

HERAKLES AND THE HYDRA IN ATHENS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

(PLATE 26)

TWO NON-JOINING FRAGMENTS of an Attic black-figured kantharos (Pl. 26) from Naukratis, in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, are important for both their shape and their subject.¹ First, these fragments add yet another kantharos to the already relatively large number of early Attic kantharoi that have been unearthed at the sanctuaries at Naukratis.² Second, and of greater consequence, the kantharos in Alexandria shows a familiar subject, the death of the Hydra at the hands of Herakles, in an early and apparently unique manner.

The myth of Herakles and the Hydra is known in literature as early as Hesiod (*Theogony*, lines 313–318):

τὸ τρίτον Ὑδρην αὖτις ἐγείνατο λυγρὰ ἰδυίαν
Λερναίην, ἣν θρέψε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη
ἄπλητον κοτέουσα βίη Ἑρακληΐη.
καὶ τὴν μὲν Διὸς υἱὸς ἐνήρατο νηλεὶ χαλκῷ
Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης σὺν Ἀρηιφίλῳ Ἰολάῳ
Ἑρακλῆς βουλῆσιν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης.

¹ M. S. Venit, *Greek Painted Pottery from Naukratis in Egyptian Museums* (American Research Center in Egypt Catalogs, vol. 7 [Ancient Naukratis Project, vol. 6]), Winona Lake 1988, no. 290, p. 86 and no. 290a, p. 193; pl. 65, nos. 290a and b. Permission to publish the fragments in Alexandria was generously granted by Dr. Dia Abou-Ghazi, former Directress of Egyptian Museums. I thank her and Youssef el-Gheriani, former Director of the Graeco-Roman Museum, and Doreya Said, the current Director of the Museum, for their assistance. I thank Evelyn B. Harrison, Mary B. Moore, and Linda J. Roccas for the contributions that they have made to this article; all mistakes in fact or judgment remain my own.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Amandry and Amyx = P. Amandry and D. A. Amyx, "Héraclès et l'Hydre de Lerne dans la céramique corinthienne," *AntK* 25, 1982, pp. 102–116
Brize, *Geryoneis* = P. Brize, *Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst*, Würzburg 1980
Fittschen = K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagedarstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1969
JHS 49, 1929 = J. D. Beazley and H. G. G. Payne, "Attic Black-figured Fragments from Naukratis," *JHS* 49, 1929, pp. 253–272

² In addition to the kantharoi cited in footnote 35 below, early kantharoi from Naukratis include: 1) Oxford G 565: *CVA*, Oxford 2 [Great Britain 9], pl. 3 [404]:12; second quarter 6th century. Figures. 2) Oxford G 137.9: *CVA*, Oxford 2 [Great Britain 9], pl. 3 [404]:11; second quarter 6th century. Zeus to right. Inscribed: ΙΕΥΞ. 3) Cambridge N 211: *CVA*, Cambridge 2 [Great Britain 11], pl. 21 [500]:28; 2nd quarter 6th century. Warrior. 4) London, B.M. 1914.3-17.7 and 1965.9-30.795-7: *JHS* 49, 1929, p. 263, no. 7 and pl. 17:4 (part); ca. 550 B.C. Palmette festoon on the cul; of the subject, only the end of a chiton is preserved. 5) London, B.M. B 601.48: *JHS* 49, 1929, p. 263, no. 36, pl. 15:28; 550–540 B.C. Gigantomachy.

Two fragments come from vases that are probably kantharoi: 1) Cambridge N 129: *CVA*, Cambridge 2 [Great Britain 11], pl. 21 [500]:29; second quarter 6th century. Chariot. 2) London B 601.19: *JHS* 49, 1929, p. 263, no. 38, pl. 14:20; ca. 540 B.C. Dionysos.

... thirdly [the Snake-goddess] bore the grim Hydra of Lerna which Hera the goddess with white arms fostered to gratify her implacable hostility to the might of Herakles. But Herakles the son of Zeus and the son of Amphitryon killed this monster with his pitiless sword, aided by warlike Iolaos and instructed by Athena, the goddess of plunder.³

The confrontation of Herakles and the Hydra is also one of the earliest myths that can be identified with certainty in art.⁴ A gem dated to the end of the 8th century from Kato Phana on Chios has been interpreted as a possible representation of the scene,⁵ but a Boeotian bow fibula⁶ dating from the opening decade of the 7th century gives the first indisputable example. On the fibula, two figures attack a six-headed snake from the left. The larger figure, undoubtedly Herakles, holds the snake's body just below its branching necks and draws back his sword as a crab nips at his foot; below Herakles, the smaller figure of his nephew Iolaos attacks the body of the beast with a *harpe*(?). The fish that dominate the scene recall the watery domain of the Hydra, and the inclusion of Iolaos and the crab (the latter not mentioned by Hesiod) shows that the visual iconography of the myth is already partly established by the opening decades of the 7th century.

During the 7th century the myth is depicted on catchplates of other Boeotian fibulae,⁷ on an ivory relief from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia,⁸ a Cretan relief plaque,⁹ a fragment of a tripod leg from Olympia,¹⁰ and on early Corinthian vessels.¹¹ By the close of the century the Peloponnesian treatment of the scene has been established: Herakles, armed with a sword, confronts the Hydra from the left, while Iolaos attacks the monster with a *harpe* from the right.¹² Three Early Corinthian aryballoi with inscriptions confirm the identity of the two figures.¹³ On Corinthian vases the symmetrical configuration, with the addition of

³ Hesiod, *Theogony*, N. O. Brown, trans., New York 1953, p. 62. Brown does not think that this section is original to the poem, but the fact that the early iconography of the myth follows Hesiod's account so closely argues for the inclusion of the passage.

⁴ See Fittschen, pp. 147, 213–221. J.-J. Maffre ("Le combat d'Héraclès contre l'hydre de Lerne dans la collection de vases grecs du Louvre," *RLouvre* 1985 [pp. 83–95], p. 92, note 3) provides an extensive bibliography on the myth.

⁵ *BSA* 35, 1934/35, p. 151, pl. 31:39; see Fittschen, p. 147, no. SB 27.

⁶ London, B.M. 3205, from Thebes: Fittschen, p. 147, no. SB 28.

⁷ Philadelphia, private collection; Heidelberg University: see Fittschen, p. 148, nos. SB 29 and SB 30.

⁸ Oxford: Fittschen, p. 149, no. SB 33.

⁹ Herakleion: Fittschen, p. 148, no. SB 31.

¹⁰ Olympia B 5800: Fittschen, p. 148, no. SB 32; *BCH* 90, 1966, pl. 12:1.

¹¹ See *Heldensage*³, p. 81 and Amandry and Amyx.

¹² The fragmentary Transitional Corinthian lebes in Athens from Vari (D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, "Dinos corinthien de Vari," *Ἀρχ'Εφ* 1970, pp. 86–113, pl. 33; Amandry and Amyx, p. 102, no. 1, fig. 1:1) shows an early example of the symmetrical configuration of the scene. For Early Corinthian examples which show the complete iconography, see Athens, Canellopoulos 392 (*Heldensage*³, p. 81, no. C 10; Amandry and Amyx, fig. 1:3), dated *ca.* 600 (*ibid.*, p. 102), and once Breslau (Payne, *NC*, p. 127, fig. 45:a; *Heldensage*³, p. 81, no. C 1; Amandry and Amyx, fig. 1:4), dated 600–595 (*ibid.*, p. 102).

¹³ Corinth C-71-321, Amandry and Amyx, fig. 1:2, dated 610–600 (*ibid.*, p. 102); Athens, Canellopoulos 392 (footnote 12 above); once Breslau (footnote 12 above).

Athena,¹⁴ flanking chariots, females, or riders, is maintained throughout the history of the depiction of the myth.

Although Herakles' encounter with the Hydra appears with relative frequency in the Peloponnese, presumably because of the localization of the tale, in Athens depictions of the myth are notably rare. Brommer lists 34 examples of the subject in Attic black figure¹⁵ to which at least two more should be added.¹⁶ Furthermore, although Herakles and the Hydra is among the oldest myths rendered in visual form in other regions, it is evidently only at the end of the second quarter of the 6th century, closely following the construction of the poros pediment on the Akropolis that celebrates the scene, that it enters the Attic vase painter's repertoire. The Alexandria version is a rare exception: an Attic representation of the myth that apparently precedes its depiction on the Akropolis poros pediment.¹⁷

Schuchhardt, Dinsmoor, and Beyer have addressed the problems of the few Archaic foundations that remain on the Akropolis and the physically unconnected, but evidently related, remains of architectural sculpture: the low-relief pediment with Herakles and the Hydra, the two depictions of Herakles and the Triton (or Nereus), the Introduction of Herakles into Olympos, the so-called Bluebeard (or Triple-bodied Monster), the "Olive Tree pediment", the "Birth of Athena", and the various lion, lioness, and bull groups, and related sculpture.¹⁸ The modest size of the Hydra pediment (5.40 m. long; 0.80 m. high at its center) permits its attribution to one of the *oikemata*, but neither the location nor the function of the building to which it belonged is clear.

The Hydra pediment (Fig. 1) is carved in very low relief (0.03 m.) on the six blocks that formed the tympanum. Herakles, placed on the left central block of the pediment, strides to right to attack the Hydra. The hero wears a cuirass carved with anatomical details and, over his right shoulder, a baldric from which hangs a sheathed sword. In his right hand he raises

¹⁴ Athena's name is inscribed behind the female figure who stands back of Herakles on the aryballos once in Breslau (footnote 12 above).

¹⁵ *Heldensage*³, pp. 79–80; 35 are listed by Brommer, but p. 79, nos. A 7 and A 10 are the same vase (see *Paralipomena*, p. 39, Frankfurt University 136). The meaning of Boulogne 406 (*Heldensage*³, p. 79, no. A 14) is questionable, as noted by Brommer, *Heldensage*³, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Agora P 20029 (M. B. Moore and M. Z. P. Philippides, *The Athenian Agora*, XXIII, *Attic Black-figured Pottery*, Princeton 1986, pl. 86, no. 1155); *Heldensage*³, p. 81, no. B 14 (Sotheby) is black figured (for the latter reference see K. Schauenberg, "Die Einkopfige Hydra," in Στήλη. Τόμος εις μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολεόντος, Athens 1980, p. 97, note 21).

¹⁷ Athens, Akropolis Museum no. 1; Ἀρχ' Ἐφ 1884, pl. 7; T. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, Kassel/Leipzig 1904, pp. 192–195; M. S. Brouskari, *Musée de l'Acropole. Catalogue descriptif*, Athens 1974, pp. 29–30, pls. 14–17.

¹⁸ W.-H. Schuchhardt, "Archaische Bauten auf der Akropolis von Athen," *AA* 78, 1963, pp. 797–821; W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis," *AJA* 51, 1947, pp. 109–151; I. Beyer, "Die Reliefigiebel des alten Athena-Tempels der Akropolis," *AA* 89, 1974, pp. 639–651; *idem*, "Die Datierung der grossen Reliefigiebel des alten Athenatempels der Akropolis," *AA* 92, 1977, pp. 44–74, in which he proposes a 7th-century date for much of the sculpture. His proposed dates have not been generally accepted. The history of the assignment of the sculpture to the extant foundations is summarized by J. S. Boersma (*Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4*, Groningen 1970, p. 239), who gives the bibliography. For the two Triton pediments see also Brize (p. 158, category NER III, nos. 1 and 2), who dates them too high.

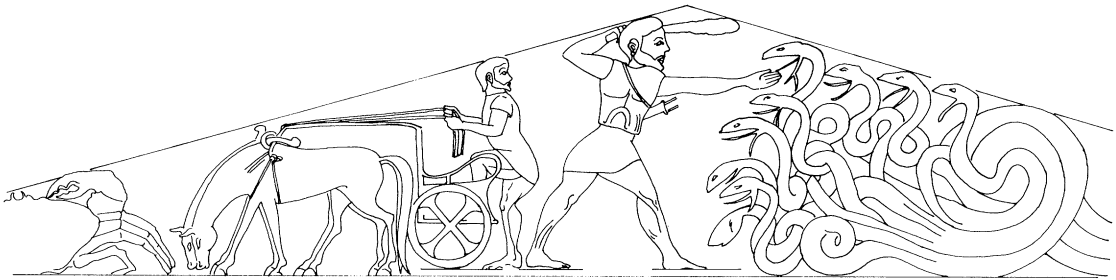


FIG. 1. Sketch reconstruction of Athens, Akropolis Museum 1, the Hydra Pediment

a club with which he attacks the beast; with his left he reaches out toward the Hydra. Herakles is as close to the center of the pediment as possible: the artist was apparently loath to have the torso of the main figure cut by the termination of the block. Only the end of Herakles' club, part of his left arm and hand, and the toes of his left foot extend across the median line of the pediment. The Hydra spreads across the blocks that comprise the right side of the pediment; its triple body divides into nine necks each of which supports one of the nine heads; a triple tail extends neatly into the corner of the pediment. The left side of the pediment is reserved for Iolaos, who steadies the chariot of Herakles, and, in the left corner, the crab.

The very low relief, the inconsistent scale of the individual elements, and the uncomfortable juxtaposition of the crab and the horses' muzzles all argue for a relatively early date for the pediment. Yet the massive, well-proportioned legs of Iolaos and Herakles recall figures by Nearchos and Lydos rather than those of earlier artists; in spite of the very early features, one would therefore hesitate to date the pediment much before *ca.* 560.¹⁹

¹⁹ See, e.g., E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, p. 12: placed midway between 570 and 550 on the chart; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture of the Archaic Period*, Norwich 1978, caption to fig. 196: "about 560–550"; B. S. Ridgway (*The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1977, p. 202) adduces the Boxer stele from the Kerameikos as a comparison, which permits a date of 560–550 for the pediment. K. Schefold (*Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, Munich 1964, caption to pl. 55:a) dates the Hydra pediment *ca.* 590; Brouskari ([footnote 17 above] p. 29) also dates the pediment to the first quarter of the 6th century, but these last dates are almost certainly too high (noted also by Maffre [footnote 4 above], p. 94, note 26).

Technically the low relief of the Hydra pediment contrasts with the other poros pediments whose figures are carved partly or fully in the round. Conceptually, the Hydra pediment also differs from most of the remaining pediments for, if Schuchhardt's and Beyer's reconstructions of the other pediments are correct, the Hydra pediment is one of the few that confines itself to a single myth. In fact, the poros pediment of Herakles and the Hydra, as it is now dated, is the earliest known pediment that does so.

Yet similarities between the Hydra pediment and the other poros pediments permit its inclusion in a coherent building program. First, its material, Akropolis limestone, is the same as that used in the other narrative pediments; second, as in the two Triton reliefs and in the Introduction sculpture, Herakles is the main protagonist; and third, like other Akropolis pediments, that of Herakles and the Hydra makes use of a snaky appendage to fill the awkward corner of the pediment.

Boardman notes the number of Akropolis sculptures that glorify the Peloponnesian hero and connects these sculptures with the tyranny of Peisistratos.²⁰ He convincingly associates the Introduction theme, if not the specific pedimental sculpture, with Peisistratos' triumphant return to Athens in 546 B.C. as reported by Herodotos (1.60) and ingeniously connects "Bluebeard", the three-bodied monster, with the three political factions (the plain, the shore, and the hill) into which Attica was divided.²¹ The theme of Herakles battling the Triton, the subject of two Akropolis poros pediments, suggests to Boardman the victory of Peisistratos when he captured Nisaia, the port of Megara, but Boardman only notes the Hydra pediment as giving another deed of Herakles.

Flushed with victory against Megara, Peisistratos seized power in 561/60. Having taken advantage of existing factionalism in Attica, he created a third division, the *hyperakrioi* (the men of the hills), and with their support, and a bodyguard of club-bearers, took the Akropolis and declared himself tyrant of Athens. His initial reign was brief: within five years he was in exile, perhaps for the second time. He returned ten years later in 546; in all, he and his sons ruled Athens almost continuously for nearly half a century. According to the ancient sources Peisistratos' rule was generous and just;²² ultimately, at any rate, he was known to have retained the constitution of Solon, only ensuring that one of the Peisistratids would be among the nine archons (Thucydides, vi.54.5-6), effecting his rule through law,

²⁰ J. Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Sons," *RA* 1972, pp. 57-72.

²¹ Boardman's interpretation would be more credible if the male figure added by Beyer (*AA* 89, 1974 [footnote 18 above], p. 650, fig. 10) facing the monster can be dissociated from the scene, and if the ancient sources concurred in the identification of the third party. A. Andrewes (*The Greek Tyrants*, London 1956, pp. 102-104, followed by R. Sealey, *A History of the Greek City States*, Berkeley 1976, p. 123) notes that Aristotle (*AthPol* xiii.4-15.3) gives the name of Peisistratos' party as οἱ διακρίοι ("the men of the hills") rather than οἱ ὑπερακρίοι ("the men beyond the hills"; trans. Andrewes) given by Herodotos (1.59), but Andrewes accepts the authority of Herodotos. Using the term οἱ ὑπερακρίοι for the third party would seriously weaken Boardman's identification of the three-bodied monster. The distinction, however, is questionable. Sealey's point (pp. 123-124) that "men from beyond the hills" (trans. Sealey) would better fit Peisistratos, who came from Brauron, is provocative but not necessarily etymologically sound (see, e.g., R. J. Hopper, "'Plain,' 'Shore,' and 'Hill' in Early Athens," *BSA* 56, 1961 [pp. 189-219], p. 193, note 2).

²² Aristotle, *AthPol* xiv.3; xvi.2-10; Herodotos, 1.59.

rather than through force.²³ He and his sons were patrons of the arts and instituted an important building program throughout Athens.²⁴

We are told how Peisistratos first attained power but little about what he accomplished between 561/60 and *ca.* 556 or the reason he was driven into exile; yet it is almost certainly during these years of Peisistratos' reign that the Hydra pediment was created. The Hydra on the poros pediment is the nine-headed monster described by Apollodoros,²⁵ the antiquity of whose description is borne out by Corinthian vases, almost all of which also show the monster with nine heads.²⁶ If, following Boardman, one wishes to see Herakles as the symbol of Peisistratos (and we might remember the contingent of club-bearers that accompanied him the first time he seized the Akropolis in 561/60²⁷), the Hydra pediment cannot

²³ For the history of Peisistratos' comings and goings, see F. E. Adcock ("The Exile of Peisistratos," *CQ* 18, 1924, pp. 174–181) and T. J. Cadoux ("The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides," *JHS* 68, 1948, pp. 70–123, esp. pp. 104–109), who differ slightly in their chronologies. E. Kluwe ("Peisistratos und die Akropolis von Athen," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 14, 1965 [pp. 9–15], pp. 14–15, note 38) provides a chart of other scholars' chronologies. Aristotle records (*AthPol* III.1–5) that the most ancient constitution of Athens provided for a king (archon), a polemarch, and an archon (the last, the most recent); legislators, *thesmothetai*, were created some years later, and these nine officers became the nine archons. By the time of the uprising of Kylon (Thucydides, I.126.3–13) in the second half of the 7th century, it is clear that the nine archons were entrusted with considerable responsibility. Aristotle (*AthPol* XIII.1–2) notes an atypical election of ten archons in 580/79, following ten years of turbulence, but this was apparently a singular solution for an exceptional time (see, e.g., V. Ehrenberg, *From Solon to Socrates*, 2nd ed., London 1968, p. 78).

²⁴ For the building program of Peisistratos and the Peisistratids, see F. Kolb, "Die Bau-, Religions- und Kulturpolitik der Peisistratiden," *JdI* 92, 1977, pp. 99–138 and Kluwe, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–15, neither of whom treats the Hydra pediment; for the Peisistratid building program and patronage of the arts, see E. Kluwe, "Attische Adelsgeschlechter und ihre Rolle als Auftraggeber in der bildenden Kunst der spätarchaischen und frühklassischen Zeit," in *Der Mensch als Mass der Dinge*, R. Müller, ed., Berlin 1976, pp. 29–64, esp. pp. 39–46.

²⁵ *Bibliothèque* II.5.2; Hesiod (*Theogony*, lines 313–318) does not describe the monster; Euripides (*Herakles*, lines 420–421) describes the Hydra as myriad headed (*μυριάκερος*). The best description of the Hydra poros pediment still remains that of Wiegand ([footnote 17 above] pp. 192–195), who notes that each of the nine sections of the body terminates in a head of which only six are preserved (p. 194). I can make out traces of nine, however, if a fragment (*Ἐφ' Ἀρχ* 1885, fig. on p. 240) not included in the Gillieron drawing is added; see also *ibid.*, p. 240, in which nine heads are counted. A water color reproduced in G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, rev. ed., New Haven 1950, fig. 376 gives a clear picture of the pediment with the addition of the later fragment, and the current installation in the Akropolis Museum also permits nine heads to be counted (see, e.g., Brouskari [footnote 17 above], pl. 17).

²⁶ Corinthian representations normally show nine heads, except those on the lost vases once in Breslau (footnote 12 above) and Argos (Amandry and Amyx, p. 102, no. 5, fig. 1:5), if the drawings from which they are known are accurate (see Amandry and Amyx, p. 110). Amandry and Amyx (pp. 104–105, note 9), however, suggest that the drawing from which the Argos vase is known has been reversed: the placement of Herakles, normally bearded, and Iolaos, normally unbearded, is reversed and both are shown as left handed; their fig. 1:5 shows the drawing the way they believe to be correct. The Corinthian 5th-century terracotta Hydra (G. Merker, "Fragments of Architectural-terracotta Hydras in Corinth," *Hesperia* 57, 1988, pp. 193–202) is not well enough preserved to count its heads.

²⁷ The club was associated with Herakles in Attica as early as the first quarter of the 6th century. Brize (*Geryoneis*, p. 115, note 192) notes that Herakles first has a club in Attic representations in a vase painted in the manner of the Gorgon Painter (London, B.M. B 30, *ABV*, p. 11, no. 20; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* II, London 1893, pl. 1).

help but remind us of the nine archons who governed Athens and whose power Peisistratos effectively destroyed. While this connection cannot be proved, it is possible that the Hydra pediment, which stands at the head of a line of similar images on Attic vases, may stand as well as a monument to the initial tyranny of Peisistratos.

The vases that immediately follow the pediment are by members of the Tyrrhenian group. All are ovoid neck-amphorae: two are by the Kyllenios Painter, one is by the Prometheus Painter, and another, known only in a line drawing, is perhaps by the Castellani Painter.²⁸ All probably date to the decade 560–550.

The dependence on the poros pediment of Louvre E 851 by the Prometheus Painter, probably the earliest vase of the series, is marginal but nevertheless significant: the vase shows Herakles in lion skin and pointed cap energetically swinging his sword at the Hydra whom he approaches from the left; Iolaos helps out at the right. The battle is set at the right of the shoulder frieze, the left part of which is occupied by Hermes and a figure who holds a pair of horses; Athena is centered in the frieze, placed just behind Herakles. The encounter between Herakles and the Hydra set at the right of the frieze as it is here would be unusual in Corinthian representations,²⁹ and the vigor with which the hero attacks the monster is quite different from the quiet Corinthian iconography. As on the poros pediment, the Hydra is conceived as a thick-bodied beast whose necks emerge from the body like branches from a tree; Corinthian Hydras are drawn instead as nine-necked snakes, their bodies most often retaining the sinuous, slender form of a serpent.³⁰ On the ovoid neck-amphora by the Prometheus Painter, the tail of the Hydra curls toward the right of the scene (although it whips back finally toward the left), whereas in Corinthian representations the Hydra's tail invariably undulates along the ground line to the left in order finally to encircle the body or legs of Herakles. The bifurcated tail of the Prometheus Painter's Hydra has no parallel either in earlier Corinthian representations or on the pediment.

Louvre C 10506 by the Kyllenios Painter retains Athena, as the patron of Herakles, standing at the far left of the scene behind him but omits Iolaos, inserting instead four females at the right to fill out the frieze. Herakles attacks the Hydra with bow and arrow. On two Attic red-figured vases Herakles also attacks the Hydra with arrows;³¹ it is this type

²⁸ Louvre E 851: *ABV*, p. 97, no. 24, by the Prometheus Painter (attributed by Bothmer in the dissertation by Mary B. Moore, *Horses on Attic Black-figure Greek Vases of the Archaic Period, ca. 620–480 B.C.*, New York University 1971, p. 39, no. A 193), *RLouvre* 35, 1985, p. 93, note 23 and p. 85, fig. 3:a; Louvre C 10506: *Paralipomena*, p. 39, by the Kyllenios Painter, *RLouvre* 35, 1985, p. 93, note 25, and p. 85, fig. 4:a; Frankfort University 136: *Paralipomena*, p. 39, by the Kyllenios Painter, Schauenberg (footnote 16 above), pl. 32:b; once Roman Market, Bassegio: *ABV*, p. 97, no. 25, *Paralipomena*, p. 37, no. 25, perhaps by the Castellani Painter, E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, Berlin 1843, pls. 95, 96.

²⁹ The vase once in Argos (footnote 26 above), known only in line-drawing, is normally pictured with the battle taking place at the right of the frieze, but see Amandry and Amyx (discussion, footnote 26 above).

³⁰ An exception is Basle BS 425, dated Middle Corinthian (MC) by Amandry and Amyx (p. 102, no. 6, fig. 1:6); J. Boardman ("Blood, Wine, or Water," *OJA* 1, 1982 [pp. 237–238], p. 237) points out other anomalies on this vase.

³¹ Leningrad 610: a neck-amphora by a painter close to Euphronios, *ARV²*, p. 18, no. 2 and *Development*, pl. 40:1; London, B.M. 1929.5-13.2: a stamnos by the Geras Painter, *ARV²*, p. 287, no. 26; *BMQ* 4, 1930, pl. 16.

of battle that Pausanias (v.17.11) describes on the Chest of Kypselos. Apollodoros (11.5.2) relates that Herakles flushed out the Hydra by pelting it with arrows, and, although this moment is not mentioned in any extant earlier source, the Attic vase paintings argue for the antiquity of the version. The Kyllenios Painter, whose recognition of the Kyllenean origin of Hermes on another ovoid neck-amphora might suggest a familiarity with literary sources,³² perhaps intended a fusion of this earlier moment with the actual fight against the monster. Yet, despite the differences between the iconography of the Kyllenios Painter and that of the poros pediment, here, as on the vase by the Prometheus Painter, the stance of Herakles and the tail of the Hydra curling to the right connect this vase with the poros pediment, as does (more pointedly) the omission of Iolaos from the combat.

The remaining ovoid neck-amphora by the Kyllenios Painter (Frankfort University 136) and that perhaps painted by the Castellani Painter (once Bassegio) are both more intimately connected with the pediment: like the two preceding vases, each shows Herakles purposefully striding forward, as on the pediment, rather than in the stiff and static pose he affects in Corinthian representations; each shows Herakles fighting the Hydra alone while, as on the pediment, Iolaos tends the chariot at the left; each shows the Hydra's tail writhing to the right, rather than to the left as in Corinthian iconography.³³ Unlike the pediment, however, but like the two vases just discussed, Athena stands behind Herakles as champion of both Herakles and Athens. The vase painters have subtly shifted the emphasis from Herakles' unaided subjugation of the Hydra as seen on the poros pediment back to the beast's defeat by the hand of Herakles when aided by Athena, the version given voice by Hesiod and image by Corinthian vase painters, and altered too any political message that may have been intended by the scene on the pediment.

The kantharos in Alexandria, unlike the other Attic vases with the myth, appears to antedate the poros pediment (a date of 570–560 is proposed), and thus it cannot but differ in its iconographical detail from the preceding works. The Attic artist of the Alexandria vase seems to have created a unique version of the myth, perhaps based on Corinthian models but charged with new thought and original insight. He is an excellent artist. Technically, the quality of the vase is exceptional: its fabric is hard and fine, its walls a scant few millimeters thick, its interior glaze a deep mirrorlike black, and the mastery of its painting is equal to that of its potting.

The Alexandria fragments belong to a kantharos of type A, which is distinguished by its high handles and offset cul articulated by a molding.³⁴ This is the earliest type of Attic

³² Berlin 1704: *ABV*, p. 96, no. 14, and p. 683; *Paralipomena*, p. 36, no. 14; *Addenda*, p. 10; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, Munich 1980, p. 217, fig. 201; inscribed behind Hermes: ΒΕΡΜΕΣΕΙΜΙΚΟΝΕΥΝΙΟΣ.

³³ The familiarity with the Hydra pediment shown by these two artists suggests (*pace* T. Carpenter, "The Tyrrhenian Group: Problems of Provenance," *OJA* 3, 1984, pp. 45–56) that painters in the Tyrrhenian Group were tied to Athens.

³⁴ For kantharoi, see J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, Tübingen 1925, p. 4; see also L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston I*, Boston 1931, pp. 14–16; P. Courbin, "Un nouveau canthare attique archaïque," *BCH* 76, 1952, pp. 347–383, esp. pp. 364–369; *JHS* 49, 1929, pp. 258 and 263. For the name see G. M. A. Richter and M. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, New York 1935, pp. 25–26; *LSJ*, s.v. *κάνθαρος*. The word means "dung beetle", and its application to the drinking vessel is ancient and remains obscure. *Κανθάρεως* (or *κανθάρεος*) is, however, the name of a vine,

black-figured kantharos; the first appear in the opening quarter of the 6th century.³⁵ The first fragment, Alexandria 9383 (Pl. 26:a), gives part of the wall and molding of the vessel, while the second fragment, Alexandria 17206 (Pl. 26:b), also gives a bit of the wall and adds part of the handle and part of the cul.

Preserved on Alexandria 9383 are the forepaws, part of the right foreleg, the entire left foreleg, and much of the head of a lion skin, hanging vertically. The hairs of the lion skin are incised in a neat, nearly stoichedon pattern, and the contour of the legs is incised with short strokes, diagonally downward, to indicate a fringe of hair. The four toes of each paw are indicated with vertically incised lines, the claws with horizontal lines. The pasterns are marked by semicircular lines. The pupils of the eyes look downward; the eyebrows are shown with doubled lines connected to the lines of the muzzle and the nose, and the ear is shown as if in profile. Each side of the muzzle is incised with three hooks, diminishing in size, and the long hairs at the jaw and forehead are neatly incised. Two curved, parallel lines above the forehead show wide locks of mane. To the right of the lion skin the body of what must be a Hydra is partly preserved. The contour that remains around the scaly body is incised with a short tongue pattern, drawn with doubled lines, which faithfully reproduces the texture of the ventral plates of a snake's underbelly. At the left of the heavy body is the end of a bifurcated tail and, between the two tips, what must be the toe of Herakles. Below the scene on the kantharos is part of the molding with strokes and, below these, hooks to right.

The second fragment, Alexandria 17206, preserves the handle with glazed black exterior, the cul with three narrow horizontal lines above a diagonally arranged dot pattern,

according to Theophrastus, *de causis plantarum* II.15.5. Pliny (*NH* XIV.75) assigns a high rank to the wine from the kantharos vine (*cantharitae*).

Beazley (*Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 4; see also Caskey in Caskey and Beazley, pp. 14–16) distinguished four types of kantharoi: types A and B show a sharp distinction between bowl and cul with the offset often articulated by a molding. The handles of kantharoi, type A extend well above the lip of the bowl, those of kantharoi, type B are lower, barely extending above the lip of the vessel. Kantharoi, types C and D (called “sessile”) omit the distinction between bowl and cul and have instead a continuous curve. The kantharos, type C has a low stem whereas the kantharos, type D is stemless. Kantharoi, types A and C appear in both Attic black and red figure; kantharoi, types B and D are red-figure inventions.

³⁵ Kantharoi which should be dated in the first quarter of the 6th century: 1) Athens, N.M.: *BCH* 76, 1952, pls. 16, 17 and *BCH* 77, 1953, p. 340, fig. 25. Herakles and Nettos; fight. *Ca.* 580 B.C. 2) London, B.M. B 601.14 + Cambridge N 131.71, from Naukratis: *ABV*, p. 26, no. 29, KX Painter. *JHS* 49, 1929, p. 258, no. 14, pl. 15:17; *CVA*, Cambridge 2 [Great Britain 11], pl. 21 [500]:40. The chariot of Achilles. Inscribed: ΠΑΤΡΟΦΥ[ΟΣ] retrograde. *Ca.* 580 B.C. 3) London, B.M. B 601.16 + 44, from Naukratis: *ABV*, p. 28, no. 3, Manner of the KX Painter, *JHS* 49, 1929, pl. 15:4, 5, 18, and 22. Unexplained subject (Hermes; males). Inscribed: ΕΕ [PMEΣ]. *Ca.* 580 B.C. 4) London, B.M. B 601.46, from Naukratis: *ABV*, p. 37, no. 10, connected with the Komast Group. *JHS* 49, 1929, p. 258, no. 16, and pl. 15:15. Komos. *Ca.* 580 B.C. 5) Athens, British School: *ABV*, p. 28, Imitation of the KX Painter [Dunbabin]. Komos. 580 B.C. 6) London, B.M. B 600.50, from Naukratis: *JHS* 49, 1929, p. 258, no. 19, and pl. 15:19. Inscribed: ΠΙΑΜΟΣ retrograde. First quarter 6th century. 7) Athens, N.M. 19174, from a grave at Vari: *BCH* 61, 1937, pl. 33:B; *BCH* 77, 1953, p. 334, fig. 15; Brize, *Geryoneis*, p. 160, category NER III, no. 16, pl. 2. Herakles and a sea monster; frontal chariot. Dated 585–580 by Courbin ([footnote 34 above] p. 365), but this date is most likely too high; the style seems provincial rather than early, and a date around the time of the late phase of Sophilos or around the time of Kleitias is probably more appropriate.

part of the molding, and, on the small fragment of wall that remains, a bit more of the Hydra, probably one of the severed heads.

As we see from the reconstruction of the scene on paper (Pl. 26:c), the vase in Alexandria is a small vessel, as is typical of early kantharoi.³⁶ The fillet with dotted pattern is found on Attic kantharoi dating between 580 and 550,³⁷ but the fillet and molding of the kantharos in Alexandria are especially close to those on a kantharos in London painted in the manner of the KX Painter that should date *ca.* 580 B.C.,³⁸ except that the molding on the vase in Alexandria is slightly narrower and the hooks that decorate it are rather finer. The neatly incised tongue pattern for the ventral plates of the Hydra is normal in early Peloponnesian depictions of the Hydra³⁹ and can be seen in early Attic black-figure drawings of other snakes. Sophilos, for example, employs the motif on the London dinos for both the underbelly of the snaky body of Okeanos and that of the snake he grasps,⁴⁰ and also for that of another snake on a fragment from Menidi.⁴¹ This treatment of the ventral plates is also found on early depictions of Nereus⁴² and on Tyrrhenian amphorae, once for a Hydra.⁴³ A similar pattern, less finely rendered, is used for a Hydra on an Attic amphora dated slightly later.⁴⁴ In comparison to the pattern used in these Attic examples, that chosen by the painter of the vase in Alexandria is especially fine. Rather than just the paired lines employed by other painters, this artist incises an arc between each pair of lines, producing a much more authentic texture for the underbelly of the snaky monster. In the meticulous drawing of the pattern of the ventral plates, the Hydra in Alexandria is much closer to Middle Corinthian renderings of the monster than to any Attic version: Middle Corinthian skyphoi in the

³⁶ Courbin ([footnote 34 above] p. 368) notes that early kantharoi are small, their picture zones ranging from 4 to 8 cm. in height, although exceptions occur. The picture zone of the kantharos in Alexandria would be about 8 cm. high if there was no ornament at the lip.

³⁷ Cf., e.g., London, B.M. B 601.14 + Cambridge N 131.71 (footnote 35 above, no. 2); London, B.M. B 601.16 + 44 (footnote 35 above, no. 3); Athens, Akropolis 2136, unpublished fragment with lines (see P. Courbin, *BCH* 76, 1952, p. 368); London, B.M. 9407.18.1 (*JHS* 18, 1898, p. 288, fig. 3, pls. 16, 17; *ca.* 550 B.C.); Berlin F 1737 (*Paralipomena*, p. 72, Sokles Painter; *EAA* II, p. 496, fig. 686. *Ca.* 550).

³⁸ London, B.M. B 601.16 + 44 (footnote 35 above, no. 3).

³⁹ Cf., e.g., the drawing of the Hydra on the Transitional Corinthian fragment from Vari (footnote 12 above); the Early Corinthian (EC) fragment, Corinth C-71-321 (footnote 13 above); the EC aryballos, Athens, Canellopoulos Collection (footnote 12 above); the EC/MC aryballos, once Argos (footnote 26 above); the MC aryballos, Basle BS 425 (footnote 30 above); on shield bands from Olympia (cf., e.g., Olympia B 5800 [footnote 10 above]); a bronze plaque from Samos (Samos B 1512, P. Brize, "Samos und Stesichoros. Zu einem früharchaischen Bronzeblech," *AM* 100, 1985 [pp. 53–90], pp. 73–75, pl. 22:3, end 7th century).

⁴⁰ *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Occasional Papers on Antiquities 1)*, Malibu 1983, p. 20, fig. 19; p. 27, fig. 34.

⁴¹ Athens, N.M. 2035.1: *ABV*, p. 42, no. 36; *JdI* 13, 1898, pl. 1:3.

⁴² E.g., Athens, N.M. 19174: Brize, *Geryoneis*, p. 160, no. 16, pl. 11:2. Samos, Vathy: *ABV*, p. 25, no. 18 by the KX Painter; Brize, *Geryoneis*, p. 159, no. 12, pl. 12:3. Taranto 4343 (31.7.915): *ABV*, p. 91, no. 1 by a member of the Atalanta Group; Brize, *Geryoneis*, p. 160, no. 20, pl. 13:1. Athens, N.M. 12587: *ABV*, p. 40, no. 24 by Sophilos; G. Bakır, *Sophilos*, Mainz 1981, pl. 18:33. In later depictions Nereus has instead a red underbelly.

⁴³ Once the Roman Market, perhaps by the Castellani Painter: see footnote 28 above. For a snake at a grave, see also Berlin 4841: *ABV*, p. 97, no. 22; *JdI* 8, 1893, pl. 1.

⁴⁴ Athens, Agora Museum P 8964: *Agora XXIII* (footnote 16 above), pl. 34:349, dated third quarter of the 6th century (p. 146).

Louvre and in Athens show Hydras with less complex patterns but which share the precision of the version in Alexandria.⁴⁵

Also early is the treatment of the lion's paws. Although exceptions occur, in general, the representation of the toes on the paws of Herakles' lion skin, and on the skins of other felines, provides a chronological determinative. Early representations, such as the one under discussion, often show the paw blocked in with paint and the toes treated like the petals of rosettes, separated only by straight incised lines. Beginning around the middle of the 6th century, the toes of animal skins are treated instead as separate entities and are more evident in the contour of the paw itself. Finally, by the last quarter of the century, the toes are indicated with individual brushstrokes. To some extent these changes parallel the change in the drawing of the fronds of palmettes, which is also modified over time.

The scene on the Alexandria fragments is difficult to reconstruct precisely, both because of its early date, which rules out the use of contemporary Attic parallels, and because of the apparent uniqueness of the representation. Nevertheless, one can form a general idea of the scene. Like their Corinthian counterparts, Attic black-figure (and early red-figure) painters regularly show Herakles attacking the Hydra from the left,⁴⁶ although the normal Attic composition is more likely to be asymmetrical: a nod to the poros pediment. The hero grabs one of the Hydra's heads in his left hand and wields his weapon (in early depictions a sword, rather than a club or a *harpe*) in his right.⁴⁷

On the kantharos in Alexandria the Hydra must be placed somewhere near the handle, since part of the monster is found on the second fragment. Herakles almost certainly approaches the Hydra from the viewer's left, as is normal in both Attic and Corinthian iconography; thus the toe between the tips of the Hydra's tail must belong to Herakles.

By the end of the second quarter of the 6th century the lion skin is comfortably established as an attribute of Herakles.⁴⁸ The earliest extant lion skin associated with the hero is

⁴⁵ Louvre CA 3004: Amandry and Amyx, p. 102, no. 13, fig. 2:13, dated 580–570 (p. 102). From Perachora: Amandry and Amyx, p. 102, no. 12, fig. 2:12, dated 580–570 (p. 102). Non-Corinthian is the scaly body of our Hydra, for Corinthian Hydras rarely have scaly bodies. An exceptional rendering on a Middle Corinthian flat aryballos (Basle BS 425, dated *ca.* 590[?] B.C.) shows a Hydra with doubled scales on its lower body below its branching necks, but this representation has a number of peculiarities: see footnote 30 above.

⁴⁶ This follows the normal Attic rule of the victor fighting from left to right (for which see, e.g., C. Picard and P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Fouilles de Delphes* IV, ii, Paris 1928, p. 111), although exceptions certainly occur. Exceptions in Attic black-figure depictions of Herakles and the Hydra are few but include Mykonos KZ 1132 (AA 86, 1971, p. 171, fig. 14); Keil, private collection, dated *ca.* 520 B.C. (AA 86, 1971, p. 163, fig. 1; shown, exceptionally, on the standplate of a cup); Athens, N.M. CC 792, dated to the late 6th century (*JHS* 75, 1955, pl. 6:1–3); Rome, Lerici Foundation, by the Michigan Painter (*Paralipomena*, p. 157, no. 11 *bis*; M. Moretti, *Tomba Martini-Marescotti*, Milan 1966, unnumbered). None of the preceding vases is of high quality. To my knowledge, no exceptions to the rule appear among Archaic Attic red-figure depictions of the scene.

⁴⁷ On a Corinthian skyphos in the Louvre (CA 3004; footnote 45 above), Herakles wields a *harpe*, but in early depictions of the myth the *harpe* is the weapon of Iolaos.

⁴⁸ As noted by T. Carpenter (*Dionysian Imagery in Early Greek Art*, Oxford 1986, pp. 100–101), Herakles wears his lion skin with the lion's head as a helmet on the earliest surviving example of the Introduction of Herakles by the C Painter (Athens, Akr. 2112: *ABV*, p. 58, no. 120; B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin 1925–1933, I, pl. 92:2112b); Herakles also wears a lion skin in an Introduction scene painted on a Siana cup in the manner of the C Painter (London, B.M. B 379: *ABV*, p. 60,

probably seen on a late Protocorinthian alabastron,⁴⁹ a rare example, since Herakles seldom wears a lion skin in Corinthian representations. The lion skin as attribute of Herakles is introduced early in the East, as seen on a Melian amphora, a Chiot fragment, and a bronze relief from Samos,⁵⁰ all dating to the last quarter of the 7th century or the opening quarter of the 6th.

These initial depictions of Herakles with his lion skin show the garment variously draped. Only the bronze relief from Samos presents the version that will become usual: the lion's head worn as a helmet with Herakles' face appearing between gaping jaws. On the Corinthian alabastron Herakles wears the lion skin draped over his shoulders; on the Melian amphora he wears it like a Thracian cloak, the front paws at his chest; and on the Chiot fragment, the rear paws are secured below his throat, the lion's head hanging down.

The lion skin on the Alexandria fragment is also draped with the head down. Hunters and others in early Attic black figure are often garbed in animal skins similarly worn; one is instantly reminded of the hunters who attack the Caledonian boar on the François Vase, but other figures can also be adduced.⁵¹ These figures wear the pelt with the hind legs knotted around their throats, the forepart of the beast hanging downward and covering the lower body from waist to knee. The lion skin on the Alexandria fragment cannot be worn in this manner, however; when a skin is draped in this fashion, the legs of the wearer can be seen beneath the pelt, and, on the Alexandria fragment, there is no such indication of the legs of Herakles. It is much more likely that Herakles, approaching from the left, holds the lion skin on his outstretched left arm. Since the fragment shows no traces of the rear legs of the beast, we might assume that they are knotted around the neck of Herakles.⁵² The fragment is broken at the left in such a way that the lost section could just accommodate Herakles'

no. 20; *CVA*, British Museum 2 [Great Britain 2], pl. 8 [66]:2b). By ca. 550 B.C. even lesser painters have adopted the lion skin as an attribute of Herakles (e.g., Boston, M.F.A. 61.1256: *ABV*, p. 616, no. 11; *Paralipomena*, p. 306, no. 11; S. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis*, Chicago 1978, p. 11, pl. 2:2, dated ca. 550 B.C.). Although Artemis, too, is occasionally similarly garbed (see most recently H. A. Shapiro, "Artemis oder Omphale?" *AA* 102, 1987, pp. 623–628, esp. pp. 623–625), the presence of the Hydra and the black toe of the figure on the Alexandria fragment rules out the possibility of Artemis here.

⁴⁹ As noted by Brize ([footnote 39 above] p. 85); Florence, M.A. inv., 79252: Brize, *Geryoneis*, pl. 1:1.

⁵⁰ As noted by Brize, *Geryoneis*, p. 85; for the Melian amphora (Athens, N.M. 354) see Schefold (footnote 19 above), pl. 57:c; for the Chiot fragment (Athens N.M., Akropolis Coll., 450a) see Graef and Langlotz (footnote 48 above), I, p. 24, pl. 15, no. 450a; for the bronze relief (Samos B 2518) see Brize (footnote 39 above), pls. 15, 16, and 20:1.

⁵¹ The François Vase, Florence, M.A. 4209: *ABV*, p. 76, no. 1; M. Cristofani *et al.*, *Vaso François* (*BdA* special series vol. 1, Rome 1980[?], figs. 57 and 59); note also the hunter on the dinos, Ostermundigen, Blatter, by the Kyllenios Painter [Bothmer]: *Paralipomena*, p. 42; *AntK* 5, 1962, pl. 16:2; Villa Giulia M 430 by Lydos (*ABV*, p. 108, no. 14, p. 685; M. Tiverios, 'Ο Λυδὸς καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ, Athens 1976, pl. 21:b), which shows Herakles so garbed; Apollo in panther skin on Oxford 1934.333 (*ABV*, p. 115, no. 4, Manner of Lydos; F. Brommer, *Herakles*, Cologne/Vienna 1979, pl. 16); Dionysos with panther skin in a Gigantomachy on Athens, Akropolis 1632 (Graef and Langlotz [footnote 48 above], I, pl. 84, no. 1632); and on London, B.M. B 235 (*ABV*, p. 308, no. 68, by the Swing Painter; *LIMC* III, pl. 369, no. 613).

⁵² Cf., e.g., the skin outstretched on the arm of Dionysos (Leningrad E 1149: *ARV*², p. 598, no. 2, by the Blenheim Painter; *LIMC* III, pl. 371, no. 621.

advanced left leg and the remainder of his foot; the scene can be reconstructed this way on paper (Pl. 26:c). If this is indeed the correct reconstruction, it is the sole example in Attic black figure of a scene of Herakles and the Hydra in which Herakles extends his lion skin as a shield.

Herakles fights as an archer, and thus at a distance, with lion skin outstretched against the Hydra on a late 6th-century red-figured neck-amphora,⁵³ but by the last quarter of the 6th century, figures in battle commonly shield their outstretched arms with skins and cloaks or, in the case of Athena, her aegis. From the beginning of the last quarter of the century onwards, major works show the motif: on the North frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Dionysos, a panther skin hanging over his extended left arm in an arrangement similar to that of the lion skin on the Alexandria fragment, strides beside the chariot of Cybele;⁵⁴ Athena swings her aegis from her outstretched arm as she fights against the Giants on the pediment of the Peisistratid temple on the Athenian Akropolis;⁵⁵ Herakles extends the lower half of his lion skin on his outstretched arm as he battles the Amazons on the krater by Euphronios;⁵⁶ and in the Tyrant Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes dated 477/76, Aristogeiton holds his cloak over his extended arm as he faces the bodyguard of Hipparchos.⁵⁷ But representations of the motif earlier than *ca.* 525 B.C. are rare.⁵⁸

Although the motif of the outstretched garment becomes commonplace, these major works demonstrate its original iconographical importance. Euphronios' Herakles fights holding a club in his right hand, a bow and arrows in his left.⁵⁹ The weapon in his right hand renders useless the ones in his left, which argues for a symbolic rather than a realistic interpretation of the gesture. So, too, the outstretched aegis of Athena (who as a goddess needs no actual protection) and the outstretched cloak of Aristogeiton (protecting conceptually the

⁵³ Leningrad 610: footnote 31 above.

⁵⁴ P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Delphes*, n.p. 1957, fig. 82. Cf. London, B.M. E 8 by Oltos: *ARV*², p. 63, no. 88; *ArtB* 19, 1937, p. 547, fig. 6.

⁵⁵ G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, London 1969, p. 89, fig. 107.

⁵⁶ Arezzo 1465: *ARV*², p. 15, no. 6; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Archaic Period*, London 1975, fig. 29. Cf. also Herakles as an archer against Kyknos on Palermo G.E. 1896.1: *ABV*, p. 379, no. 276, the Leagros Group (*ABL*, pl. 14:2); Herakles with the tripod, running from Apollo, Würzburg 500: *ARV*², p. 197, no. 8 by the Berlin Painter (Boardman, fig. 145) and on the obverse, Apollo, his cloak held over his extended left arm (E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*, Munich 1940, p. 70, fig. 190); Herakles with bow and arrow in left hand, sword in right, against Alkyoneus, Geneva, private collection: J. Dörig, *Art Antique*, Mainz 1975, no. 206.

⁵⁷ S. Brunnsäker, *The Tyrant-slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes*, Stockholm 1971, pls. 1–4.

⁵⁸ I know of few examples of this motif that clearly predate the Siphnian Treasury: Bucharest 03209 (a lip cup by the Centaur Painter, *ca.* 540 B.C.; *CVA*, Bucharest 1 [Romania 1], pl. 24 [24]:4) shows Herakles holding out a lion skin as he battles a centaur; Christchurch, University of Canterbury 52/57 (also by the Centaur Painter: *Paralipomena*, p. 78, no. 1 *bis*; *CVA*, New Zealand 1, pl. 27:4) shows a youth with outstretched cloak on his left arm, a stone in his right hand (accompanied by a man with a stick) on side B, two centaurs on side A; Trieste S 454 shows Ajax holding out an animal skin as he pursues Cassandra (*CVA*, Trieste 1 [Italy 43], pl. 2 [1910]:4; dated to the third quarter of the 6th century, a poor work).

⁵⁹ Note also the cup by Euphronios, Munich 2650: *ARV*², p. 16, no. 17; Boardman (footnote 56 above), fig. 26:2.

intrepid Harmodios and, further, the democracy of Athens) are symbols of protection. The Dionysos of the North frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, like Athena, should need no tangible protection. The outstretched garment, in each case, provides a symbolic shield against the forces of evil.⁶⁰ Perhaps the example which most clearly demonstrates the outstretched garment providing metaphorical protection is a cup by the Foundry Painter which shows Athena overseeing a sculptor at work who is literally under the outstretched aegis of the patron deity of crafts.⁶¹

The artist of the kantharos in Alexandria is a thoughtful painter who delights in expressive detail; this interest is clear in the dead lion's downcast eyes, the neat patterning of the lion's pelt, and the careful, realistic treatment of the underbelly of the Hydra. Yet our artist encumbers Herakles, engaged in hand to hand combat (as it were) with the Hydra, with the hanging skin which, thanks to Herakles' necessarily uncovered left hand, in actuality provides little real defense against the Hydra's noxious bite.⁶² Perhaps the artist simply conceives of the skin as prudent protection against the venom of the beast; most surely the early date of the vase precludes the canonical way of wearing the lion skin. While one of these interpretations is most likely correct, one must still raise the possibility that the vase in Alexandria with Herakles and the Hydra may provide the earliest extant example of an outstretched garment affording its wearer emblematic protection.

The identity of the artist of this vase is difficult to pin down. He is an adventurous and creative painter. His interest in pattern is similar to that of Kleitias, but his incision is more finicky and his drawing perhaps less fine; more important, none of the details of the lion skin can be paralleled in the animal skins worn by the hunters on the François Vase;⁶³ our painter has some affinities with the Painter of Acropolis 601,⁶⁴ but the latter's known *oeuvre* is slight, and the diagnostic details on the Alexandria fragment, particularly in the treatment of the lion skin, cannot be precisely paralleled in his work. To my knowledge the treatment of the paws of the lion skin on the Alexandria fragment, with their horizontal lines delineating the claws and the crescent-shaped hooks at the pasterns, is unique among preserved representations.

⁶⁰ Specifically for the concept of Alexikakos inherent in the gesture of Euphronios' Herakles and generally for the outstretched cloak as a protective shield against evil see E. B. Harrison, "Apollo's Cloak," *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology. A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, G. Kopcke and M. B. Moore, edd., Locust Valley 1979, p. 94 and note 23.

⁶¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi: *ARV*², p. 402, no. 12; Boardman (footnote 56 above), fig. 264.

⁶² On an Attic red-figured calyx krater in a private collection in Adolphseck (Brommer, *Herakles* [footnote 51 above], pl. 22) Herakles fights the Cretan bull, his lion skin extended like a matador's cape, covering his clenched fist. In the Hydra scene, however, Herakles cannot twist the skin around his hand since he needs his hand to grasp the neck of the Hydra. A close parallel for the draping of the lion skin on the Alexandria fragment appears on a vase by the Swing Painter (London, B.M. B 165: E. Bohr, *Kerameus*, IV, *Der Schaulmaler*, Mainz am Rhein 1982, p. 79, no. 16, Herakles with panther skin, dated 540–530; *ABV*, p. 306, no. 30 [Beazley gives the figure as Herakles(?)] which shows Herakles striding to right, but as the meaning of the scene is not clear, it affords little iconographical help.

⁶³ Florence, M.A. 4209: footnote 51 above.

⁶⁴ *ABV*, p. 80.

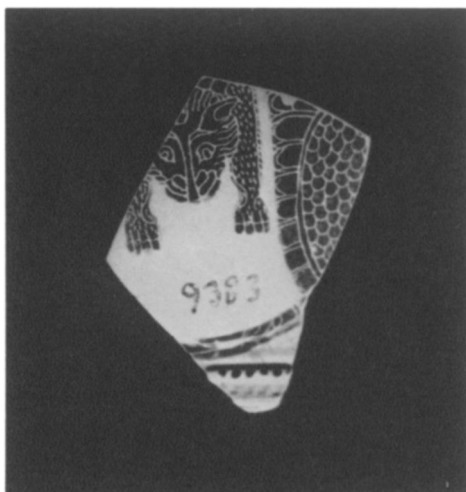
Other early Attic black-figured kantharoi from Naukratis are of a quality similar to the one in Alexandria, yet, surprisingly for works of their distinction, many still remain unattributed.⁶⁵ In this way the kantharos in Alexandria currently fits with its fellows. Despite the anonymity of its artist, the vase remains a major addition to the Attic black-figured vases of the first half of the 6th century that depict the myth of Herakles and the Hydra.

MARJORIE SUSAN VENIT

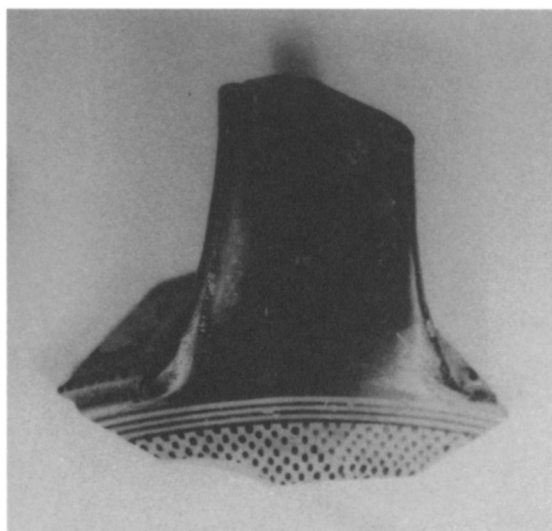
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
Department of Art History
College Park, MD 20742

⁶⁵ For kantharoi from Naukratis, see above, footnote 2 and footnote 35, nos. 2, 3, 4, and 6.

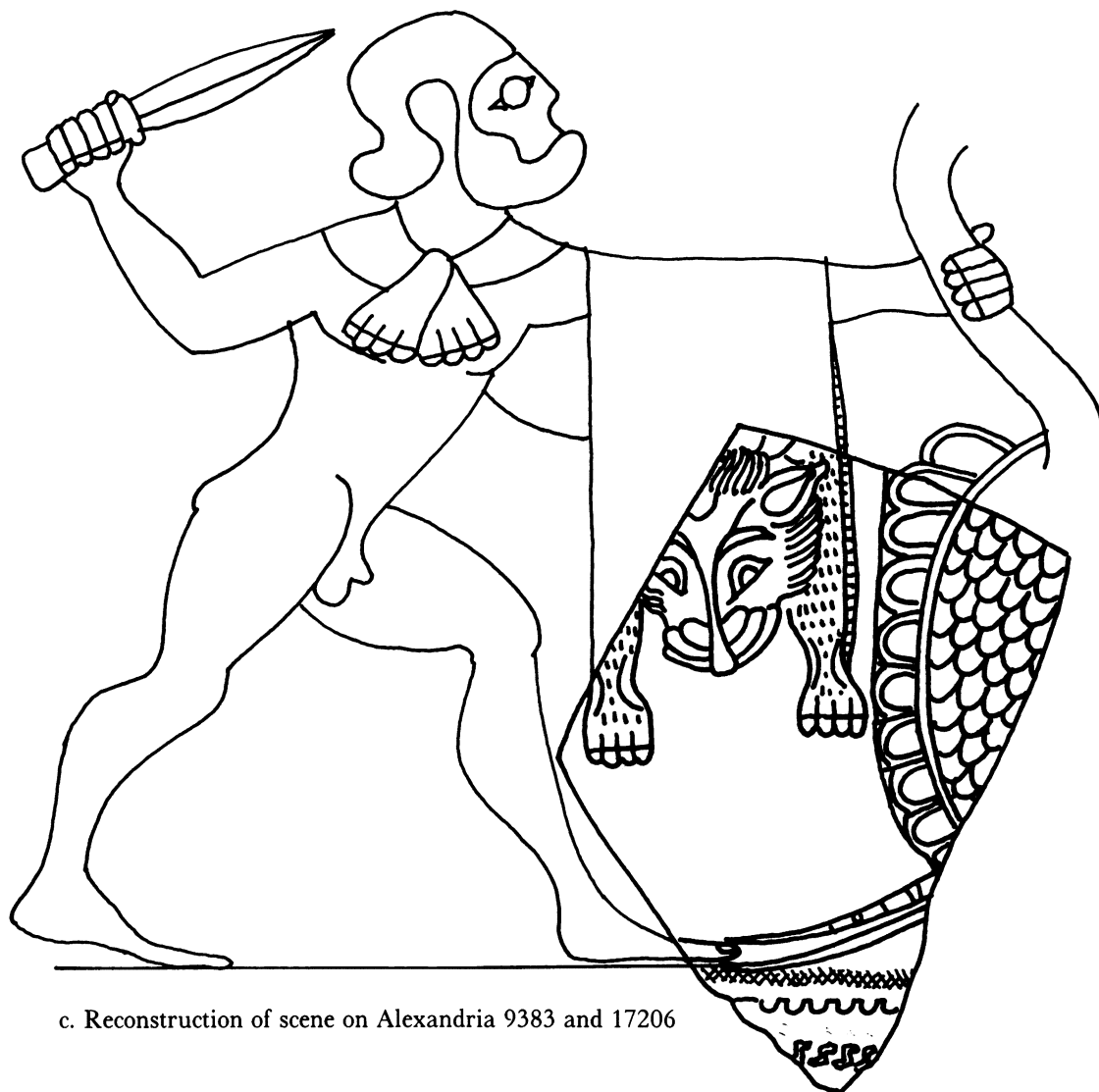
PLATE 26



a. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum
9383



b. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 17206



c. Reconstruction of scene on Alexandria 9383 and 17206