The Theseus Painter
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IX. DEITIES

1. Introduction

A relatively minor place is occupied by the Olympian gods in the Theseus Painter’s imagery. His standard representations of them are rare; for example, he is known only once to have depicted Hera, Aphrodite and Athena in a Judgement of Paris (Berlin 2005, Cat. no. 144, pl. 46 c). His minor deities are even rarer. Five vases and a fragment show Apollo, four times accompanied by muses who are identified by the sole attribute of the krotala. The subject is very common in Attic black-figure where, however, Apollo plays the kithara, not the lyre as seen in two of Theseus Painter’s pictures (London B 346, St. Petersburg 4498, Cat. nos. 71, 159, pls. 30 a-b, 50 a). A lekythos in a private collection shows Apollo pursuing Tytios (Cat. no. 125, pl. 38 a-b). One example is unpublished (Cat. 116). According to Beazley, the unpublished fragment Athens, Acropolis 847 (Cat. no. 209), illustrates Apollo with a ‘goddess’, who could easily be a counterpart of the aforementioned muses. In addition, also the central left-hand figure of the heavily restored Madrid kalpis (Cat. no. 160, pl. 50 b) is probably Apollo, again furnished with a lyre and accompanied by muses.

Hephaistos is the central figure of the Theseus Painter’s gigantomachy on the Goulandris lekythos (Cat. no. 126, pl. 38 c-e). It is one of the few examples of this event, in either black- or red-figure, in which Hephaistos plays a prominent role. The figure riding a donkey on the pelike in Port Sunlight might also represent Hephaistos (Cat. no. 153, pl. 48 c-d), although Dionysos seems more probable (see below).

The Theseus Painter portrayed only three other Olympian deities in larger numbers and with greater iconographic versatility: Athena, Dionysos, Hermes.

2. Athena

The protectress of Athens actually plays a relatively minor part among the Theseus Painter’s Olympian gods. Nevertheless, she appears several times, often supporting heroes like Herakles and Theseus. She is also included in cultic representations.

Several skyphos fragments from the Athenian Acropolis show Athena (Acropolis 1265, 1307, 1312, Cat. nos. 82-83, 85, pl. 35 a-b, e, h). Parts of her face and helmet are visible, as well as owls, cocks, snakes or altars. In one case, a column (of a temple?) is also seen (pl. 35 a). As standard accessories of the city-goddess, all these features recur over a wide range of Athenian vases; compare for example the owls accompanying her on numerous lekythoi and oinochoai by the Athena Painter, and a lekythos by the same painter showing the goddess accompanied by cocks. The fragment Acropolis 1307 (Cat. no. 85, pl. 35 h) preserves the upper part of the head and fist of a man turned to the right. He carries an object on his shoulder that is hard to identify. It seems to be a low basket with zigzag rim in white, filled with something indicated by parallel incised lines. The object is certainly not a kanoun or similar ritual object, but looks rather like the baskets borne on a pole on side A of the skyphos Athens, NM 12531, depicting a procession. It also slightly resembles offerings carried in the processions of Tampa 86.52 and Stuttgart KAS 74 (Cat. nos. 40-41, pl. 17 b, d). On the Acropolis fragment the man seems to move towards Athena who is indicated by a partial helmet and spear. Presumably the subject is therefore a

533 See LIMC II, s.v. 'Apollon', nos. 689-715, and pp. 268-69, for the difficulty of distinguishing maenads from muses accompanying Apollo. See also A. Queyrel, 'Un lecytho à figures noires avec Hermes, Apollon et des Muses', AntK 28 (1985) 157-60.
534 See LIMC II, s.v. 'Apollon', nos. 1066-76.
536 Athens, NM 1138 (ABL 257,73); Kansas City, Atkins Museum (ABL 257,74, Para 260; Neils, Goddess and Polis, 148, no. 7); Acropolis 2339 (ABL 256,38); Acropolis 2338 (ABL 256,39); Dresden ZV 1700 (ABL 257,75); Amsterdam 3754 (Para 262, Beazley Addenda' 131); London market (Sotheby's London, Dec. 1988, lot. no. 14); Marburg (ABL 258,106; Para 260).
537 Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery G479 (ABL 256,34; ABV 522; Neils, Goddess and Polis, 182-83 no. 55).
538 CVA Athens 4, pl. 28.
procession of the type occasionally met in the work of other painters: a group of people moving towards Athena, who is possibly seen standing at an altar. 539 Curiously, however, the standing Athena of the Theseus Painter’s fragment would be moving in the same direction as the procession, that is, to the right, as the tail of her crest is on the left-hand side of her helmet, whereas in the parallel pictures she instead faces the approaching procession. Neither is her pose that of Athena Polias or Athena Promachos as on procession vases by other painters, as she is on the one hand not seated, her helmeted head is at about the same height as that of the figure carrying offerings. On the other she hand has her spear leant against her shoulder, and not raised in an attacking gesture, which would be necessary to identify her as a promachos figure. On the lekythos New York 25.189.1 by the Brygos Painter she stands similarly with a spear over her shoulder. 540 The partial altars of two fragments - Acropolis 1311 and the Hague 2135 (Cat. nos. 84, 113, pl. 35 g) - have been interpreted as belonging to Athena because of their resemblance to the altars in the above-cited Athena processions.

On the kalpis Uppsala 352 (Cat. no. 161, pl. 51 a) a youth is seen leading a horned sheep (possibly a ram) to an altar on which a large owl stands and in front of which there is a white bird. A bovine with a red ribbon in its horns, either an ox or cow, as the gender is unclear, stands to the right of a column which presumably represents a temple. The significance of the scene is uncertain. In the eastern frieze of the Parthenon we see that the similar combination of oxen and rams as sacrificial animals (assuming these horned sheep are indeed rams) poses problems of interpretation because the ram is not considered a suitable sacrificial animal to Athena. In turn, this might suggest that the different animals will be offered to different deities, perhaps simultaneously.

On the Uppsala kalpis at least one of the animals would be intended for Athena, who is doubtless evoked by the owl on the altar. But the simultaneous sacrifice of sheep/ram and cow/ox could lead to different interpretations of the other animal’s intended deity. C. Melldahl and J. Flemberg mention several earlier suggested possibilities in connection with the Parthenon, 542 one of which is rather attractive in connection with the Uppsala kalpis and which might be applied to it: the simultaneous sacrifice of a bovine to Athena, represented by the owl on the altar, and of a sheep to Pandrosos, the daughter of Kekrops who apparently had a sanctuary on the Acropolis, perhaps symbolised by the single column, and for whom sacrificial law demanded that for every bovine sacrificed to Athena a sheep had to be offered to her. 543 However, Melldahl and Flemberg’s suggestion seems not to be widely accepted. 544 An additional problem is the lack of a firm parallel to the Uppsala kalpis. The closest Melldahl and Flemberg come, is a hydria by the Nikoxenos Painter portraying Athena seated with another female figure in front of her, and with an altar and a bull under a temple roof supported by a column. A further fundamental question is whether the Uppsala kalpis and the Parthenon frieze can rightly be compared to each other in the light of the wide artistic and chronological gap separating them. Nevertheless, the comparable basic components in both representations - sheep/ram, ox/cow and a sacrifice - may well be significant.

A ritualistic or cultic content may also be found in the Theseus Painter’s scenes of Athena pouring from an oinochoe into a phiale held by a resting Herakles, an act which recalls the pouring of libations (London 1902.12-18.3; Dresden ZV 1680; Mt. Holyoke 1925 BS.II.3; Basle, Kambli; probably Agora P 1550-1 and Oria OR 502-645; possibly Gioia del Colle; Cat. nos. 18-21bis, 92, pls. 8 d-e, 9, 37 b; for other interpretations see the chapter on Herakles below). Many of the vases with this or similar scenes by other painters are contemporaneous with the Theseus Painter’s, although there are also later examples. Most of them show Herakles and Athena standing instead of seated as portrayed by the Theseus Painter.

Cultic context must almost certainly be part of the scene of Delos 6.140 (Cat. no. 72, pl. 30 c-d): Athena

539 See LIMC II, s.v. ‘Athena’, nos. 574, 577. Also Berlin St. 1686, ABV 296,4; Para 128; Beazley Addenda* 77, name-vase of the Painter of Berlin 1686. See esp. Van Straten, Hiera Kala. 14-18.
540 ABV* 384,211; Para 366; Beazley Addenda* 228.
541 Simon, Festivals, 61. According to Van Straten, Hiera Kala, 16-17, these scenes refer strictly to a sacrifice for Athena: “a traditional sacrifice in the Old Temple (i.e. at that time the ‘Erechtheion’) probably consisted of cows and an equal number of sheep.”
542 Like the Dipolieia and Erechtheus, Melldahl and Flemberg, 73-78.
543 Melldahl and Flemberg, 78. See also LIMC I, s.v. ‘Aglaurus, Herse, Pandrosos’, 284; Neils, Pride, 182. Also Deubner, Attische Feste, 25-28, 27; Simon, Festivals, 61.
544 The Uppsala kalpis is not mentioned in this respect by P. Demargne, in LIMC II. However, it is noted twice in LIMC II, s.v. ‘Athena’, nos. 200, 581, but apparently not in connection with Pandrosos.
545 Formerly market, ABV 393,20; Melldahl and Flemberg, fig. 18; BeazleyAddenda*, 103.
receives Herakles in her sanctuary', shaking his hand, and, on the reverse, Hermes and either Iris or Nike stand holding phiale and oinochoe. Possibly the same or a similar scene appears on Delos 6142 (Cat. no. 73, pl. 31 a-b): Athena between cocks on rectangular pillars. Both of these vases return below in the chapter on Herakles, which see.

Many of the above-mentioned scenes illustrate Athena's main role in the work of the Theseus Painter as the protectress of Herakles. The same is evident on a vase where she figures as a bystander while the hero performs one of his deeds: the fight against Alkyoneus (Taranto 4448, Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 c). She occupies a more central place in Boston 21.277 (Cat. no. 145, pl. 46 d-e) where she stands with Herakles and Hermes, without any narrative action, and in Acropolis 1280 where she shakes hands with Theseus before the labyrinth (Cat. no. 76, pl. 32 a). Berlin 2005 (Cat. no. 144, pl. 46 e) presents her as one of the participants in the Judgement of Paris. The latter is the only situation in which the Theseus Painter depicted Athena as related neither to Athenian cult nor to heroes she accompanies.

3. Dionysos

The Theseus Painter's second most frequently portrayed Olympian god is Dionysos. Of all the gods - with the possible exception of Hermes - he seems to be the painter's favourite. However, the Theseus Painter relatively seldom represented Dionysos in the scenes most often met in the work of other Attic black-figure painters: the thiasos with satyrs and maenads. The subject occurs three times only: London B 513 (Cat. nos. 166, pl. 53 a-c); once Basle market (Cat. no. 198, pl. 61 c-d); Collisani lekythos (Cat. no. 134, pl. 42 a-c).

Other more common Dionysian themes are seen on the pelike Port Sunlight 5019 (Dionysos and Ariadne seated, Dionysos or Hephaistos on a donkey, with a satyr, Cat. no. 153, pl. 48 c-d) and the cup London B 446 (Heraclys and Dionysos reclining, see below, Cat. no. 173, pl. 55 d). The unpublished skyphos once in Basle (Cat. no. 108) shows Dionysos and Hermes walking with satyrs who play aulos and carry a wineskin and a pointed amphora, as found on many of the Theseus Painter's other vases.

On three of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi the figure held by a female sea monster can be identified as Dionysos (Bonn 1646; Basle, Cahn collection HC 918; Berlin 4528; Cat. nos. 68-69, 115, pl. 29 a-b). She has the same long fishtail of the more common male Tritons or the earlier depictions of Nereus, either alone or wrestling with Herakles.546 The composition is very similar to that of Marseilles 7017, with Herakles fighting Triton (Cat. no. 23, pl. 10 c-d).547 Insofar as known, the subject of Dionysos and a sea monster is further without parallel, although some later representations link Dionysos with Nereids.548 Beazley stated that the "Triteness may be Eurynome", a fishtailed daughter of Okeanos.549 However, no relation is known to exist between Eurynome and Dionysos. In LIMC, moreover, the Theseus Painter's skyphoi are not mentioned in connection with Eurynome.550

The Theseus Painter's other Dionysian scenes seem solely to centre on ritual. Renowned because of the rarity of their subject outside the circle of the Theseus Painter are his two skyphoi portraying Dionysos in a ship-cart (Acropolis 1281, London B 79, Cat. nos. 2, 8, pls. 2 a, 4 a). It has been pointed out that the figure of Dionysos may actually represent a man or a statue clothed as the god. The wheeled cart in the form of a ship also carries two seated satyrs, or people dressed as satyrs, who make music. The opposite side of the London skyphos shows a procession of men leading an ox (pl. 4 b). Side B of the Acropolis skyphos has been lost.

Only few other representations of Dionysian ship-carts are known to exist. A similar skyphos with a ship-
cart almost identical to those by the Theseus Painter's is assigned to the White Heron Group, which, as remarked, is closely related to him (Bologna Pu 130, Cat. no. N46). On side B it illustrates a slightly more elaborate procession which includes a *kanephoros* and men seated on stools. Next, a fragment in Tübingen preserves the frontal part (boar's head) and part of the body of what might be a Dionysian ship-cart; too little of the piece remains to establish an attribution or date. Finally, a large lead sheet, possibly discovered in Montagna di Marzo, also depicts a scene which is thematically almost identical to the Theseus Painter's: Dionysos with satyrs in a ship-cart and other satyrs who accompany them. Any link between the skyphoi and the lead sheet remains unclear, however: Were the skyphos representations possibly influenced by such lead sheets or the other way around? Do they go back to a common model? Stylistic analysis, it seems, cannot offer any answers. Another puzzle regards the lead sheet's function. It has been variously identified as the decorative cover of a coffin or an altar. It has also been proposed that, in fact, it might be a fake.

Outside the Greek world similar ship-carts occur in pictures of Egyptian processions which, it has been suggested, possibly had some influence on the Greek representations.

The ship-cart pictures are clearly religious or cultic and may therefore have been associated with at least two festivals. First of all, there is the Anthesteria, the three-day spring festival in the month of the same name. At this festival the new wine was opened and a procession took place which commemorated the arrival of Dionysos from the East by ship, announcing the new spring. The ship-cart pictures possibly show such a procession with actors reenacting the arrival of Dionysos. Unfortunately, no Athenian references to this part of the festival have survived, and it is even uncertain if such a procession did take place during this festival, but Boardman and others propose that we have approximated similar processions connected to the Anthesteria which are known to have taken place in several Ionian cities, including Smyrna. Secondly, attempts have also been made to identify the Theseus Painter's ship-cart scenes as illustrations of festivities in the great Dionysia. In neither instance, however, our knowledge of the festival corresponds entirely with the images of the vase-paintings.

Dionysos' association with ships is, of course, more widely attested in vase-painting. The pictures of Dionysos with satyrs in a ship with boar's-head prow on a neck-amphora in Tarquinia (678) and a cup in Berlin (St. 2961) possibly show parallel the subject of the ship-cart scenes while referring, moreover, at the same time to the story of Dionysos and the Tyrrhenian pirates as illustrated by Exekias inside his Munich cup. Accordin to G.M. Hedreen, the meaning of the ship-cart pictures might be comparable to that of the Exekias cup and the Tarquinia neck-amphora (678), namely a 'pirate-performance': "[... ] mimetic

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551 According to Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 171, the animal head at the front of the ship-cart is rather a she-dog than a boar.
552 For no. S.10 1497, *CVA* Tübingen 3, pl. 6.4; Göttlicher, *Kultschiffe*, 105, fig. 60. It is unclear whether the fragment belongs to a skyphos or another shape. In the CVA it is said to be part of a closed shape, whereas other sources consider it a skyphos fragment. The latter might be based on the fact that all other known vases with this representation are skyphoi.
556 Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 166. Also the new peplooi of Athena might have been transported by ship-cart, modelled like the Dionysian type: Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 167; N. Robertson, 'The origin of the Panathenaeae', *RhM* 128 (1985) 288-295.
558 See Simon, Festivals, 92-100.
559 Debner, *Attische Feste*, 103; Boardman, *Egypt*, 4-12; Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen*, 92, and n. 442, about the possible reference to a ship-cart procession found in Tyrina. In the opinion of Kerényi, the Smyrna festival must even descend from a much more important Athenian festival. Insofar as traceable, the Smyrna festival very much differed from the Theseus Painter's ship-cart representations; Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 168.
560 The earliest is A. Frickenhaus, 'Der Schiffskarren des Dionysos in Athen', *Jdlll* 27 (1912) 61-79. See also *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Dionysos', nos. 827-29, comment on 502; Kerényi, *Dionysos*, 175; N. Robertson, 'The origin of the Panathenaeae', *RhM* 128 (1985) 288-95.
561 *CVA* 1, pl. 5.1, 3; Hedreen, *Silens*, pl. 23.
562 *ABV* 639,100; *Beazley Addenda* 145, Leafless Group, Whitworth Painter (?).
563 Munich 2044: *ABV* 146,21; *Para 60*; *Beazley Addenda* 41; Hedreen, *Silens*, 68.
performance in which the story is reenacted with the aid of a mock ship". K. Kerényi goes even further by suggesting that the portrayals of Dionysos either on a ship or in a ship-cart must be considered a synthesis of all aspects of Dionysos which are related to ships in any way, including the pirate story as well as the god's arrival from overseas and whatever cultic elements may be involved. Importantly, in his opinion the scenes of ship-carts on skyphoi must not be considered references to a specific Dionysian festival or ritual; instead they would generally reflect Dionysian cult, possibly with elements of all the god's festivals combined. However that may be, it remains striking that such an apparently important subject as Dionysos in a ship-cart occurs on so few vases and within such a small circle of painters.

On two of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, Mississippi 1977.3.69 and Acropolis 1286 (Cat. nos. 7, 114, pl. 3 c, e), Dionysos sits in a two-wheeled donkey-cart. Unfortunately, the Acropolis fragment is known only from a description by E. Langlotz; 564 the picture, however, must be very similar to that of the Mississippi skyphos. These scenes are also often thought to be related to a festival like one mentioned in connection with the ship-cart. 565 In Omaha 1936.484 (Cat. no. 197, pl. 62 a) Dionysos mounts a chariot in the presence of a winged goddess, possibly Nike.

The subject of the skyphos Athens, NM 498 (Cat. no. 80, pl. 34 e) is rather common in the latest Attic black-figure and in red-figure from the early 5th century B.C. onwards: a mask of Dionysos attached to a column, surrounded by a dancing satyr and maenad. The reverse (pl. 34 f), illustrates a procession or komos, with the Theseus Painter's characteristic amphora-bearer. Such a Dionysian mask is found on many late black-figure lekythoi and a few cups connected to the Haimon Group, some black-figure skyphoi and oinochoai as well as several red-figure cups, pelikai and kraters. It is especially prominent on many red-figure stamnoi from the later fifth century B.C. onwards (often with only women standing around the image of 'Dionysos'). The same subject recurs on a cup by Makron and Hieron showing a maenad who holds a skyphos which looks very similar to skyphoi of the Heron Class (fig. 82 a). 566 All this might indicate that the Heron Class skyphoi had a ritual function, as further explored in the last chapter.

The representation of the Dionysian mask is generally seen as linked to the Lenaia festival, although the Anthesteria has also been proposed. 567 The discussion was initiated by M. Nilsson and L. Deubner. More recently, however, scholars prefer to consider these images within a more general religious/Dionysian context, avoiding the identification of a specific festival at all, 568 as also proposed for the ship-cart

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564 See the description mentioned in n. 192 above. Graef and Langlotz, Acropolis, 144, also link it to a cultic context, whether similar to the one of the Dionysian ship-cart or not: "Auch hier wird man die Darstellung eines attischen Kultbrauches vermuten, doch lässt sich das Fest nicht "bestimmen." 565 See F. Brommer, 'Zu einem Dionysosfest', AA 1985, 25-27. See also J.H. Crouwel, Chariots and other Wheeled Vehicles in Iron Age Greece, Allard Pierson Series vol. 9 (Amsterdam 1992) 95; Lehnstaedt, Prozessionsdarstellungen, 102-103, suggests the eisagoge or Dionysioi Eleutheroi.

566 Berlin 2290 (ARV 462,46, 481, 1654; Para 337; Beazley Addenda 244); N. Kunisch, Makron, Mainz 1997, 197-98, no. 345, pl. 116-117). For the skyphos, held by one of the maenads see also E. Simon and M. and A. Hirmer, Die griechischen Vasen (Munich 1976) 121-123; W. Oenbrink, 'Ein "Bild im Bild" – phänomen: Zur Darstellung figürlich dekorierten Vasen auf bemalten attischen Tongefässen', Hephaiostos 14 (1996) 95 fig. 15, 99, 127, 130, no. 83. Both note the 'old-fashioned' shape returning in a subsequent representation. The shape of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi, however, are not so much older. Some of the skyphoi in the CHC Group (ABV 617-20, 711; Para 310-13; Beazley Addenda 144) are also generally dated more or less contemporaneously with the Makron cup. The Berlin cup belongs to Makron's "Hauptwerk II" (N. Kunisch, Makron, Mainz 1997, 197-98, no. 345), whereas his early work is dated around 490 B.C. See Kunisch, Ibid., 18-21.


568 Frontisi-Ducroux and Peirce; see the preceding note.
representations, as we have seen above. In addition, the provenances of the vases with both kinds of Dionysian subjects might lend further support to such a non-specific interpretation, as they were apparently not made exclusively for the Athenian market. Whereas many of the black-figure examples came to light in Athens or sites somewhere in Greece, most of those in red-figure turned up in Italy. 569

In contrast to the other vases with Dionysian masks, the Athens skyphos (NM 498) has an uncommon figure: a fully clothed satyr turned to the right who might actually be a man dressed up as a satyr (pl. 34 e). Whereas the Theseus Painter’s other satyrs are naked, this one wears a wreath and even boots, and carries a thyrsos. In addition, none of the other vases with Dionysian masks shows the kind of procession seen on side B of the Athens skyphos. The Athens skyphos has received two interpretations. Either the two sides are thematically one, that is, a komos and a Dionysian festival, or they form an integral scene of a procession approaching its goal: the statue of Dionysos. In the view of Kerényi, the Athens skyphos must be the first such depiction of this festival, which might account for its divergence from the other vases with a Dionysian mask. 571 Indeed, it seems to be earlier than all other examples in either black- or red-figure,” 570 as I assign it to the Theseus Painter’s transitional phase, around 495-490 B.C.

4. Hermes

The Theseus Painter often depicted Hermes in a role similar to Athena’s, namely as companion or supporter of heroes or other personages (the latter will be discussed in more detail in the chapters concerning such figures). On two skyphoi showing Athena regaling Herakles, Hermes plays aulos (Dresden ZV 1680, Mt. Holyoke 1925.BS.II.3, Cat. nos. 19-20, pl. 9 a-e). He also plays aulos on side B of the skyphos Delos 6140 (Cat. no. 72, pl. 30 d), where he and Iris or Nike are present as 'Athena receives Herakles in her sanctuary'. Further, he stands beside Herakles and Athena on the lekythos Boston 21.277 (Cat. no. 145, pl. 46 d-e, Hermes not illustrated). On side B of Taranto 4448 (Cat. no. 14, pl. 6 d), where Herakles fights Antaios or, more probably, Alkyoneus, Hermes drives cattle. And on St. Petersburg 4498 (Cat. no. 71, pl. 30 a) he accompanies nymphs and a satyr.

Several other skyphoi and a cup of the Theseus Painter probably show Hermes reclining with Herakles on the ground. Whether they are reclining outdoors or inside is uncertain: on the one hand branches of a tree are visible which would suggest an outdoor environment, on the other a bow and quiver are hanging suspended in the air as if attached to a wall, which suggests that they are inside a room (Agora P 1545; once Helgoland, Kropatschek collection; Bari, Cotecchia collection; Agora P 1543; side A of Delos 6138; once U.S. art market; London B 446, Cat. nos. 25-28, 74-75, 173, pls. 11 e-f, 12, 31 c, 33 c 55 f). On the London cup and the U.S. market skyphos the likely Hermes figure wears a (wingless) petasos. But as other attributes are not included on any of the vases in question Hermes cannot be definitely identified in a single instance. Moreover, other mythological figures are sometimes furnished with a petasos, including Perseus, Peleus 572 and, as seen on the Theseus Painter’s oinochoe Louvre F 342, Odysseus and his companions (Cat. no. 165, pl. 52 c-d). However, none of these characters is a likely companion for Herakles. Therefore Hermes seems the only possible choice, especially considering the many other vase-paintings showing him in the presence of Herakles, in all of which his petasos, it seems, is not winged. 573

Hermes is unambiguously represented on the Theseus Painter’s lekythos which was once in the Philadelphia market (with winged hat, Cat. no. 127, pl. 39 b). He reclines in the cave of Pholos, posed as in the above-mentioned portrayals with Herakles.

In the above-mentioned skyphoi, where the reclining companion of Herakles is bareheaded (Cat. nos.

569 See the provenances of vases in the catalogue of Frontisi-Ducroux, Le dieu-masqué, esp. her chapter concerning the red-figure stamnoi, 67-100.

570 See Kerényi, Dionysos, 281-83.

571 The Berlin Makron cup with a similar scene must be slightly later. See n. 566 above.

572 For Perseus see, for example, the skyphoi by the 'Painter of Rodin 1000': Paris, Rodin 1000; once Hamburg, private coll.; Harvard 60.324 (Cat. nos. N39-41). For Peleus see, i.a., Berlin St. Mus. 1900 (ABV 385,27; Beazley Addenda 102; LIMC VII, s.v. 'Peleus', no. 196).

573 See also Brommer, Vasenlisten 7, nos. A 3-5; Brommer, Herakles II, 144; LIMC IV, s.v. 'Herakles', nos. 1495-99; LIMC V, s.v. 'Hermes', nos. 548 a-d; Wolf, Herakles, 30-34.
25-28, 74, pls. 11 e-f, 12 a-b, d-e, 31 c) and has no attributes, he may nevertheless be identified as Hermes. The compositions of the U.S. market skyphos, the Philadelphia market lekythos and the London cup, in which Herakles' companion wears a petasos (Cat nos. 75, 127, 173, pls. 33 c, 39 b, 55 f) and those of Herakles reclining with a bareheaded man are largely identical. An additional argument in favour of identifying the bareheaded men as Hermes is that a petasos hangs from a tree, together with a sword and/or a mantle. The hanging petasos occurs even if the figure next to Herakles is actually wearing one, as on the skyphos once in the U.S. market (Cat. no. 75, pl. 33 c).574 Furthermore, we see a hanging petasos only on these vases with Herakles and specifically these reclining figures. In the work of the Theseus Painter, furthermore, we see a hanging petasos only on these vases with Herakles and specifically these reclining companions.

If all the subject identifications are correct, the Theseus Painter was responsible for eight of the ten entries in S.R. Wolf's list of pictures of Herakles and Hermes reclining (including the scene in the photoles).575 The two other vases are a lekythos fragment by the Gela Painter and a cup by the red-figure Ambrosius Painter.576 In Bologna C 44 (Cat. no. 9, pl. 4 c-e), moreover, the figure which reclines in similar fashion and is provided with a wingless petasos may also be Hermes, who is here accompanied by a satyr and goats.

The Theseus Painter also presented Hermes in a more distinctive role. In the Conservatori skyphos Hermes reclines on a goat or a ram (Cat. no. 70, pl. 29 c, d). There are few parallels in Attic vase-painting, the most important one being by the Berlin Painter.577 They might have a religious association, as advanced by H. Hoffmann: "On other vases the ram as 'heroic sacrificial victim' - or ideal 'traveller' across the frontier from this world to the 'Other' - is seen as the vehicle of transport of various deities who by their very nature mediate, or commute between worlds."578 The subject might be repeated on the fragments Delos 6667 (Cat. no. 86, pl. 35 l-k) showing Hermes' winged boots and parts of a goat.

5. Nereus/Poseidon

Among the Theseus Painter's sea deities, the identity of one is debated: a white-haired male figure with trident, mounted on a winged seahorse (New York 17.230.9, Cat. no. 3, pl. 2 b). Haspel's identified him as Poseidon, as did G.M.A. Richter and F. Brommer.579 M. Pipili, however, sees Nereus, distinguishing a small group of vases with this maritime god as based on white hair; black hair, in her view, is more suitable for the younger Poseidon.580 Otherwise, iconographic elements that might help to differentiate the deities are nearly identical.

It must be noted, however, that the hair of the New York sea god seems to be yellow rather than white like his garment (pl. 2 b). The yellow colour might mean that the Theseus Painter intended to give the figure fair hair, which is not appropriate for Nereus. On the other hand, if we keep in mind the painter's apparent predilection for added yellow, the colour may be no more than a decorative substitute for white. In any event, it is probably safest to keep this figure among the representations of Nereus. Comparable figures are seen on

574 See also Wolf, *Herakles*, 31-34.
575 Wolf, *Herakles*, nos. sf. 34-40, 43-44, rf. 2. See also Bologna C 44 (Cat. no. 9, pl. 4 c-e), Hermes reclining with satyrs. See also Schauenburg, *Silene*.
576 Agora P 2648 (*ABV* 473,167; *Beazley Addenda* 119; Wolf, *Herakles*, no. sf. 34), Gela Painter; Florence 73127 (*ARV* 173.4; Wolf, *Herakles* no. rf. 2), Ambrosius Painter, dated 510-500 B.C., thus not earlier than the vases by the Theseus Painter.
577 Stamnos by the Berlin Painter, Louvre CA 944 (G 185) (*ARV* 207,142, 1633; *Beazley Addenda* 194). Also a black-figure neck-amphora (name-vase) by the Painter of London B 288 (*ABV* 593.1). See also *LIMC* V, s.v. 'Hermes', nos. 254-57. The Theseus Painter seems to be the only vase-painter who made a series of this subject.
578 H. Hoffmann, 'ΥΒΠΙΝ ΟΡΘΕΙΑΝ ΚΝΩΑΛΑΞΩΝ', in D. Metzler et al. (eds.), *Antidoron, Festschrift für Jürgen Thimme* (Karlshue 1983) 65. See also the representations of Dionysos on a ram; *LIMC* III, s.v. 'Dionysos', no. 438.
579 *ABV* 250.22; Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge 1953) 75, pl. 57b; Brommer, *Vasenlisten Göttersagen*, 41, no. 4.
580 *LIMC* VI, s.v. 'Nereus', no. 15, see also comment on p. 836. This was previously implicitly hinted at by Beazley; see *ABV*, mythological index, 727, 'Nereus'.

96
some of the Athena Painter's vases. Because of their black hair, they are said to represent Poseidon. Few other black-figure pictures are similar.

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581 Compare the following lekythoi: Athens, NM 5893 (ABL 254,1); New Haven, Yale Univ. Art Gall. 1913.112 (ABL 255,26; S. Matheson Burke and J.J. Pollitt, Greek Vases at Yale, Yale University Nov. 19 1975 – Jan. 18, 1976, 33-37, no. 36; LIMC VII, s.v. 'Poseidon', no. 157); Yale Univ. Art Gall. 1913.112 (Karouzou, Satyroi, 58-71 pl. 23,3-4); Munich 1558 (ABL 255,18); Oxford 247 (ABL 255,19, pl. 44,4; Boardman, ABFV, fig. 250), all depict Poseidon on a seahorse, very similar to the 'Nereus' of the Theseus Painter's skyphos, all by the hand of the Athena Painter.

582 LIMC VI, s.v. 'Nereus', nos. 13-15. no. 13: Louvre F 145; no. 14: London 1836.2-24.66 (ABV 381,297; Para 164; Beazley Addenda' 101; no. 15, Theseus Painter's New York skyphos). Also LIMC VII, s.v. 'Poseidon', nos. 155-157. No. 155 is Louvre F 145, also indicated as Nereus no. 14; nos. 156-57 are Oxford 247 and New Haven, Yale Univ. Art Gall. 1913.112 by the Athena painter (see the preceding n.). See also ABV 381 (LIMC VII, s.v. 'Nereus' no. 14), 488 (Athens 12953, recalls the Haimon Painter, Nereus), 500,50 (Nicosia C 732, Class of Athens 581, Poseidon), 558,468 (Copenhagen, Haimon Group), 560,511-12 (Baden, Ros and Harrow, both Poseidon), 586 (San Simeon 9492, unknown) and 703 (Theseus Painter's New York skyphos); Para 238 (Delphi, Class of Athens 581, unknown). The earliest representations of Poseidon on a seahorse are in Corinthian; see LIMC VII, s.v. 'Poseidon', nos. 153-54. In red-figure the scene is less common; see LIMC VII, s.v. 'Poseidon', 463 with no. 158. See also Brommer, Göttersagen, 41-42.