* is the man depicted mounting. Among the *variants CH, CMH,* and *CMM* there is only one vase-painting that shows a man mounting: on *CMM* 27 the charioteer is mounting the chariot in which the passenger is waiting. This is noteworthy, since in departure-scenes of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' the – more important – passenger is usually shown mounting last, while in the *subtypes* 'Wedding procession' and 'Apotheosis of Heracles', the charioteer – bridegroom or Athena – is usually depicted mounting last. Possibly this symbolic detail was represented on purpose to indicate that the passenger – just like Heracles and brides – is being conveyed to a new stage in life.

On some of these vases non-mythological names are inscribed that seem to refer to real people.[103]

In the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' there are a few vases on which there are no or only a few bystanders and where all of the *typical elements* that specifically refer to a wedding are lacking, except for the couple in the chariot.[104] The woman in the chariot is in most of these cases shown bareheaded and not making the bridal gesture, although in some cases she is holding a wreath, an attribute that is, however, not exclusively used in wedding processions (Pl. 13, *WP II* 15).

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[100] *MC* 43; *CMM* 17; *CMM* 22.

[101] Spiess (1992) 136-138.

[102] Pl. 8, *MC* 30a; Pl. 9, *MC* 43; Pl. 11, *CMH* 05.

[103] *HL III* 10, *MC* 58, *CH* 03, *CH* 04, *CH* 07.

[104] *WP II* 03, *WP II* 15, *WP II* 16, *WP II* 17, *WP IV* 09; *WP IV* 37. Package: *WP II* 12, *WP II* 14.

On *WP IV* 09 (Pl. 15) a hoplite and an old man are standing next to the chariot; these figures are usually depicted in departure scenes of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', but also in the *variants* that I believe are related to the Apaturia. On *WP II* 18 all of the *typical elements* referring to a wedding are missing: the woman is bareheaded, only one other woman is shown, men of various ages are standing nearby, and a dog is present, which is very unusual in wedding processions but often found in the *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. On *WP IV* 37 the only figure standing nearby is Dionysus; the god may represent the wine and the festivities or be present as a god of fertility, but he is also the god in honour of whom the Apaturia were held.

Since in these vase-paintings most *typical elements* that specifically refer to a wedding procession are omitted, it is, in my opinion, not the wedding itself that is represented, but a festive occasion that was connected with a wedding, which may be the introduction (at the Apaturia or another festival) of the newly wed women to the *phratry* of their husbands. By combining a *typical element* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' (the couple in the chariot) with the *typical composition* of the Apaturia vases of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' (the simple composition with no or only a few bystanders), the painters made it clear that the paintings were referring to the rituals around the newly wedded couples at the same festival. We do not know whether the newly wedded wives were *in persona* present at the festival, but, as said before, these vase-paintings are *not* representations of daily-life occurrences but show the *symbolic transition* of individuals to their destined positions in the social community of Athens.

Although the paintings with Athena and Heracles represent without doubt a mythological story, they may also be connected symbolically with the Apaturia and especially with the ritual of the Oenisteria, when boys entered the *epheby* by drinking wine and offering it to Heracles. The depiction of Heracles on his way to marry Hebe and begin his life on Olympus can be interpreted as a mythological expression of the boys becoming ephebes. In the *variants* of the Apotheosis scene with anonymous persons, the association is more obvious. The *variants AP IIa, AP IIc*, *AP VIa-b,* and *AP VIIa-b* recall the *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' and, more specifically, the *variants MC, CH, CMM,* and *CMH* that I relate to the Apaturia festival. The difference is the presence of the gods, especially Dionysus in whose honour the festival was held. On *AP VII* 10 Apollo is playing on a lyre, which is a more common instrument than the kithara, and on the same vases a boy is standing at the horses' heads. Both details are found in depictions of daily-life processions, and the lyre can be connected with the contest during the Apaturia.

It is noteworthy that on two vases of *variants AP VIIa-b* the charioteer is shown mounting last, indicating that he is in charge of his passenger (AP *VIIa* 03, AP *VIIb* 04); as mentioned above, the same sequence is found on *CMM* 27. The chariot scene on *AP VIIb* 04 (Pl. 21) resembles a wedding procession: gods and mortals accompany the chariot, the charioteer is mounting, and the passenger is holding a wreath. The only but significant difference is that the passenger is not a woman but a bearded man, who is apparently being conveyed to a new phase in his life.

On both sides of the large neck-amphora by Exekias (Pl. 17, *AP IIc* 01a-b) a chariot with a female driver is depicted, and perhaps a continuous procession of two chariots is represented, with people accompanying it or looking at it. Because here the *typical compositions* of the *subtypes* 'Apotheosis of Heracles', 'Hoplite leaving', and 'Wedding processions' are brought together, the depiction may be understood as a representation of the Apaturia, where people were celebrating that they were entering a new phase in their lives.

By choosing the *typical composition* of the Apotheosis and replacing Heracles with an anonymous figure, the painter linked the idea of a mythical procession to the procession held during the Apaturia festival, showing the mortal man participating in the festival and transitioning to a new phase in his life and equating him to Heracles going to his divine life with Hebe in Olympus. However, while the chariot indicates the symbolic importance of the event, it also makes it clear that the scene does not illustrate a real-life procession.

At the Apaturia the offering of wine to Heracles and the first shaving of the beard and hair of a young man marked his passage into manhood. In several depictions of the Apotheosis a deer is found (Pl. 17, *AP IId* 09; Pl. 20, *AP VI* 09, *AP VIa* 11; Pl. 21, *AP VIIa* 04); it may point to the reaching of maturity,[105] but it may also refer to Artemis, to whom the young men offered their shaved hair.

At the end of the 6th century BCE mortal departures and wedding processions began to be replaced by timeless depictions of gods mounting chariots, especially Athena and Dionysus, both connected with the Apaturia. There are also many depictions of a goddess accompanied by Apollo or Dionysus; in both cases she may be identified as Artemis, in *variant WOa* combined with her brother Apollo and in *variant WOb* with Dionysus, with whom she was connected in rituals during the Apaturia. Later, in the 5th century, depictions of goddesses driving a chariot are found on many lekythoi. It seems that, although the depiction had become widespread, the chariot remained a symbol of a journey to a new

[105] Klinger (2002) 30; 31.

phase of life, which may explain that many 5th-century lekythoi with chariot scenes are also found in grave contexts.

On the 'Apaturia' vases of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving', the chariot is often depicted on both sides of the vase, as was also the case with the early group of Horse-head amphorae. There are also some vases painted on both sides with different *subtypes* that both can be related to the Apaturia. On a belly-amphora by Exekias, one side has a chariot with one man standing in it accompanied by men of various ages and a woman carrying a cuirass; on the other side, the Apotheosis of Heracles is depicted (*MC* 22, *AP IV* 01). A comparable *visual repetition* is seen on a belly-amphora painted in the Manner of the Lysippides Painter, where on one side a chariot with a married couple was painted and on the other side a chariot with two men (*WP II* 17, *CMM* 25); in both images there are no additional people standing nearby. Another belly-amphora has on one side a chariot with a charioteer and a hoplite, and on the other side a chariot with two unarmed men (*CH* 01, *CMM* 01); here too, there are no bystanders and a bird is flying above the horses on *CH* 01.[106] The same combination is found on a *psykter* painted in the Manner of Exekias (*CH* 12, *CMM* 12), but here women and men of various ages accompany the chariots. On a belly-amphora attributed to the Painter of the Vatican Mourner, a wedding procession on one side is paired with a chariot with a female driver and Dionysus as her passenger on the other side (*WP IV* 01, *AP IId* 05). On another belly-amphora on one side is a wedding procession accompanied by gods, and on the other side a female driver with a hoplite as her passenger accompanied by hoplites (*WP III* 19, *AP IIc* 06).

Most chariot scenes were painted on large vases such as belly-amphorae and hydriai, because there is room enough for the scene. There are only 33 cups with depictions of chariot scenes in my database. In 20 cases the depiction, sometimes with small variations, is repeated on both sides, and three times one of the other *variants* is depicted on the other side. Among the images are standard-motifs of a hoplite mounting or standing in a chariot (usually accompanied by other men and hoplites, as if they are marching out to war), but more than half belong to the *variants* that I connect with the Apaturia.[107] The elaborate depictions on band-cup *CMM* 35 have been identified by Manakidou as representations of a

[106] There is no photograph of *CMM* 01, so I do not know what exactly is depicted on that side of the vase. A bird is not mentioned in the description of that side.

[107] Same scenes: *HL III* 39, *HL III* 40, *HL III* 41, *HL IV* 35, *HL IV* 37, *HL IV* 38, *HL IV* 39, *CF* 03, *MC* 31, *MC* 32, *MC* 53, *MC* 54, *MC* 55, *CMM* 35, *AP VIa* 23, *WOb* 15, *DIO* 24, *DIWO* 02, *DIWO* 03, *DIWO* 04. Related scenes: *AP V*I 17 - *ATH* 29; *HL II* 15 - *HL III* 42; *HL II* 16 - *HL III* 43.

festival, possibly the Apaturia.[108] It is tempting to think that these cups may have been made for use during the festival, and more specifically for the Oenisteria.[109]

On some cups a tree is painted, sometimes with white fruits. This may also be a reference to the Apaturia festival, which was held in October, the month in which quinces are ripe. Trees – one time with white fruits – are also found painted on late black-figure lekythoi.[110] Maybe these lekythoi were also related to the festival.

At the very end of the 6th century large black-figure vases with chariot scenes seem to have been rarely painted. One reason may be that after the introduction of the red-figure style, black-figure vase-painting was used mostly for small shapes like lekythoi. However, chariot scenes are in general rare in red-figure. The Beazley Archive Pottery Database yields only six hits for an Apotheosis in a chariot and only 16 for a wedding in Athenian red-figure vase-painting; a search for departing warriors in combination with a chariot gives only six hits, although there are depictions of hoplites in chariots in the company of Nikè or Athena. Therefore, it is possible that large vases with chariot scenes were no longer commissioned. The democratic reforms brought an end to the political importance of the phratriai.[111] The phratriai continued to exist after 508 BCE,[112] but in the new division into civic *phylae*, their members were shared across different regions of the city, and the phratriai were set aside "under the auspices of the middle classes and the ideal of popular equality".[113] As long as the Hippeis – for whom chariots were relevant, even when this heroic and aristocratic mode of transport was no longer practised – were the leaders of the phratries, these images remained popular. With the new regime, they lost their significance.

I am aware that these deductions cannot be proved beyond dispute, but they are based on analysis of the various *subtypes* of the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' to determine which *typical compositions* and combinations of *typical elements* are usually present and when. The lists confirm that some *variants* differ because *typical elements* were changed or missing, but since the changes are consistent and not occasional, I conclude that the *variants* probably depict a different occasion. I was not seeking to verify these conclusions and interpretations when I started my studies, although I already argued during the 1998 conference in

[108] Manakidou (1994) 245–248, pls. 44–45.

[109] Böhr (2009) 119–120 assumes that small cups were presented to the boys at the festival.

[110] *MC* 77 (white fruits), *MC* 78 (nude boy holding a wreath), *MC* 82.

[111] Ferguson (1910) 282.

[112] Lambert (1993) 237-242.

[113] Ferguson (1910) 284.

Amsterdam that some *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' might be connected with the Apaturia.[114] It was only over the course of the past years of systematically studying more than 1,200 vase-paintings that I recognised connections between the other *subtypes* and the festival and came to these tentative conclusions only gradually while working to refine the Tables and texts. The meaning of some detail – like the bareheaded bride on a chariot that is not accompanied by people – in one *subtype* that I noticed but could not at first explain, sometimes became clear when I noticed a comparable element – the chariots with one or two men standing in it and also not accompanied by others – in another *subtype*. In this way the pieces of the puzzle fell in place. For me, the connections prove that this method of systematically studying the *typical compositions* and *elements* of vase-paintings and applying semiotic methods developed for the study of literary texts is useful. It not only confirms that there is a *pictorial language* with established rules used in Athenian black-figure vase-painting, but also that knowledge of this language can help us to understand the deeper meaning of these paintings that on first sight is hard to grasp.

[114] Jurriaans-Helle (1999) 207.

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List of museums and collections

All vases and other objects discussed in this dissertation are incorporated in this list. For vases that are part of the lists, references are included to the Tables; additional information can be found in the Tables and the text sections where they are discussed. When vases are also mentioned in notes in other text sections of the book, extra references are given. There are also references to vases that are mentioned in the notes but that are not part of my lists.

Aberdeen, University
- 64013 14 *CMM* 25, 17 *WP II* 17
- 64020 19 *WP IV* 27

Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
- IG 22672 26 *AP V* 11

Aegina, Archaeological Museum
- \- 03 *HC II* 06

Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale
- AG 23080 01 *FM I* 34
- C1531 32 *ATH* 13
- C1534 11 *MC* 50
- C1954 32 *ATH* 21
- R143 13 *CMH* 34

Aix en Provence, Musée Granet
- 1244 34 *DIO* 34

Altenburg, Lindenau-Museum
- 204 08 *HL V* 20
- 216 23 *AP III* 02
- 219 07 *HL IV* 58

Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum
- 480 Ch.2, n.13, n.21
- 1856 Introduction, text fig. 1
- 2032 Ch.4, n.35
- 2114 06 *HL III* 94
- 2119 Ch.3, n.54
- 3410 Ch.2, n.71
- 3521 02 *FM II* 08, Ch.2, n.61, Pl. 2
- 3737 Ch.1, n.35, text fig. 2
- 14107 Ch.5, n.206
- 14276 11 *MC* 53, Pl. 9
- 15765 (on loan) 18 *WP III* 46, Pl. 14, cover
- 16817 19 *WP IV* 54
- 16822 02 *FM II* 12

Antwerpen, Vleeshuis Museum
- \- 19 *WP IV* 61

Athens, Acropolis Museum
- 1957-Aa154 (NA915) 18 *WP III* 01
- 1957-Aa187 Ch.4, n.212, Ch.4, n.230
- 1957-Aa188 Ch.4, n.117
- 1957-Aa191 Ch.4, n.208, Ch.4, n.209
- 1957-Aa191B Ch.4, n.102
- 1957-Aa193 18 *WP III* 66
- 1957-Aa194 33 *WOa* 39
- 1957-Aa196 18 *WP III* 35
- 1957-Aa197 17 *WP II* 25
- 1957-Aa212 33 *WOa* 34
- 1957-Aa245 Ch.4, n.208, Ch.4, n.231
- 1957-Aa255 Ch.4, n.231
- 1957-Aa263 Ch.4, n.94
- 1957-Aa271 17 *WP II* 26
- 1957-Aa305 17 *WP II* 24
- 1957-Aa317 Ch.4, n.94
- 1957-Aa394 Ch.4, n.212
- 1957-Aa409 Ch.4, n.231
- 1957-Aa423 (NA969) Ch.4, n.94
- 1957-Aa448 19 *WP IV* 63
- 1957-Aa2560 (NA915, 1002) Ch.4, n.50
- 1957-Aa2579 (NA396) Ch.4, n.50
- 1957-Aa2610 (NA279) Ch.4, n.63
- 1957-NAK 143 33 *WOa* 33
- 1957-NAK 931 Ch.4, n.102
- 2452 19 *WP IV* 62

Athens, Archaeological Museum of Kerameikos
- 109 15 *WG* 03
- 1590 Ch.4, n.90
- 6457 01 *FM I* 42

Athens, Benaki Museum
- \- Ch.5, n.142

Athens, Museum of Cycladic Art
- Goulandris 1114 14 *CMM* 02
- Politis 134 25 *AP IV* 06

Athens, Museum of the Ancient Agora
- AP 1044 21 *AP II* 04, Ch.5, n.35
- P 2612 18 *WP III* 39
- P 3167 Ch.4, n.10
- P 7893 + P 7897 18 *WP III* 36, Ch.4, n.145
- P 14326 Ch.4, n.55
- P 15536 03 *HC II* 43
- P 17467 Ch.4, n.10
- P 18567 Ch.3, n.34
- P 19045 Ch.4, n.10
- P 19597 Ch.4, n.145, 155, 162
- P 24105 11 *MC* 76
- P 24545 Ch.5, n.98

Athens, National Archaeological Museum
- 353 Introduction, n.14
- 354 Ch.4, n.7, Ch.5, n.91, 235
- 399 4 *DIO* 54
- 453 14 *CMM* 24
- 456 (CC732) 06 *HL III* 89
- 457 (CC733) 06 *HL III* 90
- 475 27 *AP IVb* 03
- 491 (CC869) Ch.2, n.25
- 497 (CC676) 03 *HC II* 36
- 508 (400/8/9?) 25 *AP IV* 15
- 517 (CC971) 03 *HC II* 41
- 560 33 *WOa* 25
- 582 06 *HL III* 91
- 655 (Sta315) 03 *HC II* 30, 07 *HL IV* 34, 09 *CW* 11
- 657 (CC1100) 03 *HC II* 44
- 911 Ch.4, n.7, Ch.5, n.235
- 915 (CC 654) Ch.3, n.108, Ch.4, n.13
- 1004 16 *WP I* 13
- 1082 19 *WP IV* 56
- 1122 (CC738) 07 *HL IV* 70
- 1133 Ch.1, n.54, Ch.1, n.66
- 1154 19 *WP IV* 57
- 12076 16 *WP I* 14
- 12273 Ch.5, n.109
- 12400 Ch.4, n.10
- 12482 06 *HL III* 67
- 14497 Ch.4, n.7, 54
- 15165 (Akr.1.587) 15 *WG* 02
- 19188 22 *AP IIb* 01, Pl. 17
- 19363 18 *WP III* 29, 19 *WP IV* 15
- 26805 06 *HL III* 30
- Akr.1.607 Ch.5, n.33
- Akr.1.610 15 *WG* 07
- Akr.1.612 Ch.2, n.90
- Akr.1.1151 26 *AP V* 16
- Akr.1.2566 a-b Ch.5, n.98
- Akr.1.2569 25 *AP IV* 03
- Akr.1.2572 Ch.5, n.128
- Akr.1.2592 Ch.5, n.128
- Akr.1237a-e 16 *WP I* 03
- Akr.2112a-b 04 *HL I* 01, Ch.5, n.17, Pl.4, text fig. 7a
- Akr.2410 03 *HC II* 04
- Akr.2557 25 *AP IV* 02
- Akr.2586 32 *ATH* 02
- Akr.2591 30 *AP VII* 05

- 14 *CMM* 22
- 18 *WP III* 67

Athens. National Archaeological Museum, coll. M.Vlastos
55 18 *WP III* 65, Pl. 14

Athens, Third Ephoreia
A 3893 04 *HL I* 02

Austin, Blanton Museum of Art
T196D Ch.5, n.98

Avignon, Musée Calvet
S62 08 *HL V* 07

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
48.29 10 *CF* 16

Barcelona, Museo de Arqueologia
4.501 03 *HC II* 11

Bari, Museo Archeologico
- 25 *AP IV* 24

Basel, Antikenmuseum
Bo 142 07 *HL IV* 38
BS 408 Ch.2, n.54
BS 496 Ch.5, n.21
Z363 34 *DIO* 41

Basel Market, -
- 19 *WP IV* 37

Basel Market, H.A.Cahn
- 10 *CF* 10

Basel Market, J.D.Cahn
- 16 *WP I* 11
- 06 *HL III* 10
- 21 *AP II* 12
- 06 *HL III* 32
- 12 *CH* 26
- 34 *DIO* 06
- 18 *WP III* 23
- 01 *FM I* 49
- 33 *WOb* 16
- 17 *WP II* 19

Basel Market, Münze und Medaillen
- 13 *CMH* 19
- 19 *WP IV* 36
- 33 *WOa* 21
- 29 *AP VIb* 03
- 29 *AP VIa* 06
- 12 *CH* 29
- 01 *FM I* 48, Ch.2, n.22, 25
- 34 *GM* 04
- 25 *AP IV* 29
- 22 *AP IIc* 11
- 22 *AP IIa* 06
- 06 *HL III* 65
- 34 *DIO* 19

Basel Market, Palladion
26 29 *AP VIa* 08
28 33 *WOb* 17

Basel, Private collection
- Ch.2, n.13

Basel, Sammlung H.A.Cahn
HC 912 09 *CW* 06
HC 921 04 *HL I* 03

Beloit (WI), Wright Museum of Art
31.1 11 *MC* 46

Berkeley, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology
8.4181A 06 *HL III* 34
8/443 06 *HL III* 92

Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung
1959.1 Ch.3, n.34
1962.28 32 *ATH* 16, Pl. 22
1966.1 34 *DIO* 05
F 493 Ch.4, n.7
F 1688 Ch.5, n.21
F 1711 Ch.3, n.12 (belong to *HL I* 04)
F 1712 04 *HL I* 05
F 1732 03 *HC II* 05, Pl. 3
F 1800 10 *CF* 02
F 1827 22 *AP IIb* 03
F 1842 01 *FM I* 18
F 1854 32 *ATH* 17
F 1858 22 *AP IIb* 02
F 1869 22 *AP IId* 02
F 1870 23 *AP III* 09
F 1872 19 *WP IV* 29
F 1893 34 *DIO* 04
F 1901 Ch.3, n.5
F 1904 13 DIO 16
F 1909 22 *AP IId* 04
F 1923 19 *WP IV* 45
F 1998 18 *WP III* 64
F 2000 02 *FM II* 15, Ch.2, n.16, Pl. 3, text fig. 7d
F 2060 26 *AP V* 18
F 3987 Ch.2, n.25

Berlin, Staatliche Museen once
F 1655 Ch.1, n.19, Ch.3, n.29, Ch.6, n.5, text fig. 4
F 1689 Ch.5, n.21
F 1691 Ch.5, n.21
F 1795 Ch.3, n.54
F 1891 Ch.4, n.155, 156, 159, 162, 163
F 1903 Ch.5, n.144
F 2049 29 *AP VIa* 23, Pl. 21

Bern, Coll. Blatter
- 13 *CMH* 04

Beverly Hills, Coll. Silver
- 18 *WP III* 54

Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum
72.97.4 14 *CMM* 35
75.102.1 34 *DIO* 12

Bochum, Antikenmuseum Ruhr Universität
S1096 06 *HL III* 48

Bolligen, Coll. Blatter
- 16 *WP I* 10

Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico
41292 (?) Ch.3, n.41
Ar.7 34 *DIO* 28
C4 11 *MC* 51
C6 (3) 32 *A TH* 22
C20 07 *HL IV* 88
C21 (48) 11 *MC* 27
C63 32 *ATH* 26
GM1 25 *AP IV* 13
GM3 (33) 33 *WOb* 04
Palagi 1437 03 *HC II* 07

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
00.331 05 *HL II* 03, Pl. 4
01.8027 Ch.2, n.24
1979.614 07 *HL IV* 16
23.210 01 *FM I* 06, 32 *ATH* 18, Pl. 1
36.631 Ch.4, n.10
41.55 11 *MC* 69
62.1185 0 *CF* 06
63.473 03 *HC II* 33
67.1006 20 *AP I* 02, Pl. 16
68.46 18 *WP III* 16
68.105 12 *CH* 02
76.40 13 *CMH* 31
86.155 12 *CH* 44
89.257 12 *CH* 19
89.561 11 *MC* 09
89.562 Introduction, n.31, Ch.4, n.108, 126, 154
90.153 07 *HL IV* 33a-b
99.518 Ch.1, n.30, 41, 53
99.519 Ch.1, n.30, 53

Boulogne, Musée Communale
- 01 *FM I* 12
417 26 *AP V* 02
418 Ch.5, n.174, Ch.5, n.176
558 14 *CMM* 13

Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
515 Ch.5, n.234

Brussels, Coll. Theodor
5 19 *WP IV* 22

Brussels, Musées royaux Art et Histoire
A 199 14 *CMM* 33
A 1329 Ch.5, n.144
A 1375 11 *MC* 52
A 3090 27 *AP Va* 01, Pl. 19
R 288 19 *WP IV* 46

R 310 18 *WP III* 28
R 322 ter Ch.5, n.144

Bryn Mawr, College Archaeology Collection
R2446 P87 18 *WP III* 11

Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts
50.189 06 *HL III* 16
51.19 14 *CMM* 28

Bussum, Private collection
- 33 *WOb* 13

California, Coll. Dechter
12 33 *WOa* 03

Caltagirone, Museo Ceramica Coll.Russo-Perez
5477 Ch.5, n.221

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
32.10 28 *AP VI* 01, Pl. 20
G 55 06 *HL III* 75
G 56 32 *ATH* 15
G 59 05 *HL II* 01
G 105 Ch.4, n.210
GR5.1937 07 *HL IV* 80

Cambridge (MA), Fogg Art Museum
1959.218 13 *CMH* 11, Pl. 11
1969.14 06 *HL III* 06
2259 32 *ATH* 23

Cambridge (MA), Private collection
- 01 *FM I* 26

Capua, Museo Campano
144 (B) 32 *ATH* 08

Catania, Museo Civico Castello Ursino
- Ch.4, n.207, 209, 212

Charlecote, Fairfax-Lucy
- 12 *CH* 31
- 29 *AP VIa* 04

Charlottesville, Fralin Art Museum
1988.62 18 *WP III* 42

Chicago, Smart Museum of Art
1967115351 02 *FM II* 03

Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
67371 15 *WG* 06
Civica 1794 07 *HL IV* 48, 33 *WOa* 23, Pl. 6, Pl. 22
Paoloz 241 Ch.4, n.212

Christchurch, University of Canterbury
43/57 17 *WP II* 08

Civitavecchia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico
1319 19 *WP IV* 14

Cleveland, Museum of Art
15.533 Ch.2, n.24
29.979 06 *HL III* 57
1971.46 07 *HL IV* 29, Pl. 6

Columbia, Museum of Art and Archaeology
67.47 11 *MC* 75

Compiègne, Musée Vivenel
1034 19 *WP IV* 19
1041 01 *FM I* 44
1056 34 *GM* 05

Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet
1 33 *WOa* 26
112 12 *CH* 36
12.350 Ch.4, n.35
ChrVIII522 06 *HL III* 54
ChrVIII754 18 *WP III* 12
ChrVIII807 19 *WP IV* 32
ChrVIII809 31 *AP VIIb* 04, Pl. 21

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek
IN 2652(V?) 07 *HL IV* 10
IN 2654(V8) 28 *AP VI* 06
IN 2675(V6) 33 *WOa* 13
IN 2676(V7) 01 *FM I* 20

Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum
H545 25 *AP IV* 18
H553 06 *HL III* 93
H555 12 *CH* 40
H572 14 *CMM* 32
H573 14 *CMM* 30
H574 19 *WP IV* 35

Cortona, Mus.Accademia Etrusca
5 03 *HC II* 02

Cyrene, Archaeological Museum
- Ch.5, n.35
- Ch.2, n.8, 63
23.1 Ch.5, n.35
416.9 Ch.5, n.98

Dayton, Art Institute Museum
63.84 14 *CMM* 34

Delos, Archaeological Museum
593 03 *HC II* 01

Detroit, Institute of Arts
76.22 05 *HL II* 11

Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts
1207 Ch.2, n.24
CA 1296 33 *WOa* 10

Dublin, Classical Museum University College
109 (V4052) 05 *HL II* 05
471 (V4065) Ch.5, n.144

Dunedin, Otago Museum
E48.66 31 *AP VIIa* 01
E50.108 23 *AP III* 20

Düsseldorf, Hetjens-Museum
1962-29 12 *CH* 08

Edinburgh, National Museum
1872.23.12 32 *ATH* 28, Pl. 22

Eleusis, Archeological Museum
961 01 *FM I* 03

Erlangen, Antikensammlung Friedrich-Alexander-Universität
I459,4 03 *HC II* 21
I732,28 Ch.5, n.55
I1195,59ab 01 *FM I* 37
M439 23 *AP III* 12

Essen, Museum Folkwang
A175 05 *HL II* 08
A176 33 *WOa* 29

Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
T773 08 *HL V* 19

Fiesole, Collezione Costantini
- 06 *HL III* 62, Pl. 6
- 07 *HL IV* 44
- 14 *CMM* 06
- 18 *WP III* 56
- 23 *AP III* 23
- 34 *DIO* 44

Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
3773 04 *HL I* 04, Ch.3, n.12, Pl. 4
3790 19 *WP IV* 05, Pl. 15
3799 17 *WP II* 12
3805 25 *AP IV* 16
3809 11 *MC* 11
3826 13 *CMH* 20
3830 06 *HL III* 04
3837 23 *AP III* 19
3844 29 *AP VIa* 09
3855 11 *MC* 71
3858 11 *MC* 64
3866 34 *DIO* 14
3867 07 *HL IV* 55, Pl. 7
4209 15 *WG* 05, Ch.1, n.19, Ch.5, n.45, 61
70.994 12 *CH* 03
70.996 06 *HL III* 40
76.360 13 *CMH* 29
94.315 18 *WP III* 24
94.318 11 *MC* 47
94.321 07 *HL IV* 15
94.322 18 *WP III* 57
94.330 06 *HL III* 69
94.339 30 *AP VII* 07
94.344/45 12 *CH* 18
94.345 Ch.4, n.10
94.346 Ch.5, n.128
94.355 12 *CH* 38
94.752 11 *MC* 65

Frankfurt, Archaeologisches Museum
VF B 342 01 *FM I* 39, Pl. 2
VF B 345 26 *AP V* 09

Frankfurt, Liebighaus
Li 524 Ch.4, n.129, 154

ST V 1 29 *AP VIa* 17

Frankfurt, Sammlung Goethe-Universität
136 09 *CW* 03

Freiburg Market, Galerie Puhze
- 14 *CMM* 27
- 01 *FM I* 35, 18 *WP III* 40
- 27 *AP Vb* 01
- 11 *MC* 16
- 19 *WP IV* 39
- 11 *MC* 82
- 34 *DIO* 36
- 34 *DIO* 42

Freiburg?, Coll. Zimmermann
6 01 *FM I* 25
7 19 *WP IV* 41

Fulda, Schloss Fasanerie
1 05 *HL II* 04

Gela, Museo Archeologico Regionale
A.inv.11 33 *WOb* 18
A.inv.116 34 *DIO* 52
A.inv.328B 33 *WOa* 28

Geneva, Collection Chamay
- Ch.2, n.75

Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
5761 24 *AP IIIb* 01, 34 *DIO* 01, Pl. 18
I 802.1898 06 *HL III* 41
MF155 12 *CH* 24

Geneva, Private collection
- 22 *AP IIc* 03

Geneva Market, Christie's
- 30 *AP VII* 08

Geneva Market, once
- 03 *HC II* 12, 08 *HL V* 01

Geneva Market, Sycomore
- 32 *ATH* 30

Germany, Private collection
- 11 *MC* 31
- 27 *AP IVb* 02

Glasgow, Collection Burrell
19.139 33 *WOb* 19
19.68 13 *CMH* 07

Göteburg, Rohsska Museum
23-58 34 *DIO* 46

Gotha, Schlossmuseum
Ahv 30 14 *CMM* 15

Göttingen, Archäologisches. Institut Georg-August-Universität
k200a-n 06 *HL III* 28
K201a-m 23 *AP III* 14
K202a-d 19 *WP IV* 04
K203a-g Ch.3, n.5
K251 Ch.5, n.98
K252 Ch.5, n.98
K262 13 *CMH* 23b

Greece, Private collection
- 12 *CH* 42

Haifa, Nat. Maritime Museum
3102 01 *FM I* 41, 03 *HC II* 45

Hamburg, Coll. Lichtenhahn
- Ch.5, n.62

Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe
1917.471 Ch.2, n.68

Hannover, Kestner Museum
1977,40 16 *WP I* 07

Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes
223 25 *AP IV* 17
119 14 *CMM* 07

Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität
72/1 17 *WP II* 06
59/5 Ch.2, n.75

Hillsborough (CA), Coll. Hearst
7 33 *WOb* 06
8 23 *AP III* 11

Isleburg, Private collection
- 14 *CMM* 18, Ch.5, n.59

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum
A18-2550 Ch.5, n.35

Izmir, Archaeological Museum
3332 15 *WG* 04

Jar (Oslo), Coll. L. Amundsen
- 11 *MC* 80

Jena, Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst Fr.-Schiller-Universität
V185 13 *CMH* 21
V188 21 *AP II* 05
V189 17 *WP II* 28

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum
61/89 05 *HL II* 09, Pl. 4
69/61 Ch.4, n.210
B28 (172) 01 *FM I* 46

Kassel, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen
ALg14 07 *HL IV* 24, 18 *WP III* 26

Kavala, Museum
- Ch.4, n.7, 54

Kiel, Antikensammlung Kunsthalle
B507 14 *CMM* 20, Pl. 12
B594 06 *HL III* 56

Krakow, Czartoryski Museum
836 31 *AP VIIa* 06
1083 11 *MC* 33, Pl. 9

Kurashiki, Ninagawa Museum
- 34 *DIO* 02

Kyoto, Hashimoto Collection
29 18 *WP III* 60

Los Angeles Market, Summa Galleries
- 17 *WP II* 03

Laon, Musée de Laon
37891 01 *FM I* 45
37981 21 *AP II* 02
37982 01 *FM I* 09

Lausanne, Private collection
- 17 *WP II* 14

Lecce, Museo Archeologico Provinciale S. Castromediano
565 33 *WOa* 32

Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden
GNV 62 11 *MC* 78
PC 1 06 *HL III* 70
PC 33 29 *AP VIa* 16, Pl. 20
PC 44 16 *WP I* 09, Pl. 13
PC 63 07 *HL IV* 21
RO II 20 Ch.5, n.185

Leipzig, Antikenmuseum Universität Leipzig
T 49 05 *HL II* 12
T 3322 04 *HL I* 07
T 3323 04 *HL I* 06, Ch.4, n.3, Pl. 4
T 3328 14 *CMM* 19, Pl. 12
T 367 07 *HL IV* 11
T 4217 etc 34 *DIO* 23

Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts
InvAnt.100 33 *WOb* 01

Lipari, Museo Archeologico Regionale Eoliano
19000 (BA) 07 *HL IV* 28

Lisbon, Coll. M. Vinhas, Estoril
- 07 *HL IV* 65

London, British Museum
1893.7-12.12 07 *HL IV* 37
1894.7-18.1 13 *CMH* 06
1928,5-17 Ch.5, n.61
1971.11-1. 15 *WG* 01, Ch.5, n.45, Pl. 13
B147 12 *CH* 07 Pl. 10
B156 03 *HC II* 22
B160 17 *WP II* 09
B166 Ch.5, n.18
B174 18 *WP III* 08
B176 07 *HL IV* 76
B179 33 *WOa* 11, Pl. 22
B184 12 *CH* 45
B185 06 *HL III* 22
B197 03 *HC II* 08, 18 *WP III* 13
B199 21 *AP II* 10, Pl. 16
B200 05 *HL II* 19, 21 *AP II* 09
B201 22 *AP IIc* 08
B203 32 *ATH* 06
B204 12 *CH* 46
B206 34 *DIO* 17

B211 21 *AP II* 07
B212 03 *HC II* 10, 13 *CMH* 01
B230 22 *AP IIa* 05
B235 07 *HL IV* 71
B268 06 *HL III* 52
B274 08 *HL V* 11, Pl. 7
B275 Ch.3, n.75
B283 11 *MC* 73
B285 06 *HL III* 85
B294 07 *HL IV* 74
B298 18 *WP III* 68
B305 07 *HL IV* 20
B309 11 *MC* 58, Pl. 9
B310 09 *CW* 05, Pl. 7
B314 07 *HL IV* 60
B316 07 *HL IV* 14, Ch.2, n.24
B317 25 *AP IV* 19
B318 25 *AP IV* 10, Pl. 18
B319 23 *AP III* 03
B320 07 *HL IV* 64, 31 *AP VIIa* 03
B321 28 *AP VI* 07
B324 10 *CF* 07
B327 02 *FM II* 07
B329 03 *HC II* 28
B330 07 *HL IV* 25
B332 10 *CF* 12
B333 01 *FM I* 36, Pl. 1
B335 10 *CF* 08, Pl. 8
B336 07 *HL IV* 13, Pl. 6
B337 07 *HL IV* 56
B339 19 *WP IV* 06
B340 19 *WP IV* 18
B344 11 *MC* 38, Ch.4, n.127, Pl. 9
B360 06 *HL III* 31
B365 03 *HC II* 26, 09 *CW* 09
B379 Ch.5, n.16
B381 16 *WP I* 04
B399 05 *HL II* 15, 06 *HL III* 42
B424 Ch.5, n.19, 47, text fig. 6
B523 06 *HL III* 83

London, Victoria and Albert Museum
4795.1901 07 *HL IV* 22, 32 *ATH* 05

London Market, Bonhams
- 07 *HL IV* 40
- 11 *MC* 24
- 01 *FM I* 52
- 29 *AP VIa* 07

London Market, Christie's
- 33 *WOa* 20
- 06 *HL III* 61
- 18 *WP III* 37, Pl. 14
- 12 *CH* 30
- 22 *AP IIc* 10
- 25 *AP IV* 05
- 01 *FM I* 30, 11 *MC* 41
- Ch.5, n.128

London Market, Ede
- 33 *WOb* 12
- 06 *HL III* 63
- 11 *MC* 59
- 34 *DIO* 37
- 33 *WOc* 01

London Market, McAlpine
- 26 *AP V* 07

London Market, Sotheby's
- 01 *FM I* 29, 19 *WP IV* 02
- 22 *AP IIa* 03
- 05 *HL II* 07
- 03 *HC II* 29
- 11 *MC* 36
- 12 *CH* 27
- 13 *CMH* 25
- 06 *HL III* 64
- 12 *CH* 11
- 06 *HL III* 46
- 11 *MC* 05
- 30 *AP VII* 01
- 06 *HL III* 47
- 28 *AP VI* 04
- 27 *AP IVa* 02
- 28 *AP VI* 10
- 33 *WOb* 03
- 11 *MC* 63
- 33 *WOa* 30
- 34 *DIO* 49
- Ch.4, n.10
- 06 *HL III* 49
- 19 *WP IV* 28
- 18 *WP III* 51
- 29 *AP VIb* 01
- 17 *WP II* 16
- 01 *FM I* 15
- 01 *FM I* 31, 26 *AP V* 14
- 01 *FM I* 40
- 06 *HL III* 77
- 29 *AP VIa* 18
- 08 *HL V* 16
- 08 *HL V* 17
- 08 *HL V* 18
- 34 *DIO* 35
- Ch.4, n.59

(Hirschmann G40) 16 *WP I* 12

London Market, Spink
- 19 *WP IV* 20

London Market, Spink & Son
- 23 *AP III* 18

Los Angeles, County Museum of Art
50.8.5 06 *HL III* 36, 12 *CH* 32, Pl. 10
51.25.1 07 *HL IV* 03
M77.48.1 17 *WP II* 07

Luzern, Antikenmuseum, Sammlung Ludwig
LU 27 11 *MC* 34

Luzern Market, Ars Antiqua
- 25 *AP IV* 23

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts
1169 19 *WP IV* 34
X 492-8 33 *WOa* 31

Madison (WI), Elvehjem Museum
68.14.1 25 *AP IV* 20

Madrid, Museo Arqueologico Nacional
10902 05 *HL II* 14, 07 *HL IV* 27
10919 07 *HL IV* 01
10924 10 *CF* 13
10926 L53 04 *HL I* 08
1999.99.48 23 *AP III* 21
1999.99.52 17 *WP II* 01
1999.99.61 06 *HL III* 25
1999.99.68 18 *WP III* 47

Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg Universität
71 26 *AP V* 17

Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum
72 AE 148 19 *WP IV* 01, 22 *AP IId* 05, Pl. 15
75 AE 14 Ch.5, n.221
81 AE 200.3 17 *WP II* 22
86 AE 53 Ch.2, n.71
86 AE 82 11 *MC* 60
86 AE 85 25 *AP IV* 04
86 AE 103 Ch.5, n.35
86 AE 109 06 *HL III* 72
86 AE 117 11 *MC* 40
86 AE 119 07 *HL IV* 79
86 AE 411 Ch.2, n.75
96 AE 95 03 *HC II* 31, 06 *HL III* 71, 07 *HL IV* 68

Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum once, now Italy
96 AE 93 18 *WP III* 31

Mannheim, Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen
4 12 *CH* 47

Marathon, Archaeological Museum
K160 Ch.4, n.149, 157, 162, 199
K764a 32 *ATH* 01, 33 *WOa* 06

Marburg, Philipps-Universität
1009 05 *HL II* 02

Mariemont, Musée Royal
Ac 69/14 13 *CMH* 13

Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne Borely
3095 13 *CMH* 12
Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria
1729/4 18 *WP III* 09, Ch.4, n.108, 129, 154, 204
Mende, Musée Ignon-Fabre
- 06 *HL III* 26
Minneapolis, Institute of Art
57.1 22 *AP IId* 01, Pl. 17
61.59 03 *HC II* 24
Montauban, Musée Ingres
MI.87.4.29 33 *WOa* 05
Montpellier, Musée languedocien
142(SA131) 12 *CH* 43
Montreal, Coll. W. Banko
- 07 *HL IV* 18, 19 *WP IV* 17
Moscow, Pushkin Museum
II 1b (48) 34 *DIO* 30
II 1b 70 19 *WP IV* 03
II 1bdep50 22 *AP IIc* 02
M-1245 Ch.4, n.156
M-1318 Ch.4, n.10
Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen
1375 17 *WP II* 04
1376 12 *CH* 15
1379 03 *HC II* 15, Pl. 3
1381 06 *HL III* 08, Pl. 5
1396 13 *CMH* 08
1404 06 *HL III* 09, Pl. 5
1406 (J592) 18 *WP III* 61
1409 11 *MC* 49
1411 Ch.2, n.20, 59
1412 (J784) 23 *AP III* 13
1413 (J693) 07 *HL IV* 54, 18 *WP III* 58
1416 (J379) 30 *AP VII* 06, Pl. 21
1440 (J79) 01 *FM I* 02, Pl. 1
1474 13 *CMH* 10
1484 06 *HL III* 66
1492 12 *CH* 51
1516 29 *AP VIa* 10
1517 29 *AP VIa* 22
1522 01 *FM I* 33
1529 19 *WP IV* 50
1534 19 *WP IV* 49
1535 06 *HL III* 53
1537 31 *AP VIIa* 05
1578 25 *AP IV* 08, Pl. 18
1592 34 *DIO* 43
1602 07 *HL IV* 73
1608 11 *MC* 74
1686 23 *AP III* 25
1688 25 *AP IV* 07
1689 13 *CMH* 24
1690 10 *CF* 05
1694 07 *HL IV* 17
1695 12 *CH* 33
1696 01 *FM I* 22
1697 19 *WP IV* 25
1699 22 *AP IIc* 09
1701 12 *CH* 41
1703 14 *CMM* 31, Pl. 12
1706 06 *HL III* 76
1707 07 *HL IV* 09
1708 07 *HL IV* 59
1715 07 *HL IV* 63
1718 32 *ATH* 11
1720 Ch.2, n.40
1721 28 *AP VI* 09, Pl. 20
1729 11 *MC* 68, Pl. 10
1758 01 *FM I* 16
1760 19 *WP IV* 43
1762 34 *DIO* 31 Pl. 23
1778 19 *WP IV* 44
1785 32 *ATH* 25
2093 34 *DIWO* 03
2238 B 10 *CF* 01, Pl. 8
2239 Ch.3, n.54
2240 05 *HL II* 16, 06 *HL III* 43
2302 (J373) 27 *AP IVa* 01, Pl. 19
6568 Ch.2, n.13
8600 09 *CW* 02
8997 33 *WOb* 05
9002 13 *CMH* 16
9260 01 *FM I* 10
9436 06 *HL III* 44
o.N. Ch.5, n.53
SLoeb 460 03 *HC II* 27, 33 *WOb* 07, Pl. 3
Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, now Erlangen
J 692 18 *WP III* 32
M 425 01 *FM I* 17, Pl. 1
Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen once
1763 (J144) 02 *FM II* 04
Munich Market, Gorny & Mosch
- 02 *FM II* 09
- 11 *MC* 77
- 33 *WOb* 21
Münster, Socha Collection
- 03 *HC II* 20, 19 *WP IV* 07
Nantes, Musée Dobrée
D863-1-71 19 *WP IV* 12
Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
112846 11 *MC* 13
112847 19 *WP IV* 31
81168 17 *WP II* 11, 18 *WP III* 10, Pl. 13
81173 03 *HC II* 25
81174 11 *MC* 70
81176 12 *CH* 13, Pl. 10
81177 26 *AP V* 12, Pl. 19
81178 19 *WP IV* 21
81305 22 *AP IIa* 01, Pl. 16
81307 (H2837) 29 *AP VIa* 05
81308 19 *WP IV* 11, Pl. 15
85365 (RC210) 33 *WOb* 10
86319 (RC22) 18 *WP III* 27
86323 (RC20) 33 *WOa* 27
86330 (RC19) 06 *HL III* 55
86346 (RC188 34 *DIO* 53
86373 (RC25) 33 *WOb* 11, 34 *DIO* 20
86374 (RC56) 03 *HC II* 35
86376 (RC27) 22 *AP IId* 08
F81182 (SG 2394) 06 *HL III* 35
H 3358 (81083) Ch.2, n.17
M1201 28 *AP VI* 02
Sant 16 13 *CMH* 17
Sant 30 23 *AP III* 16
Sant 32 18 *WP III* 52
Sant 36 19 *WP IV* 38
Sant 38 12 *CH* 12, 14 *CMM* 12, Pl. 12
Sant 180 34 *DIWO* 02
Stg 186 25 *AP IV* 09
Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Coll. Spinelli
164183 (SP2079) Ch.5, n.109
Naples Market, once
- 03 *HC II* 39
Naxos, Museum (?)
- Ch.4, n.7
Neuss, Clemens Sels Museum
GV 1 14 *CMM* 10
New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery
1913.111 34 *GM* 03, Pl. 23
1913.110 Ch.2, n.71
New York, Brooklyn Museum
1991.204.2 06 *HL III* 33
New York, Coll. A .Pinney
- 08 *HL V* 06
New York, Coll. I. Woodner
- 29 *AP VIa* 11, Pl. 20
New York, Coll. Leon Levy
370 Ch.5, n.127, 144
New York, Coll. R. Lennox
- 25 *AP IV* 25
- 06 *HL III* 50
New York, Gallatin Collection once
- 19 *WP IV* 58
- 11 *MC* 81

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
06.1021.67 07 *HL IV* 52
06.1021.68A 12 *CH* 49
07.286.54 12 *CH* 10
07.286.76 09 *CW* 04
11.210.1 Ch.3, n.95
12.198.4 22 *AP IIc* 04, Pl. 17, text fig. 7c
14.105.10 01 *FM I* 24, 19 *WP IV* 08, Pl. 15
17.230.14 + 27.16 22 *AP IIc* 01, Pl. 17
17.230.7 25 *AP IV* 11
17.230.8 12 *CH* 21, Pl. 10
21.88.76 06 *HL III* 51
27.116 Ch.4, n.7, 22
41.162.30 Ch.5, n.20
41.162.64A-C,E 10 *CF* 15
41.162.167 34 *DIO* 51
41.162.174 23 *AP III* 07
41.162.184 02 *FM II* 01, Pl. 2
41.85.(1) 25 *AP IV* 12, Pl. 19
53.11.1 Ch.4, n.105
56.11.1 Introduction, n.58, Ch.4, n.3, text fig. 5
56.171.29 07 *HL IV* 61
56.171.8 11 *MC* 01, Pl. 8
58.32 26 *AP V* 04, Pl. 19
96.9.34 19 *WP IV* 52
96.9.9 05 *HL II* 20
98.8.9 18 *WP III* 63
99.13.1 11 *MC* 57
1977.11.2 Ch.4, n.38
1991.11.2 2 *CH* 16
1999.30a,b 11 *MC* 30, Pl. 8
X 21.26 29 *AP VIa* 03, Pl. 20
X 21.31 06 *HL III* 87

New York Market, -
- Ch.2, n.25

New York Market, Christie's
- Ch.5, n.36
- 33 *WOa* 08
- 01 *FM I* 08
- 18 *WP III* 22
- 07 *HL IV* 12
- 11 *MC* 15
- Ch.5, n.128
- 11 *MC* 48
- 25 *AP IV* 27
- 18 *WP III* 49
- Ch.5, n.185
- 13 *CMH* 28

New York Market, Phoenix Ancient Art
- 01 *FM I* 28

New York Market, Robert Myers
- 34 *GM* 01

New York Market, Royal Athena Galleries
- 13 *CMH* 26
- 11 *MC* 20
- Ch.5, n.144
- 11 *MC* 45
- 11 *MC* 35, 33 *WOa* 07
- 14 *CMM* 08
- 33 *WOa* 07, 11 *MC* 35
- 22 *AP IId* 06
- 06 *HL III* 24
- 14 *CMM* 03
- 27 *AP IVb* 01
- 11 *MC* 62
- 02 *FM II* 16
- 31 *AP VIIb* 02
- 08 *HL V* 14

New York Market, Safani Gallery
- 26 *AP V* 10

New York Market, Sotheby's
- 19 *WP IV* 42, Pl. 15
- 12 *CH* 01, 14 *CMM* 01
- 14 *CMM* 01, 12 *CH* 01
- 06 *HL III* 78
- 33 *WOa* 19
- 03 *HC II* 17
- 14 *CMM* 26
- 18 *WP III* 48, Pl. 14
- 28 *AP VI* 05
- 11 *MC* 72
- 21 *AP II* 08
- 32 *ATH* 24
- 07 *HL IV* 86

once Bastis 154 07 *HL IV* 66

Northampton, Castle Ashby
6 23 *AP III* 08, Pl. 18

Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum
70.11 06 *HL III* 58

Odessa, Museum of Western and Eastern Art
23369 25 *AP IV* 26

Olympia, Archaeological Museum
B 1654 Ch.2, n.13, 63, text fig. 3
B 1896 Ch.2, n.12
B 968 Ch.2, n.12

Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum
1924.8 Ch.5, n.144
1963.484 34 *DIO* 48
1965.166 06 *HL III* 60
44.1953 10 *CF* 04

Orvieto, Museo Civico
- 19 *WP IV* 55
315 18 *WP III* 05
578 19 *WP IV* 10
Faina 334 06 *HL III* 21

Orvieto, Museo Civico, Coll. Claudio Faina
2745 (187) 11 *MC* 22, 25 *AP IV* 01
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Composition in Athenian black-figure vase-painting: The 'Chariot in profile' *type scene*

G. Jurriaans-Helle

Summary

The main goals of this study were to gain insight into the *pictorial language* of Athenian black-figure vase-painting and to make clear that it obeyed certain rules, which were familiar to all Athenians in the 6th century BCE but which we can discover only by studying and analysing the surviving paintings. We can assume that contemporary Athenians had few problems understanding vase-paintings because they knew the conventions of their city's pictorial language intimately, so that a few elements or a specific combination of elements were sufficient for them to identify the whole picture. The starting point for this study is that knowledge of the pictorial language provides a better comprehension of the meaning of the representations.

In Chapter 1 I discuss some of the many studies on the iconography of ancient Greek vase-painting. Most of these studies take vases of high quality and bearing unique images as the starting point or centre of investigation. Contrariwise, this study focuses on mass-produced Athenian vases, which are often neglected in publications. In my opinion it is time to reassess these vases: the one thing shared by *all* Athenian vase-painters, whether they painted top quality or mass production, is their pictorial language. The large number of surviving mass-produced vases makes them particularly useful, as they all reflect the conventions of Athenian pictorial language and thereby provide vital statistical evidence for understanding the meaning of gestures, attributes, and other details, which makes it possible to deduce the rules of Athenian pictorial language and to recognise what is usual and normal, or unusual and exceptional.

While studying the vase-paintings I reached the conclusion that the visual artists' use of pictorial language resembles the way in which in oral poetry a singer tells the story by using *type scenes, formulaic verses,* and *epitheta ornantia* while adding, omitting, or varying details and names. Noting this resemblance, I deliberately use terms borrowed from literary studies of Homer's oral poetry like *type scene* (the compositional schema or general arrangement of a depiction), *subtypes*, and *typical elements* (*e.g.*, figure types, attributes, gestures, and other details). In addition to this, I believe that applying semiotic methods

developed for the study of literary texts is of great help in understanding the deeper meaning of the paintings and helps the modern viewer approach the intuitive knowledge of the ancient viewer.

My methodology is to select a *type scene* and make a list of as many representations as I can find, describing each painting systematically and completely, not determining or choosing beforehand which details may be important. Then, by charting *typical elements* and their regular combinations, I distinguish *subtypes* – and within them *variants* – and determine which of the *typical elements* define the meaning of the image and cannot be altered or left out without a change or loss of meaning. Finally I compare the results.

By focusing on the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile', this study encompasses only a fraction of the black-figure vase production of Athens. However, the methodology can be applied to any series of vase-paintings as long as the group is large enough to distinguish both *typical elements* and *variants.* An example is the case study presented in Chapter 2 of the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'. I argue that, depending on which *typical elements* are depicted, two *subtypes* can be distinguished: an organised fight of two warriors armed with spears (*subtype FM I*), and a quarrel – perhaps suddenly broken out during a symposium – of two men fighting with swords (*subtype FM II*). Originating in the first quarter of the 6th century BCE as a representation of an episode in the Theban War, the image loses its mythological meaning with the change, but eventually regains a new mythological identification – the quarrel of Aias and Odysseus over the arms of Achilleus – at the end of the century.

The *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' is compared with the s*ubtype HC II* 'Heracles and Cycnus separated' of the *type scene* 'Heracles and Cycnus'. In s*ubtype HC I* 'Heracles and Cycnus fighting' the fact that Cycnus is shown collapsing makes it clear that he will be defeated. After studying s*ubtype HC II,* I conclude that here the real opponent of Heracles, from whom he is separated by Zeus or Athena, is in most cases not the mortal Cycnus but the god Ares.

In Chapters 3 to 5 the *subtypes* of *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' are discussed. The first is the s*ubtype* 'Hoplites and other men leaving', with a hoplite and charioteer in or near the chariot, and representations with an unarmed man instead of the hoplite in or near the chariot (Chapter 3). Several *variants* can be distinguished that seem to have different meanings (*variants HL I – HL V*). Some seem to represent the departure of hoplites from home: the chariot with a charioteer mounting or standing in it and a hoplite mounting or standing near it indicate a departure, while the women, sometimes carrying little boys, and

old men standing nearby represent the family members who remain at home. In other compositions a departure to the battlefield rather than from home is probably depicted because only hoplites and archers stand nearby and the emphasis is on the military context. From the different *variants* it can be deduced that it was normal for the charioteer to mount first and then the hoplite; evidently, the most important person in the scene was the last to mount the chariot.

In other *variants* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' the emphasis is less on the departure and more on the fact that the men are making a journey or are part of a procession, because the *typical element* of someone mounting or approaching the chariot is not present. In *variants CH, CMH*, and *CMM* there are two men standing in the chariot, and in many depictions of *variant MC* a single unarmed man is standing in the chariot and holding the reins; in most examples there are no bystanders or only one.

On some early vase-paintings added details make it clear that the mythological story of the Departure of Amphiaraus is represented, such as name-inscriptions, the necklace of Eriphyle, and the mourning seer on the ground. In the second half of the 6th century BCE only rarely were mythological name-inscriptions added. However, these chariot paintings are not realistic depictions of daily-life events.

In Chapter 4 I discuss the s*ubtype* 'Wedding procession', with a woman as passenger in the chariot and a man holding the reins. In the first half of the century a number of large vases depict a row of chariots, representing the divine wedding guests driving to the house of the newlywed Peleus and Thetis on the morning after the wedding night (*variant WG*). Around the middle of the century the composition was reduced to a single chariot and the meaning of the picture changed into the bridal chariot with the groom bringing the bride to his house for the wedding night (*variant WP I*). In the second half of the century Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus were often shown accompanying the chariot, but Athena is only a few times depicted. To make it clear that a wedding procession was depicted objects from daily life such as packages, torches, and wreaths, were added as *typical elements.*

Several *variants* are distinguished. In *variant WP II* women carrying *typical elements* derived from daily life are present, but there are no recognisable gods. In *variant WP III* ambiguity about whether the event takes place in the mortal or divine world was created, because the daily-life *typical elements* are combined with gods. In the last quarter of the century all these *typical elements* could be omitted, and the emphasis is on the presence of the gods again, as the composition in itself with the chariot and some gods was apparently

sufficient to identify the meaning of the picture (*variant WP IV*). Because in most cases the bridal couple is shown standing in the chariot, the emphasis is on the journey they are making rather than on their actual departure or arrival. Occasionally the groom is shown mounting the chariot, while the bride waits in the chariot for the man who will be in charge of her and bring her to his home.

The bridal couple is often identified as Peleus and Thetis, based on the early representations of the procession of wedding guests at their wedding. In most cases, however, there is no indication who the bride and groom are or whether they are mortal or immortal, and in my opinion the vase-painter did not have a specific bridal couple in mind. The bride is usually shown pulling her mantle forwards and making the bridal gesture. There are a few paintings in which the woman in the chariot is bareheaded and other *typical elements* of wedding processions are missing, which makes it probable that on these vases the procession does not represent a wedding. By using the *typical composition* of the *subtype* 'Wedding procession' but omitting the bridal gesture, the painters made it clear that they were not depicting a wedding procession, but another event associated with marriage.

In Chapter 5 I discuss the *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles and divine departures', with Heracles and Athena in or near the chariot, to which I added some *variants* with anonymous people or gods or goddesses in the chariot. This *subtype* formed only in the second half of the 6th century BCE. The fact that Heracles' apotheosis coincided with his marriage to Hebe was the basis for *variants AP II* and *AP III*, where Athena is shown holding the reins and Heracles is standing beside her in the chariot, in a *typical composition* derived from that of *subtype* 'Wedding procession', implying that Heracles is being brought passively to his new life in Olympus just as a bride is brought to her new home. In *variant AP III* Athena as charioteer is shown mounting last, indicating that she has a higher status than the hero.

In *variants AP IV* and *AP V* Heracles is shown walking beside the chariot driven by Athena, in a *typical composition* that resembles *variant HL IV* of the *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. In *variant AP V* Heracles is walking towards the chariot, giving the impression that he is about to mount the chariot. The fact that in this *variant* Athena is waiting for Heracles to mount the chariot shows that the hero is the person in charge, which is a significant difference from *variant AP III.* In *variant AP IV* Heracles is shown walking *alongside* the chariot, usually looking backwards at Athena and sometimes making an urging gesture. Whereas in *variants AP III* and *AP V* the departure to Olympus is depicted, in *variant AP IV*

the arrival at Olympus is represented with Heracles already dismounted and on his way to enter Olympus.

In *variant AP VI* the roles are switched and Heracles is shown holding the reins and Athena is standing near the horses. The concept of the hero driving his own chariot to Olympus is new and shows the same development that can be seen in *variants AP IV* and *AP V*: Heracles is taking the initiative, either at the departure or the arrival.

In *variants AP III*, *AP IV,* and *AP V* Athena is depicted standing with one foot in the chariot. The differing interpretations – as a departure or an arrival – mean that the significance of a *typical element* is not always the same; it can change with its context. The *typical element* of a person standing with one foot in the chariot and the other on the ground, which in most contexts indicates that someone is *mounting* a chariot, in *variant AP IV* indicates that the person has arrived and is *dismounting*.

In *variants* with the *typical composition* of Heracles' *departure* for Olympus, Heracles may be replaced by an anonymous man in the company of Athena. It is noteworthy that there is no image showing Athena and an anonymous man with the *typical composition* of *variant AP IV*. Apparently, mortals could be depicted *departing* for Olympus, but not *arriving* there; that honour was reserved for Heracles.

Related to the depictions of *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' are representations – mostly dating to the end of the century – of gods driving chariots, usually Dionysus (*variant DIO*), Athena (*variant ATH*), and a goddess who is sometimes identified as Demeter or Artemis, but is in most cases unidentified, and who is associated with Apollo (*variant WOa*) or with Dionysus (*variant WOb*). It seems as if these compositions, with their rather timeless meanings, took the place of the more specific representations of processions during wedding ceremonies and religious festivals.

In Chapter 6 the change over time of the various *subtypes* of *type scene* 'Chariot in profil' are compared with each other and with the changes in the *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'. In both *type scenes* the earliest images, painted in the first half of the 6th century BCE, show mythological scenes. Towards the middle of the century these were transformed into depictions that were still heroic but with anonymous figures. In the second half of the century, elements from daily life were added and explicit references to the mythological world were sometimes omitted. At the end of the century, there was a renewed interest in mythological images, and name-inscriptions or a unique detail were sometimes added to a painting to make it clear that a specific myth was being depicted.

The conclusions of this investigation are that Athenian vase-painters composed their paintings according to a commonly understood system of pictorial language; that they were free to make variations, additions, and omissions, but they stayed within the boundaries of the system and did not randomly add or omit figures; that innovative compositions were based upon existing compositions with a related meaning, since new images had to be easily and quickly understandable by the public; and that *typical elements* could have different meanings depending on their context.

Finally, the vase-paintings with the *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' do not represent daily life. In many paintings ambiguity was deliberately created in which reality and mythological realm merge. The chariot, which was not used in Athenian daily life in the 6th century BCE, was the most important contribution to this ambiguity. It was used to make a painting explicitly *not* a representation of daily life, but rather of the 'passage' to a new phase in life. The images express the deeply rooted values of Athenian society and represent the *symbolic transition* of ordinary people to their destined positions in the social community of Athens: *i.e.,* men leaving their lives as civilians to join the army, young men on their way to become adults, and unwed people becoming wedded ones. The chariot is the *typical element* that points at this life transition.

In section 6.5 I attempt to connect the changes over time in the vase-paintings with historical developments in Athens.

In section 6.6 I consider the question of whether analysis of these 'Chariot in profile' vase-paintings provides a better understanding of their deeper meanings. Since I argue that the chariot scenes represent people proceeding to a new phase in their lives and the values of Athenian society, I propose to connect the vase-paintings – and especially those where *typical elements* that specifically refer to a departure or a wedding are missing – with the Apaturia, the festival of the Athenian *phratriai,* where these values and transitions were celebrated.

Composition in Athenian black-figure vase-painting: The 'Chariot in profile' *type scene*

G. Jurriaans-Helle

Samenvatting

Het doel van dit onderzoek was inzicht te verkrijgen in de beeldtaal (*pictorial language*) van Atheens zwartfigurig aardewerk en tevens aan te tonen dat daarin bepaalde regels bestonden waarmee alle bewoners van Athene in de 6de eeuw voor Christus vertrouwd waren, maar die wij – meer dan 2500 jaar later – alleen maar kunnen achterhalen door de bewaard gebleven vaasschilderingen te bestuderen. Wij mogen aannemen dat de Atheners van die tijd geen problemen hadden met het begrijpen van de afbeeldingen, omdat zij opgegroeid waren met de conventies van de beeldtaal van hun stad, zodat zij aan een paar details of een bepaalde combinaties van details genoeg hadden om de hele afbeelding te herkennen. Het uitgangspunt van dit onderzoek is dat wij wanneer wij de beeldtaal kennen, de afbeeldingen beter kunnen begrijpen.

In Hoofdstuk 1worden een paar van de vele studies over de iconografie van de antieke Griekse vaasschilderkunst besproken. Bij de meeste daarvan draait het om vazen van hoge kwaliteit voorzien van unieke afbeeldingen. Mijn onderzoek richt zich daarentegen op Atheense vazen die in massaproductie zijn vervaardigd. Deze krijgen in publicaties vaak weinig aandacht, maar naar mijn mening is het tijd voor een herwaardering: het enige wat *alle* Atheense vaasschilders – of ze topkwaliteit of massaproductie schilderden – gemeen hadden, is hun beeldtaal. Omdat er zoveel vazen bewaard zijn die *en masse* geproduceerd zijn, kunnen deze goed gebruikt worden bij het onderzoek naar de beeldtaal. Zij geven de conventies van de Atheense beeldtaal weer en leveren belangrijk statistisch bewijs om de betekenis van gebaren, attributen en andere details te begrijpen. Dat maakt het mogelijk om de regels van de Atheense beeldtaal af te leiden en te herkennen wat gebruikelijk en normaal is, of juist ongebruikelijk en bijzonder.

Gedurende mijn onderzoek ben ik tot de conclusie gekomen dat het gebruik van beeldtaal in de beeldende kunst gelijkenis vertoont met de manier waarop in orale poëzie de zanger die een verhaal vertelt, gebruik maakt van *type scenes, formulaire verzen* en *epitheta ornantia,* en daarbij details en namen kan veranderen, weglaten of toevoegen. Daarom gebruik ik termen die ontleend zijn aan literaire studies van Homerus' orale poëzie zoals

type scene (het compositie-schema of de algemene opbouw van een afbeelding), *subtypes*, en *typical elements* (zoals bijvoorbeeld verschillende vaste figuren, attributen, gebaren en andere details). Verder helpt het toepassen van semiotische methoden die voor de studie van literaire teksten zijn ontwikkeld, de moderne toeschouwer de intuïtieve kennis van de toeschouwer in de oudheid te benaderen en de diepere betekenis van de schilderingen te begrijpen.

Mijn methode houdt in dat ik een *type scene* uitkies en een lijst samenstel van zoveel mogelijk afbeeldingen als ik kan vinden; deze beschrijf ik systematisch en compleet zonder vooraf te kiezen of te bepalen welke details belangrijk zijn. Door deze *typical elements* en hun gebruikelijke combinaties in kaart te brengen, onderscheid ik *subtypes* met daarbinnen *varianten,* en bepaal ik welke *typical elements* essentieel zijn voor de betekenis van een afbeelding en niet zonder betekenisverlies veranderd of weggelaten kunnen worden. Tot slot vergelijk ik de resultaten.

Dit onderzoek richt zich op de *type scene* ´Chariot in profile´en beslaat maar een klein deel van de totale Atheense productie van zwartfigurige vazen. De methode kan echter toegepast worden op elke serie schilderingen zolang de groep groot genoeg is om *subtypes* en *varianten* te onderscheiden. Een voorbeeld is de ´case study´ van de *type scene* ´Fighting men separated´ die in Hoofdstuk 2 wordt behandeld. Afhankelijk van welke *typical elements* zijn afgebeeld kunnen twee *subtypes* worden onderscheiden: een georganiseerd duel van twee krijgers met speren (*subtype FM I*), en een ruzie – mogelijk tijdens een symposium – tussen twee mannen met zwaarden (*subtype FM II*). De afbeelding die in het eerste kwart van de 6de eeuw voor Christus een episode uit de Thebaanse oorlog voorstelt, verliest zijn mythologische betekenis in de tweede helft van de eeuw, en krijgt aan het einde van de eeuw een andere mythologische betekenis toegekend, de ruzie tussen Aias en Odysseus over de wapens van Achilles. De *type scene* 'Fighting men separated' wordt vergeleken met *subtype HC II* 'Heracles and Cycnus separated'zwa van de *type scene* 'Heracles and Cycnus'. Omdat in s*ubtype HC I* 'Heracles and Cycnus fighting' Cycnus bijna altijd wordt afgebeeld terwijl hij door zijn knieën zakt ten teken dat hij de strijd gaat verliezen, ben ik tot de conclusie gekomen dat in *subtype HC II* de echte tegenstander van Heracles van wie hij wordt gescheiden door Athena of Zeus, in de meeste gevallen niet de sterfelijke Cycnus is, maar de god Ares.

In de Hoofdstukken 3 tot en met 5 worden de *subtypes* van *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' besproken. In het eerste s*ubtype* 'Hoplites and other men leaving' staan een hopliet en een wagenmenner in of bij de wagen; hier zijn afbeeldingen met een ongewapende man in

plaats van een hopliet in of bij de wagen aan toegevoegd (Hoofdstuk 3). Er kunnen meerdere *varianten* worden onderscheiden die verschillende betekenissen lijken te hebben (*variants HL I – HL V*). Sommige lijken het vertrek van de hopliet vanaf huis weer te geven: de wagen met de menner die opstapt of er al in staat, en een hopliet die opstapt of bij de wagen staat, wijzen op een vertrek, en de vrouwen, soms met een klein kind op arm, en de oude mannen die bij de wagen staan, geven de familieleden weer die thuis blijven. In andere vaasschilderingen is eerder het vertrek naar het slagveld dan van huis afgebeeld, omdat alleen hoplieten en boogschutters bij de wagen staan en de nadruk op de militaire context ligt. Uit de verschillende *varianten* kan worden afgeleid dat normaliter eerst de menner opstapt en dan de hopliet. Kennelijk stapt de belangrijkste persoon als laatste op.

In andere *varianten* van het *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving' ligt de nadruk minder op het vertrek en meer op het feit dat de mannen onderweg zijn of deel uitmaken van een processie, omdat het *typical element* van iemand die opstapt of naar de wagen loopt, ontbreekt. In de *varianten CH, CMH* en *CMM* staan twee mannen in de wagen en in de vele afbeeldingen van *variant MC* staat een enkele ongewapende man in de wagen met de teugels in handen: in de meeste gevallen zijn er geen andere figuren – of hooguit één – afgebeeld.

Op enkele vroege vaasschilderingen maken toegevoegde details, zoals naaminscripties, het halssnoer van Eriphyle en de ziener die zit te treuren op de grond, duidelijk dat de mythe van het Vertrek van Amphiaraus is afgebeeld. Hoewel in de tweede helft van de 6de eeuw voor Christus maar zelden mythologische naaminscripties zijn toegevoegd, zijn deze wagenscènes geen realistische voorstellingen van het dagelijks leven.

In Hoofdstuk 4 bespreek ik het s*ubtype* 'Wedding procession', met een vrouw als passagier en een man aan de teugels. In de eerste helft van de eeuw is op een paar grote vazen een rij wagens afgebeeld die de stoet van de goddelijke bruiloftsgasten naar het huis van de pasgetrouwde Peleus en Thetis weergeeft op de ochtend na de huwelijksnacht (*variant WG*). Rond het midden van de eeuw werd de compositie teruggebracht tot één enkele wagen en veranderde de betekenis: de afbeelding geeft nu de wagen weer waarmee de bruidegom zijn bruid naar zijn huis brengt voor de huwelijksnacht (*variant WP I*). In de tweede helft van de eeuw werden Apollo, Hermes en Dionysus vaak afgebeeld als begeleiders van de wagen, terwijl Athena slechts een paar keer aanwezig is. Om duidelijk te maken dat het om een bruiloftstoet ging, werden voorwerpen uit het dagelijks leven, zoals pakketten, toortsen en kransen toegevoegd als *typical elements.*

Verschillende *varianten* kunnen worden onderscheiden. In *variant WP II* zijn vrouwen die aan het dagelijks leven ontleende *typical elements* dragen, aanwezig; er zijn geen herkenbare goden afgebeeld. In *variant WP III* worden voorwerpen uit het dagelijks leven gecombineerd met goden, waardoor een zekere ambiguïteit werd gecreëerd en het niet duidelijk is of de gebeurtenis in de goden- of de mensenwereld plaatsvindt. In het laatste kwart van de eeuw konden al deze *typical elements* worden weggelaten en ligt de nadruk weer op de aanwezigheid van de goden: kennelijk was de compositie met de wagen en enkele goden op zich voldoende om de betekenis van de afbeelding thuis te brengen (*variant WP IV*). Omdat in de meeste gevallen het bruidspaar in de wagen staat, ligt de nadruk meer op de tocht die zij maken dan op hun eigenlijke vertrek of aankomst. Er zijn een paar vaasschilderingen waarin de bruidegom opstapt en de bruid in de wagen wacht op de man aan wie zij ondergeschikt is en die haar naar zijn huis zal brengen.

Het bruidspaar wordt vaak geïdentificeerd als Peleus en Thetis op grond van de vroege afbeeldingen van de optocht van de gasten bij hun huwelijk. In de meeste gevallen echter is er geen aanwijzing wie de bruid en bruidegom zijn en of zij sterfelijk of onsterfelijk zijn, en had naar mijn mening de vaasschilder niet een speciaal bruidspaar in gedachte. Op de meeste afbeeldingen maakt de bruid het 'bruidsgebaar': zij trekt haar mantel als een sluier over haar hoofd langs haar wang naar voren. Er zijn echter een paar schilderingen waarin de vrouw in de wagen blootshoofds is en ook andere *typical elements* van een bruiloftstoet ontbreken; dat maakt het waarschijnlijk dat in deze gevallen de stoet niet een huwelijk voorstelt. Door de *typical composition* van het *subtype* 'Wedding procession' te gebruiken, maar het bruidsgebaar weg te laten, maakten de schilders duidelijk dat zij niet een bruiloftstoet afbeeldden, maar een andere gebeurtenis die met het huwelijk te maken had.

Het *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles and divine departures', met Heracles en Athena in of bij de wagen, wordt besproken in Hoofdstuk 5; hieraan heb ik enkele *varianten* toegevoegd waar anonieme mensen of goden of godinnen in de wagen staan. Dit *subtype* ontstond pas in de tweede helft van de 6de eeuw voor Christus. Het feit dat de Apotheose van Heracles samenvalt met zijn huwelijk met Hebe was de basis voor de *varianten AP II* en *AP III,* waar Athena de teugels in handen heeft en Heracles naast haar in de wagen staat. Deze *typical composition* is afgeleid van die van het *subtype* 'Wedding procession' en impliceert dat Heracles passief naar zijn nieuwe leven op de Olympus wordt gebracht, net als een bruid naar haar nieuwe huis. In *variant AP III* is Athena afgebeeld terwijl zij als menner als laatste opstapt, wat aangeeft dat zij een hogere status heeft dan de held.

In de *varianten AP IV* en *AP V* loopt Heracles naast de wagen die door Athena wordt gemend en lijkt de *typical composition* op die van *variant HL IV* van het *subtype* 'Hoplite leaving'. In *variant AP V* loopt Heracles naar de wagen toe waardoor de indruk wordt gewekt dat hij de wagen zal bestijgen. Het feit dat in deze *variant* Athena in de wagen staat te wachten tot Heracles opstapt, laat zien dat de held nu de leiding heeft, wat een belangrijk verschil is met *variant AP III*. In *variant AP IV* loopt Heracles met de wagen mee: meestal kijkt hij om naar Athena en soms maakt hij een aansporend gebaar. Terwijl in de *varianten AP III* en *AP V* het vertrek naar de Olympus is afgebeeld, is in *variant AP IV* de aankomst op de Olympus weergegeven met Heracles die al afgestapt is en op weg is om de Olympus te betreden.

In *variant AP VI* zijn de rollen omgedraaid: Heracles houdt de teugels in handen en Athena staat naast de paarden. Het concept van de held die zijn wagen eigenhandig naar de Olympus rijdt is nieuw en laat dezelfde ontwikkeling zien die in de *varianten AP IV* and *AP V* zichtbaar is: Heracles neemt het initiatief, of het nu bij het vertrek of de aankomst is.

In de *varianten AP III*, *AP IV,* en *AP V* staat Athena met één voet op de wagen. De verschillende interpretaties – als vertrek of als aankomst – laten zien dat de betekenis van een *typical element* niet altijd hetzelfde is en kan veranderen met de context. Het *typical element* van iemand die met één voet op de wagen staat en de andere op de grond, geeft in de meeste gevallen aan dat iemand *op* de wagen *stapt*, maar in *variant AP IV* dat de persoon is aangekomen en *afstapt*.

In *varianten* met de *typical composition* van Heracles' *vertrek* naar de Olympus kan hij vervangen worden door een anonieme man in gezelschap van Athena, Het is opmerkelijk dat er geen afbeelding bekend is van Athena en een anonieme man in de *typical composition* of *variant AP IV*. Kennelijk konden stervelingen wel worden afgebeeld bij hun *vertrek* naar de Olympus, maar niet bij hun *aankomst*; die eer was voorbehouden aan Heracles.

Verwant met de afbeeldingen van het *subtype* 'Apotheosis of Heracles' zijn de vaasschilderingen – meestal te dateren tegen het einde van de eeuw – van goden die hun wagens mennen, gewoonlijk Dionysus (*variant DIO*), Athena (*variant ATH*), en een godin in wie soms Demeter of Artemis herkend kan worden, maar die in de meeste gevallen niet wordt geïdentificeerd; zij wordt met Apollo (*variant WOa*) of met Dionysus (*variant WOb*) geassocieerd. Het lijkt of deze afbeeldingen, met hun tamelijk tijdloze betekenissen, de plaats hebben ingenomen van de meer specifieke weergaven van processies bij huwelijken en religieuze festivals.

In Hoofdstuk 6 worden de veranderingen in de loop van de tijd van de verschillende *subtypes* van *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' vergeleken met elkaar en ook met de veranderingen in de *type scene* 'Fighting men separated'. In beide *type scenes* laten de vroegste afbeeldingen, geschilderd in de eerste helft van de 6de eeuw voor Christus, mythologische scènes zien. Tegen het midden van de eeuw werden deze omgevormd tot afbeeldingen die nog steeds heroïsch van karakter zijn maar waarin de figuren anoniem zijn. In de tweede helft van de eeuw werden elementen van dagelijks leven toegevoegd en werden soms expliciete verwijzingen naar de mythologische wereld weggelaten. Aan het einde van de eeuw was er een hernieuwde belangstelling voor mythologische afbeeldingen, en werden soms naaminscripties of een uniek detail toegevoegd om duidelijk te maken dat het om een bepaalde mythe ging.

De conclusies die op grond van dit onderzoek kunnen worden getrokken, zijn dat Atheense vaasschilders hun schilderingen componeerden volgens een algemeen begrepen systeem van beeldtaal; dat zij vrij waren om te variëren, toe te voegen en weg te laten, maar dat zij binnen de grenzen van het systeem bleven en niet zomaar figuren toevoegden of weglieten; dat innovatieve composities gebaseerd waren op bestaande composities met een verwante betekenis, omdat nieuwe beelden gemakkelijk en snel begrepen moesten worden door het publiek; en dat *typical elements* afhankelijk van hun context verschillende betekenissen konden hebben.

Tot slot, de vaasschilderingen met de *type scene* 'Chariot in profile' geven niet het dagelijkse leven weer. In veel schilderingen is met opzet ambiguïteit gecreëerd en lopen realiteit en mythologische wereld door elkaar. De wagen, die in het Atheense dagelijks leven van de 6de eeuw voor Christus niet werd gebruikt, leverde de belangrijkste bijdrage aan deze ambiguïteit. Hij diende om een schildering expliciet *niet* een weergave van het dagelijks leven te maken, maar eerder van de 'passage' naar een nieuwe fase in het leven. De beelden drukken de diepgewortelde waarden van de Atheense samenleving uit en geven de *symbolische overgang* weer van gewone mensen naar hun voorbestemde posities in de sociale gemeenschap van Athene: dat wil zeggen, mannen die hun burgerlijke bestaan verlaten om zich bij het leger te voegen, jonge mannen op weg naar volwassenheid en ongehuwde mensen die getrouwde mensen worden. De wagen is het *typical element* dat naar deze overgangen in het leven verwijst.

In sectie 6.5 probeer ik de veranderingen over de tijd in de vaasschilderingen te verbinden met historische ontwikkelingen in Athene.

In sectie 6.6 ga ik in op de vraag of de analyse van deze 'Chariot in profile' vaasschilderingen een beter begrip van hun diepere betekenis oplevert. Aangezien ik stel dat de wagenscènes mensen weergeven die op weg zijn naar een nieuwe fase in hun leven, en tevens de waarden van de Atheense samenleving, doe ik het voorstel om de vaasschilderingen – en speciaal die waarin de *typical elements* die specifiek naar een vertrek of huwelijk verwijzen, ontbreken – te verbinden met de Apaturia, het festival van de Atheense *phratriai*, waar deze waarden en overgangen werden gevierd.

Cover:

Hydria, attributed to the Euphiletos Painter, c. 525 BCE (18 *WP III* 46).

Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, 15765 (on loan from a private collection).

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